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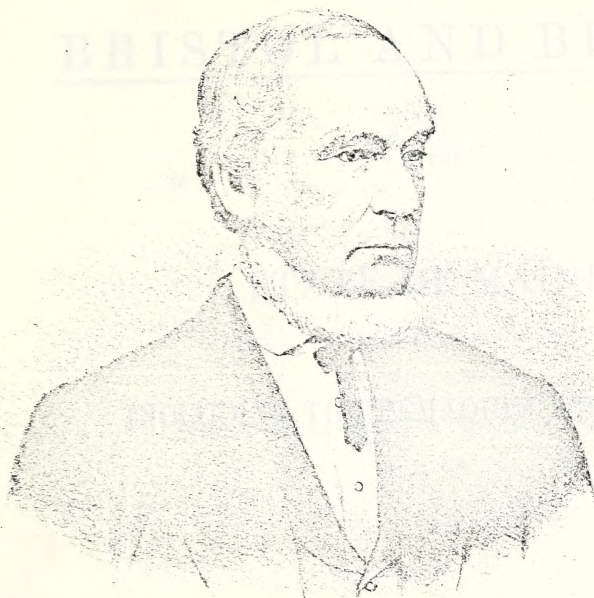
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BRISBANE AND BREMEN



John Johnston

PROF. NAT. SCIENCE WES. UNIVERSITY.



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A HISTORY
OF THE TOWNS OF
BRISTOL AND BREMEN
ME.
IN THE
STATE OF MAINE,
INCLUDING THE PEMAQUID SETTLEMENT.

BY

JOHN JOHNSTON, LL.D.,

A NATIVE OF BRISTOL, AND PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY, MIDDLETOWN, CONN., AND COR. MEM. OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ALBANY, N. Y.:
JOEL MUNSELL.
1873.

PREFACE.

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By JOHN JOHNSTON,

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This work, though belonging to that class designated local histories, to a considerable extent, treats of the events and transactions which have taken place in the early history of the whole north Atlantic coast. This is true at least of much of the first part. In preparing it, the author has considered himself as particularly addressing the citizens of the place, most of them the neighbors and friends of the author, and he has written it with the belief that they would be particularly interested in it. In the anxiety to give a full and accurate account of the labor of the early settlers, and to show the full scope allotted to it, though it became necessary, as a consequence, to exclude considerable matter relating to modern times that had been prepared, and, were it possible, would gladly have been included. To have more fully described the transactions that took place here would have been comparatively an easy task; but to show the real importance and significance of these transactions, required a wider range of view, and an examination of their relations to events simultaneously transpiring in other places on the coast, and even in Europe.

Free use has been made of every source of information within the author's reach, but all important statements, so far as possible, have been traced to their original sources. That immense receptacle of original documents pertaining to the early history of New England, the Massachusetts Archives, contained in some 240 or more volumes, and preserved in the State House in Boston, was explored quite thoroughly, and with considerable profit, as the attentive reader will not fail to observe.

PREFACE.

This work, though belonging to that class denominated local histories, to a considerable extent, describes events and transactions more or less intimately connected with the early history of the whole north Atlantic coast. This is true at least of much of the first part. In preparing the work the author has considered himself as particularly addressing the citizens of the place, most of them the neighbors and friends of his youth, or their direct descendants; and in the belief that they would be particularly interested, like himself, in the ancient history of their native place, much labor has been expended on this part and much space allotted to it, though it becomes necessary, as a consequence, to exclude considerable matter relating to modern times that had been prepared, and, were it possible, would gladly have been included. To have merely described the transactions that took place here would have been comparatively an easy task; but to show the real importance and significance of these transactions, required a wider range of view, and an examination of their relations to events simultaneously transpiring in other places on the coast, and even in Europe.

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Mr. Thornton's "Ancient Pemaquid" (*Maine Hist. Soc. Col.*, Vol. V), served as an excellent guide in the author's researches; but it is proper to say that much of the ground had been explored before that work was published.

The author has supposed it a special duty to give a plain and unbiassed account of persons and events coming under consideration; but he has not hesitated to express an opinion in any case where it seemed to be called for. If, on some not unimportant points, his opinions are found to differ essentially from those expressed by others, it has not been because of a desire to be peculiar, or because of any want of respect toward the views of those differing from him, but only because, in his own judgment, the incontrovertible facts required it.

Extracts from original documents and letters have been freely introduced, in the belief that we thus get a more vivid and faithful picture of the persons and events described. These extracts are always given exactly as they are found in the originals, without any attempt to correct errors whether in orthography or grammar. In some cases the authors were really illiterate, but this is not to be inferred because of peculiarities observed in their modes of spelling words, or peculiar modes of expression. In those early times great diversity in the modes of spelling words, including even proper names, was allowed. The same person would at different times use different modes of spelling his own name.

The author takes pleasure in expressing his obligations to many friends who have, in different ways, aided him in the preparation and publication of the work; but to none has he been under more obligation than to those old friends of his boyhood, William and James H. Hackelton, Esqs., and Hon. Arnold Blaney, without whose coöperation it probably would never have been given to the public. Many others also have extended kindly aid in different modes, but the names are too many to be inserted here. The author's researches have been carried on, more or

loss in nearly all the larger public libraries in New England and the city of New York, and in all of them, without exception, he has found the librarians and their assistants kind and obliging, and ready to afford all the facilities in their power. The same remark will apply to several of the clerks in the secretary's office in Boston, but especially to Mr. H. J. Coolidge, who has long occupied a desk there, and who seemed never wearied by the repeated calls made upon him.

Only a small part of the material collected for the work has in reality been used in its preparation. As is known to many of the citizens, much material had been collected with the design of preparing pedigrees of many of the older families; but it was found that space could not be allowed for them, without unduly extending the size of the volume.

The islands near the coast were considered of much greater relative importance in the early times than at present; and a separate chapter devoted to their history was prepared, but necessarily excluded for the same reason.

THE AUTHOR.

MIDDLETOWN, CT., Oct. 1, 1873.

DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--------|
| Portrait of Author,..... | to face | Title. |
| Map,..... | | p. 1 |
| Portrait of Com. Samuel Tucker,..... | | 364 |
| “ Hon. Arnold Blaney, | | 389 |
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CORRECTIONS, &c.

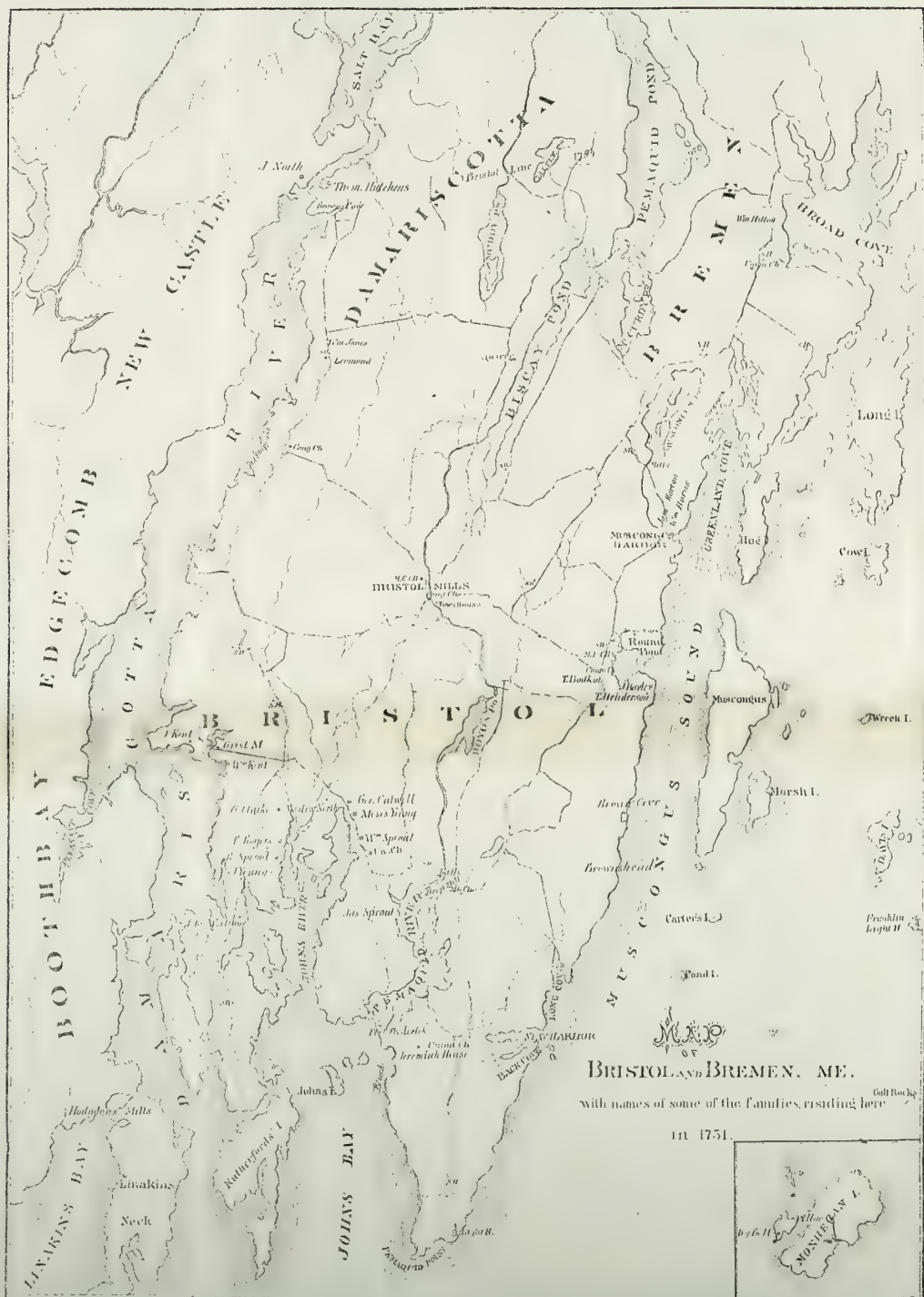
- Page 63. Near the bottom, for "Cape Newagen (Boothbay)" read Cape Newagen (Southport).
- Page 82. For "Bigayduce" read *Bigayduce*. This was the ancient name for the present Castine. It was always pronounced Bagaduce, and often so written.
- Page 85. Second line of second paragraph. For "their cause" read *this cause*.
- Page 88. Near the middle of the page for "forward" read *formal*.
- Page 89. Note. For "but there is not," read *but is there not*.
- Page 106. Last line of first paragraph. For "rivers" read *wives*.
- Page 174. For "Abenauques" read *Abenauques*.
- Page 252. Note at bottom. For "St. John's Tower" read *St. John's Tower*.
- Page 258. Near middle. For "1636 and 1637" read 1726 and 1727.
- Page 316. Near middle. For "storm" read *stern*.
- Page 318. Near middle of page; Strike out the word "*sic*."
- Page 322. For the name "Gondy" here, and in one or two other places, read *Goudy*.
- Page 335. The name "William," near middle of the page *should be in small capitals*, like the names JAMES,² ANNIE,² &c., and in the same perpendicular line with them. He married not Mary Goudy (printed Gondy) but *Mary Clark*.
- Page 445. Note. For "(1707 and 1737)" read (1737 and 1747).
- Page 460. Near top of page. For "1854" read 1864.

OUR MAP.

The map here given is peculiar, but will not be unacceptable to the people of the place. It represents the place with the present roads and some modern improvements, but contains the names only of those known to reside here in 1751. It was the intention, at first, to insert the names of the present residents, in the manner of the recent county maps; but the size of a map that is to be inserted in a book is necessarily limited, and because of the small space it was found impossible to introduce the names legibly. Most of the names were taken from North's map, prepared for the Kennebec proprietors, in December of the year mentioned; but the names of all others have been added whose places of residence were known. North's map did not include the eastern part of the town, for the reason that the Kennebec proprietor's claim did not extend east of the Pemaquid river and ponds. (*Note, page 329*).

REFERENCES.

In the references to authorities in the notes the usual abbreviations are used, and will need no special explanations, except in a single instance. *Lincoln Report*, or *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, indicates a very important document, now very rare, entitled "Order of both branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, to appoint Commissioners to investigate the *Causes of the Difficulties* in the County of Lincoln, and the report of the Commissioners thereon, with the documents in support thereof, Boston, 1811."



HISTORY

OF

BRISTOL AND BREMEN.

CHAPTER I.

General Description of the Place — Minerals — Geology.

The two townships of Bristol and Bremen occupy nearly the whole of the peninsula lying between the Damariscotta river on the west and the Muscongus sound and bay on the east, and have on the north the towns of Damariscotta, Nobleboro, and Waldoboro. The territory is in the south part of Lincoln county, in the state of Maine; and the southern point, extending several miles into the Atlantic ocean, forms a prominent head-land, long known to navigators on the coast as Pemaquid point. A light-house was erected on the point in 1824.

Three miles north of the extremé point, on the west side, is Pemaquid harbor, which, being easily accessible and very safe for ships at all seasons of the year, was in early times, and in fact still is a place of frequent resort by vessels sailing on the coast. West of the point, and extending some distance south of it, is Rutherford's island, so named, it is said, from Rev. Robert Rutherford, who came here as chaplain to Governor Duubar in 1729, and probably resided for a time on the island. It is connected with the main-land by a stone bridge.

The name *Pemaquid* first occurs in Strachey's account of the Popham¹ expedition, in 1607, and designates the harbor already mentioned; and an indefinite territory in the vicinity. The name is to be understood as the English rendering of an Indian

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, 296; *Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration*, p. 257.

word more or less resembling it in sound, but the true pronunciation of which cannot now be determined.¹

By accurate determinations of the officers of the United States coast survey, the light-house is found to be in 43° 51' N. lat. and 69° 29' W. long.

On the south, from the point, the view of the Atlantic is entirely unobstructed, but to the south-east and east lie the large island of Monhegan, and the cluster of smaller islands, called the Georges or St. Georges islands.

From the point where the light-house stands, the coast extends north-north-east ten or twelve miles nearly in a straight line to Greenland cove in the town of Bremen. Nearly three miles from the southern point of the peninsula on the east side is New Harbor, which with Back cove, the two uniting at their mouth, form two considerable indentations into the land which serve as valuable harbors for the many small vessels always engaged here in the fishing business.

Round pond is another small harbor still further north, formed by an indentation from Muscongus bay, having Muscongus island stretched two miles or more in a north and south direction in front of its mouth, and effectually protecting it from the winds and waves to which it would otherwise be exposed from the east.

Another small indentation, a mile or more north of Round pond, constitutes Muscongus harbor, so called, into which a small stream empties from Muscongus pond.²

Broad cove in the north-eastern part of Bremen, separating it in part from Waldoboro, is often mentioned in documents pertaining to the ancient history of this region. It is some fifteen miles from the light-house on the point, and formerly constituted the north-eastern boundary of the town of Bristol.

¹ The name is found in twenty or more forms among English and French writers. Williamson (*Hist. of Maine*, I, p. 57), and others after him (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, IV, p. 108, and Eaton, *An. Wierrea*, p. 18), suppose the real Indian name was *Pemaquid-eag* or *Pemaquina*, and probably signified *long point*, but by others this explanation is not accepted. The late Rev. Dr. Ballard of Brunswick, thought the word to mean *crooked river*, or at the crooked river, which however does not seem to be particularly appropriate to the place (*U. S. Coast Survey*, 1863, p. 245). *Pemacquin*, *Pemiquid*, *Pemekuit*, *Pemekuit*, *Pemquet*, *Pemkuit*, *Pemquet*, *Pemskait*, *Pemquid*, *Pemacquid*, *Pinkuit*, *Penkuit*, *Paipenit*, *Peacuit*, *Pemheag*, *Pemheag*, are other methods of spelling and pronouncing the name actually found among the old writers.

² Probably a corruption of the old Indian name, Remobscus or Seremobscus.

West of Pemaquid point, and lying between it and Rutherford's island, is John's bay, containing several small islands, and connected with it is John's river,¹ which is only an arm of the sea, extending a few miles northward into the land.

Damariscotta river, the Tamiscot of Heylin, 1645, constitutes the western boundary both of Bristol, and the town of Damariscotta. The tide flows up this river some eighteen miles or more to the village known as Damariscotta Mills. On the opposite or west side of the Damariscotta river are the towns of Boothbay, Edgecomb, and Newcastle.

Besides the islands which have already been incidentally mentioned, there are several others usually considered as belonging to Bristol, which were in early times considered of some importance, and even contained some families as settlers, as the Damariscove islands, which constitute a group lying several miles south west of Pemaquid point. Further notice will be taken of them hereafter.

The only stream of importance in Bristol is the Pemaquid river, which takes its rise beyond the northern limits of the town in several ponds, lying partly in the towns of Nobleboro, and Damariscotta, and partly between these towns and the town of Bremen. One of these, called Pemaquid pond is some six miles in length, and a mile wide at the broadest place. It lies partly in Nobleboro, and serves in part as a natural boundary between Damariscotta and Bremen. Biscay pond connects with the former on the south; it serves as a natural boundary on the north between Bremen and Damariscotta, and, on the south, between Bremen and Bristol. Several smaller ponds are connected with the two just named by small streams, as Muddy pond and Little pond in Damariscotta, Duckpuddle pond, lying between Waldoboro and Nobleboro, and McCurdy pond in Bremen.

Pemaquid river has several falls in its course which afford sites for mills and factories; but unfortunately, the supply of water, though plentiful in the wet season, is liable to fail entirely in seasons of drought. The lower falls on the stream, at the Falls village, occur just above the point where the fresh water of the stream empties into the tide water of the bay, two

¹ John's river, John's bay, and John's island, are names probably derived from Smith's map of 1614, in which the name, St. John Towne is placed near this locality.—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, [3], viii, *Map*.

miles above the site of the old fort. Here probably the first mills were erected in all this region; but no account of them has come down to us. Here on the east side of the stream are still to be found the remains of an old canal, which begins just where the country road now is, and extends downward many rods, keeping at about the same level on the bank, and having several lateral or side canals apparently for conveying water to mill-wheels situated there.¹

The falls at the Mills village furnish good sites for mills, which have not been neglected; and farther down the stream, in the Fountain neighborhood, are other falls, on which mills have been erected, but the descent of the water is not sufficient to allow any considerable accumulation of power.

Muscongus stream originates in Muscongus pond in Bremen; and, running southerly only a few hundred rods, empties into Muscongus harbor. There are two falls on the stream.

In both the Pemaquid and the Muscongus streams the early settlers were accustomed to take large quantities of alewives and shad in the spring of the year, but only a very few are now caught. In fact, no shad have been taken for many years, but the alewives still return each spring, in small numbers, to make their ascent to the ponds above, where they deposit their spawn.

The geology of Bristol and neighboring towns is decidedly granitic; the rocks are what geologists call metamorphic, being mostly gneiss and mica-slate; but they are traversed, in many places, by veins of granite, which occasionally forms large masses, and is advantageously quarried for building purposes.

These rocks lie mostly in parallel ridges in the direction of N. N. E., and W. S. W; in fact, on nearly the whole eastern shore, from the light-house at the point, to the northern limit of the town, the further encroachment of the sea is prevented by a barrier of rock. Indeed it is these rocky barriers, which give to the coast of this part of the state of Maine its present conformation, the earth having been removed by the constant dashing of the waves, wherever it has not been protected by the immovable rocks. That part of the coast of Maine between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers is not unlike the fingers of the hand, being made so by the parallel ridges of rock, which, more or less covered with soil, extend down into

¹ *Popham Memorial Volume*, p. 273.

the ocean, the tide flowing up many miles between them in the rivers Sheepscott, Damariscotta, Muscongus, and St. George.

The township of Bristol is divided into two nearly equal parts by the Pemaquid stream, each part having its separate ridge of underlying rock. In the eastern part, the rock shows itself at the surface almost continuously from south to north quite to the northern line of Bremen; but, in the western part, the rock is more concealed by the overlying soil.

The eastern shore of Bristol, and adjacent islands afford excellent opportunities for the study of those rocks, which are kept bare by the constant dashing of the waves. Dr. Jackson¹ gives a very good description of their appearance in some places, visited by him, in the course of his survey of the state. "At the extremity of Pemaquid point, which is a long rocky promontory, there are some remarkable geological phenomena. The rocks are generally gneiss and mica slate, the strata running N. 43° E., S. 43° W, while the dip is N. W. or S. E., according to the time of disruption and fracture, produced by the upturning strata, which was effected by the huge beds and veins of granite.

At the extreme point, below the light-house, may be seen a remarkable instance of this violent intrusion of a granite vein, the strata of mica slate having been turned completely over by the injected vein. Here we remark the contortions of the mica slate, and the curve where it was bent over by the upheaving and overturning veins of granite. The vein is from twelve to thirty feet wide, and runs N. 30° E., S. 30° W. On its eastern side, the strata of mica slate dip S. E. 60° and on its western side N. W. 60°. Huge masses of the protruding granite have been broken off, and removed from thirty to fifty yards to the westward. One of those blocks measures eighteen feet square; another is twenty-five feet long by eight feet wide, the former being thirty yards and the latter fifty yards from the parent vein."

Cases similar to these may be seen at other places on the point, and north along the eastern shore, and on the shores of the adjacent islands.

Dr. Jackson describes an interesting dyke of trap or basalt (as he calls it), on the estate of Mr. Joshua House, now in the town of Damariscotta, and just north of the line of Bristol. It is near a granite vein, and shows itself again on the shore of

¹ *Geology of Maine*, 3d Annual Report, p. 58.

Biscay pond.¹ The rock is decidedly columnar in its structure, and forms a vein or dyke in the granite from twelve to thirty feet in width. Probably, by careful examination, it may be traced much further back to the north-west and the south-east.

Another well characterized vein or dyke of basalt occurs at Pemaquid harbor, and in fact constitutes the wall or promontory of rock on the west side which so perfectly protects the harbor on the south. No visitor can fail to notice the different color and appearance of this rock from the surrounding granite and gneiss. It is of a dark gray color, where it has been long exposed to the weather, but is often of a beautiful blue or green when recently broken. Its texture is compact and hard; and unlike the gneiss and mica slate it is fractured with equal facility in every direction, showing that it is not crystalline. It generally withstands the action of the weather better than the granite rocks; and it seems to be in consequence of this that the rocky promontory, alluded to at the harbor is preserved in its present form. This projection from the western side is often called the Barbican, by early writers; and, as we shall hereafter see, many important transactions have taken place upon it.²

On the east side there is no appearance of the dyke in the immediate vicinity, but two miles or more to the north-east, near the head of Longcove there are distinct traces of it, and also half a mile further in the same direction on the eastern shore, north of Long-cove point. Here the trap rock occurs in large masses and has been known in the neighborhood as the indigo rocks, from the supposed resemblance of the cubical masses to lumps of indigo, as it is often purchased. Persons examining it at this point may easily be deceived as to its true character, from the fact that the vein, though preserving its true characteristics, is nearly horizontal, having been intruded between the nearly horizontal strata of the inclosing metamorphic rocks. Over a surface of many square rods, one side of the vein is entirely exposed, the overlying stratum of gneiss having been removed by the action of the waves. On the shore, both north and south of the trap vein, for a distance of several rods, detached masses of the trap are found in abundance; and on the west side of the point, the smooth blue pebbles, frequently occurring and so

¹ *Geology of Maine*, 31 Annual Report, p. 29.

² *Popham Memorial*, p. 61.

easily distinguished from the granite pebbles, are to be referred to the same origin.¹

These dykes or veins of trap are often very extensive, and if the proper examination should be made in a south-western direction from Pemaquid harbor even into the township of Boothbay or farther, it is quite probable that traces of it would be discovered.

There is appearance of trap in the road near Round pond, a short distance south of Mr. David Chambrlain's, but it is not known whether it makes a part of a dyke.

The soil of all this region is, of course, granitic, but in some places it is light and sandy, while in others, clay abounds. In many places, clay suitable for making brick is abundant, and the inhabitants have for many years manufactured bricks in sufficient quantity for their own use. At the present time, many are also made for the Boston and other markets. The cultivated fields are of limited extent because of the broken nature of the surface, and the frequent protrusion of the underlying rocks. In some places the granitic rocks rise considerably above the general level, and are only partly covered by soil. Nearly all these hills were originally covered with a stunted growth of trees; and sometimes, where the first growth has been removed, it has been succeeded by a second, in which the prevailing species will almost always be different from those of the first. As a general rule, applicable to other parts of North America, as well as to this, when the primitive forest is composed mostly of deciduous trees, as the oak, maple, beech, etc., the growth succeeding will be made up mostly of coniferæ, as the spruce, pine, fir, and other evergreens. Many interesting facts bearing on this topic, so often discussed by naturalists, might be collected here.²

The true metamorphic rocks, as are most of this region, seldom contain interesting mineral species, but in the granite, and especially the quartz veins, that always traverse them, they are sometimes, of frequent occurrence. Unfortunately, no public or other works have been undertaken here, requiring extensive excavation in the rocky masses so as to bring into view their hidden contents; but a few species are known to present them-

¹ An old man who lived in the neighborhood was accustomed to call the trap pebbles, *maple stones*, for the reason that, compared with granite or gneiss pebbles, they presented to his mind a dissimilarity not unlike that shown by maple and oak wood, these being the two common woods in this region.

² *Silliman's Journal*, XLV, 260.

selves at the surface. Among these are quartz and feldspar crystals, black tourmaline, beryl, olivine, hornblende, iron pyrites, and bog iron ore. The tourmalines occur in granite near Muscongus harbor, and thirty-five or forty years ago some persons put in several blasts with the view to remove them, upon the supposition that they were coal! Of course, if they had understood the merest alphabet of geology, they would have known that the occurrence of coal among granite rocks is impossible. Many years ago it was reported that plumbago had been discovered in the southwest part of Bristol, but the report needs confirmation.

Dr. Jackson, when making his exploration of the state, discovered a small deposit of bog iron ore on the farm of Mr. Wm. McCobb, a little distance southeast of the Falls village, but the quantity to be obtained is small. The composition of the iron ore he found to be protoxide of iron 63 per cent, water 22 per cent, and silica 15 per cent. There are also indications of arsenic.¹

Nearly all the swamps contain peat which however is better known among the people generally as swamp mud, or muck. In some places, as in the vicinity of Pemaquid pond, in Bremen, deposits of peat are found many feet in thickness, but generally they are more shallow. They usually rest on sand. It is probable that in connection with some, at least, of those peat deposits, beds of shell marl would be found by a proper examination. This is a valuable manure. Very often roots and trunks of large trees are found inclosed in the peat.

The deeper peat beds, especially those near large ponds, are constantly saturated with water, but the more shallow deposits, in seasons of drought, often become thoroughly dried, and, in several instances, have been known to become ignited and burn for many days. This was the case with several peat swamps, in the Long-cove neighborhood, about 1823 or 1824. The peat, in some places, was burned to the depth of two feet or more, and occasionally trees of considerable size were burned down. The fires continued many days, until at length extinguished by the autumnal rains. The appearance of the surface at this time clearly indicated that similar fires had occurred in these beds at an earlier period, and the holes burned out at the time alluded to, remained plainly to be seen for many years.

¹ *Geology of Maine*, 3d Annual Report, p. 59.

If some enterprising individual or company should undertake the preparation of peat for the market, from some of these deposits, it is by no means certain that it would prove an unprofitable business.

CHAPTER II.

Wild Animals of the Region. The Native Tribes.

Among the wild animals found here, the moose, the deer, and bears and wolves, were the largest and the most important.

The moose disappeared entirely from this immediate vicinity, probably as early as the time of the Revolutionary war; but the old men, fifty years ago, were accustomed to tell interesting stories of their exploits in shooting and capturing them. They were perfectly harmless animals, and their flesh was esteemed good food. In the summer season they wandered separately in the woods or fed about the brooks and swamps, frequently following the channels of the streams, and cropping the grass from the banks. Their necks are so short, that, on the level ground, they can scarcely reach to crop the grass. In the winter they collected together in herds, from a kind of instinctive sociality, or perhaps the better to protect themselves against their enemies. When the snow was deep a herd would remain many days, very nearly in the same spot, treading the snow down over a space of many square rods, or even acres, and feeding entirely upon the twigs of such shrubs and trees as were within their reach.

At a distance of eighty or a hundred miles from the sea coast, moose were occasionally seen as late as the beginning of the present century; and the late Rev. Joshua Soule, D.D., one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and afterwards of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in the early days of his ministry, used to boast of his prowess in shooting a moose,

when but a boy! The family lived in the town of Avon where the exploit was probably performed.¹

These animals were very timid and very fleet of foot, and could be approached only with the greatest caution. When alarmed they would make their way through the forest, and through the tangled thicket with a speed surpassing that of the swiftest race horse, their cloven hoofs all the time making a loud clicking noise. The immense horns of the male are shed every year. When he runs, these are laid back upon his neck and shoulders, so as to interfere as little as possible with his motion through the forest.

According to the description of the old men of the last generation, his "mode of motion" was a peculiar trot, which would be scarcely broken as he passed, at full speed, over an ordinary, or even a high fence.

Some of the fathers of New England entertained the notion that the moose might be domesticated, and made serviceable to man; but the few attempts of the kind, that have been recorded, were unsuccessful. A young one, taken in the town of Warren, became quite tame, so as to be allowed to go about without restraint. During the day, he generally remained quietly at home, but in the night he would seek his food in the neighboring swamps and marshes.²

Deer were common in Bristol as well as other parts of the state, but it is believed that they were never as plentiful as the moose. Their flesh was esteemed as excellent food; and laws were passed, as early as 1764, by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the protection both of deer and moose.³

From and after August 11th, of each year, until Dec. 21st, they might be hunted, but severe penalties were inflicted upon persons hunting them at other seasons; and towns were required annually to appoint officers, called deer-reeves, whose special duty it was to see that the law was observed. In the town of Bristol these officers seem never to have been appointed.

Bears and wolves were abundant in Bristol and other places on the sea-coast, as well as in the interior of the state. Both were considered natural enemies of the settlers, and were, of course, hunted and destroyed without mercy. The bears remained constantly in the same region, apparently never wandering far from

¹ Rev. F. A. Soule, relative of the Bishop.

² Sibley's *Hist. of Union*, p. 390, 394.

³ *Idem*, p. 388.

their dens. Sheep and calves, and even swine, were never secure from their attacks, and occasionally they made sad havoc among the herds of the settlers. Sometimes they would seize upon children, but it was only when suddenly fallen upon, or when disturbed while eating their prey, or attending upon their young.

The bear, in all ordinary circumstances, was always inclined to flee from the presence of man; but the old people used to relate instances in which a man and a bear have been driven by circumstances to engage in single combat! In such a case, according to tradition, the bear would throw himself upon his haunches, and standing nearly erect, would defend himself with his fore paws so dexterously that the man, though armed with an axe or club, could scarcely inflict upon him a serious blow.

Bears are fond of green corn, and the fields of the early settlers not unfrequently suffered from their depredations. To protect the fields, traps were set, and snares laid, which often proved effectual. A huge and ferocious bear, with one foot in a powerful trap, is said to become at once singularly pliable and docile. Mr. Alexander Fossett, who died in 1824, used to relate an instance, in which a man, having caught a large black bear in a trap, actually seized him by the shaggy hair of his neck, and led him a distance to a convenient place to dispatch him, the trap all the time dangling at his foot! Occasionally, loaded guns, were placed in the field, with a line attached to the trigger, and stretched to a distance directly in front, in such a manner that the animal pressing against it, or striking it with his feet, would cause a discharge, lodging the contents in his body. In one case, a man had provided this means of defence for his cornfield, but was surprised to find in the morning that his cow, having broken into the field, had received the shot intended for a bear. This practice was at length discontinued because of its obvious danger to innocent men, as well as to guilty bears.

The wolves were accustomed to wander over large tracts of country; and, in any particular district, for many months, perhaps, no traces of them would be seen, but suddenly they would again make their appearance, often destroying several flocks of sheep in a single night. Generally, two or more would be together; and the havoc they would make in a neighborhood, on a single visit, was often astonishing. It was always observed, that, after committing their depredations at any point, they never re-

turned immediately to the same place. Having gorged their appetite, by a successful foray, at a particular place, it would be natural to expect their return again very soon, but such was not their mode of operating. The place of their attack one night, was sure to be unvisited, by the same individuals, for some nights afterward; but their depredations would perhaps be heard of in another neighborhood, at the distance of several miles.

Soon after the incorporation of the town of Bristol, in 1765, a bounty of £2 was voted for wolves' heads; and frequent entries in the records show that the law was not a dead letter. Some years they voted to give for the head of a full grown wolf £2, but for whelps only half as much. For a year or two, during the war of the revolution, the bounty offered was less. The bounty appears to have been discontinued about the close of the last century; and the sight of a bear or wolf in the town, since that time, has probably been rare. It was reported late in the summer of 1825, that a bear was seen in some place in the north part of the town; and as extensive fires had prevailed in the woods of the interior a little previously, it is probable that the animal had been driven from his usual hiding places, and obliged to seek a place of greater safety. It is not known that any in a wild state, have been since seen in the town.

When the ships from Europe first visited the coast of Maine, beavers were abundant in the country; but, as they cannot exist in the presence of civilized man, it is probable they became extinct, at a very early period. Many remains of their dams are however still to be seen. Ponds of considerable extent were often produced by these dams; but, generally, judging from the localities examined by the writer, the water in them must have been very shallow. But it was sufficient to destroy the trees and underbrush previously growing on the land thus overflowed; and when the beavers were driven away and the dams demolished, the wild grass, springing up luxuriantly, offered to the early settler advantages for securing a supply of hay not to be despised. The hay was indeed of a miserably poor quality, but it was eagerly sought after in those early times.

Capt. John Smith,¹ whose history is so indissolubly connected with that of Pocahontas, whatever may be true in regard to particular transactions, came to this region early in the summer of 1614, and remained several months, himself engaged in trad-

¹ *Coll. Massachusetts Hist. Soc.*, 3d series, VIII, p. 20.

ing with the natives for beaver and other furs, while the sailors were laying in large stores of fish. His ship seems to have remained at the island of Monhegan; but he, with eight others, ranged the coast for a distance of 20 leagues or more, and obtained for trifles no less than 11000 beaver skins, 100 martins, and as many otters. The same year, the French adventurers obtained on the coast, farther northward, no less than 25000 beaver skins. Capt. Levett¹ too, who visited Capmanwagan (now Southport), in the winter of 1623, and saw there numbers of the Pemaquid Indians, with Samosett their chief, frequently speaks of beaver and otter skins as common articles of trade.

Otters probably were not as abundant as the beaver, but they were taken in considerable numbers, and their fur was very highly esteemed. Though fewer in number than the beaver, the species was not so soon extirpated, and even in modern times, occasionally, a stray individual has been caught.

One of the earliest attractions to this region was the abundance of fish found everywhere on the coast, and, at certain seasons, in the streams running from the interior. Cod and haddock are frequently mentioned by the early travelers as being taken on the coast, and salmon, shad, and alewives, as being found in the spring in most of the rivers. These latter, being more easily taken than the cod and haddock, were greatly prized both by the natives and the early settlers; and many skirmishes between the two parties took place at the fish streams.

Wild fowl, too, were common in those days. Besides the several kinds of ducks, that remained during the year, in the spring and autumn, wild geese tarried a few days to rest themselves after their long flight. Occasionally, in some retired spot, a single goose remained, during the summer, to rear her young brood, and less frequently, a small flock ventured to pass the winter here, in spite of the cold, and the snow and ice, which often interfered greatly to prevent them from procuring their daily supply of food.²

It is not easy, at this day, to determine the exact location of the various tribes of Indians who inhabited the country, nor their relationship to each other. Very frequently the same tribe was known by several different names, or the same name was applied to different tribes. The latter mistake, however, was much less common than the former.

¹ *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.*, II, p. 88.

² John Sproul, 1854.

According to Williamson,¹ the aboriginal inhabitants of Maine were included in two great divisions, the *Abenakis*, and the *Elechemines*, the former of whom lived mostly in the western part of the state, and along the coast east as far, at least, as the river St. George; while the latter had their residence farther east, between the Penobscot and the St. John rivers. As the same author suggests, it is very certain they originally were united as one people, as they had essentially the same language, and were characterized by the same peculiarities. At what time they became separated it is impossible now to determine, but a fierce war was carried on between them for some years, a little before the first settlement was commenced at Pemaquid.

Those who first became acquainted with the natives of this region speak of a *bashaba*, or great ruler, whose authority extended over many tribes, and the sachems² of those several tribes acknowledging him as their common sovereign. The country over which he ruled was called *Marooshen*, and probably extended from the Piscataqua river to the Penobscot or even farther east. The chief residence of the *bashaba* is said, by some, to have been at Pemaquid, but by others it is thought to have been somewhere on the Penobscot. If his residence was on the Penobscot, it is certain that he belonged to the Abenakis; and it is probable that he was slain, and his kingdom broken up, during the wars between the western and the eastern Indians, about 1612-1617.

It is certain that he was living and in full possession of his acknowledged authority, in the autumn of 1607, when the Popham expedition made their landing at the mouth of the Kennebec. They had been there only a few days when a large company of the natives, in nine canoes, made them a visit: and among them were Nahanada and Skidwares, both of whom had spent some time in England, having been kidnapped by Weymouth two years before. The Indians were desirous that the white men should make a visit to the *bashaba*, for whom

¹ *History of Maine*, I, p. 463.

² "At the head of every tribe was a *sagamore* or chief magistrate, whose councilors or *wise men* were denominated *sachems*." *Idem*, I, 495, Drake, in *Book of the Indians*, thinks that sachem, or sachemo, and sagamo, or sagamore are only different modifications of the same word, book III, p. 93. Sagamore, a chief of second rank among the American Indians. *Worcester's Dictionary*.

they appeared to entertain great respect; and it was arranged that Capt. Gilbert, commander of one of the ships of the expedition, with some attendants, should be sent as representatives of the colony. The matter being fully understood, as was supposed, the Indians took their departure for Pemaquid, where, as the English appear to have supposed, they were to remain until the arrival of Gilbert and his party. On account of several unfavorable circumstances, it was six days before Capt. Gilbert and company reached Pemaquid, when they found, to their great mortification, Nahanada, and the other Indians, whom he expected to accompany him, had already departed for the Penobscot, where the *bashaba* resided. They immediately followed, in the hope of joining their Indian friends in the immediate precinct of the *bashaba's* court; but having spent two days in a vain search for the mouth of the river, and their supply of provisions failing, they turned again to the new settlement.

This failure in itself appears of little consequence, but, had the enterprise been successful, very probably important information, in regard to this half-mythical character, the *bashaba*, would have been obtained, that is now utterly lost.

Several weeks later, a brother of the *bashaba*, with suitable attendants, and some formalities, actually made the new colony a visit, where they were respectfully and kindly entertained; but nothing further is said of the proposed visit to the august ruler.¹

The Abenakis, according to the authority before mentioned, were divided into four tribes, viz: The *Sekokis*, or Saco Indians, the *Anasagunticooks*, the *Canibas* or Kennebec Indians, and the *Wawenocks*. The *Anasagunticooks* had their chief residence at Pejepscoot (Brunswick) but the whole valley of the Androscoggin was considered as their peculiar territory. They were at one time numerous and powerful, and were noted for their hatred of the English, though for a long time they were less interfered with by the settlers than any of the neighboring tribes.

The *Canibas*, or Kennebec Indians occupied the banks of the Kennebec above Merrymenting bay. The tribe consisted of several subdivisions, or political families. They were for a time more friendly to the English than the neighboring tribes.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, 302-307. *Popham Memorial*, p. 296.

Their chief residence was at Norridgewock; and in later times the tribe in consequence came to be known by this name.

But the tribe more especially interesting to us, in connection with this work, was the *Wacconcks*, whose territory extended along the coast, from the mouth of the Kennebec, on the west, to the river St. George, on the east, and perhaps quite to the Penobscot.

The great bashaba is believed to have been of this tribe. Their principal residence, when the European adventurers first became acquainted with them, was probably near Pemaquid, but, at a later period, it was at Sheepscott, and they became known as the *Sheepscott* Indians. According to Capt. Francis,¹ a Penobscot chief, the name Wanneocks, or Wawenocks signifies *fearing nothing, very brave*, which seems to accord well with their general character. Smith, who visited the place in 1614, says; "they were active, strong, healthful, and very witty. The men had a perfect constitution of body, were of comely proportion, and quite athletic. They would row their canoes faster with five paddles than our own men would our boats with eight oars."

The people of this tribe were, like the Kennebec Indians, more mild and gentle in their dispositions, and less inclined to war than some of the neighboring tribes; and for many years no serious difficulty occurred between them and the English. So far as is known, the Wawenocks and Kennebecs, were always on good terms with each other, and in the Indian wars, they were always allies.

In the great and devastating Indian war, which, as we have seen, occurred about 1615 or 1616, the Wawenocks were greatly reduced; and the dreadful epidemic² of 1617, affected them still more seriously. Nothing is heard of the great bashaba, after this period, and it is supposed that he was slain in the war. From this time, they gradually dwindled away; and according to Douglass,³ in 1747, there were only two or three families remaining. These, a year or two afterwards, emigrated to Canada, and joined themselves with the St. Francis Indians.

The other great division of the Indian tribes, called the Etechemins, inhabited that part of the country between the

¹ *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, p. 467.

² We shall have occasion to refer to this again further on.

³ *Summary*, I, p. 184.

Penobscot and the St. John rivers. There were at least three tribes of *Etechemins*; the *Penobscots*, or *Tarralines*, the *Openanags* or *Pussanapquahly* (after contracted to Quoddy) Indians, and the *Malicetes* or Souriquois.

Of these, the Penobscots were the most numerous and warlike; and though living on the river of this name, they exerted a powerful influence on the tribes living west of them even as far as Massachusetts.

As is well known, a remnant of this tribe still remains, their residence being on an Island in the Penobscot some ten or twelve miles above the city of Bangor. It is understood that their number is gradually diminishing, and apparently the day is not distant when they will entirely disappear like most of the other tribes.

The other tribes of the Etechemins lived farther east, quite beyond the limit of the state of Maine, and do not require further notice here.

CHAPTER III.

Early Navigators on the coast — Beginning of the English and French rivalries for exclusive possession — The fisheries — Gosnold's voyage and discovery of Cape Cod — Capt. Pring.

The progress of discovery on the American continent, for a full century after the first voyage of Columbus, in 1492, was very slow; at least, such is the appearance to us of the present day. The report of Columbus's great discovery produced a profound sensation in the maritime nations of Europe,¹ and adventurers were not wanting to make explorations in the new world; but the records of their discoveries that have been preserved, are few and meagre. *John and Sebastian Cabot*, under the patronage of Henry VII, of England, in 1497, discovered Newfoundland, and visited the adjacent coast from 38° to 56° of N. latitude. "The commission given them by the king," says

¹ *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xv, 97.

Sullivan,¹ "contained pretended powers to sail to all countries and seas, to the east and west, and to the north, under his royal banners and ensigns; and with five ships and on the proper charge of the adventurers, to seek out, discover, and find, whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the *heathen and infidels*, wheresoever they might be, which had before that time been unknown to all Christians, and to set up banners and ensigns in every village, isle and mainland, so newly discovered." Though the adventurer was to do everything at his own proper charge, the king was to receive one-fifth part of all the ore, mines and other profits of the enterprise!

Two years only, after the first voyage of Columbus, the kings of Spain and Portugal, with the approbation of Pope Alexander VI, and by his authority, agreed to divide the new world between themselves, but England, whatever may have been the theories of the time in regard to the jurisdiction of the Pope, practically refused to acquiesce in this partition between the states, of a quarter at least of the earth's surface, and France,² taking the same view, began also to assert her right of making discoveries by sending adventurers to the American coast. *Verazzani*, a native of Florence, but in the service of France, in 1524, explored the east of North America from Florida to Newfoundland, giving it the name of *Nouvelle France* (*New France*); but, in a subsequent voyage, he is said to have been killed by the natives.³

Ten years later, in 1534, *James Cartier*,⁴ a native of St. Malo, France, was commissioned by Francis I, to make discoveries in America, and sailed with two ships, on the 20th of April. May 10th, he made Newfoundland, the coast of which he partially explored, and also the adjacent coast of Nova Scotia. Directing his course northward, he discovered the shores of Labrador, and returned to St. Malo, in September. In subsequent years, Cartier made two other voyages to North America, and in one of them sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, then called Hochelega. His discoveries were limited to this region of the continent.

¹ *History of Maine*, p. 45.

² It is said that the king of France, when he heard of the agreement of the kings of Spain and Portugal, pleasantly remarked, "I should be glad to see the clause in Adam's will, which makes that continent their inheritance exclusively."

³ *Belknap's Am. Biog.*, I, 230, Harper's ed.

⁴ *Belknap's Am. Biog.*, I, 231, Harper's ed.

Reberral, another Frenchman, who was in some way connected with Cartier in one of his voyages, about this time, undertook to found a settlement near the present site of Quebec, but the enterprise was soon abandoned.

These enterprises of the French were not attended by any immediate results of importance, but they laid the foundation for a claim to the country, on the part of France, which was afterwards asserted with no little pertinacity, for two centuries or more, and was finally relinquished only after the fall of Quebec in 1759.

Even before the time of Cartier's first voyage, it is probable that many fishermen of France were accustomed to ply their business annually on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and perhaps those of Maine; but the French government seems not to have taken any steps, formally to assert its jurisdiction until the year 1603: Nov. 4th of this year, Henry IV granted a charter of Acadie, a country said to extend from the 40th to the 46th degree of N. latitude, to De Monts, a Frenchman, who was appointed lieutenant general of the new territory, and the next year, in company with Poutrincourt and Champlain,¹ fitted out an expedition for the northern Atlantic coast of the continent. A settlement was made by them at the mouth of the river St. Croix, but the company spent only one winter there, when the enterprise was relinquished, and another settlement begun at Port Royal, now Annapolis. Forts were immediately erected in this and other places in the vicinity, one as far west as the mouth of the Penobscot. Jesuit missionaries were introduced, and a foundation seemed to be laid for establishing the ascendancy of the French² in these parts. The colony prospered only for a little time, as it was destroyed, in 1613, by Capt. Argall, who was sent from Virginia for the purpose.

Probably, in no place on the surface of this globe, in any period of its history, has the fishery business been carried on so prosperously, or become so largely developed, as on the north Atlantic coast of this continent.

These fisheries commenced in all probability soon after the voyage of the Cabots, in 1497, but their early history is lost.

¹ The same who afterwards gave his name to one of the most beautiful of our lakes.

² *Hist. of Portland*, pp. 10, 11, 2d ed.

They formed almost the only source of profit to the early navigators, and we may not pass them unnoticed.

Vessels of Spain were engaged in the fisheries as early as 1517;¹ in 1527, twelve French vessels were employed in the same business, but in 1744 their number had increased to 264, employing 27,500 men. About the year 1577, the number of Spanish vessels employed about Newfoundland was estimated at 100, but in 1593 there were only eight.² Not long after this, the Spanish flag ceased to appear on these fishing grounds; but France and England, especially the latter, greatly increased their vigor in prosecuting the business.

About the year 1600, it is estimated that England sent annually 100 fishing ships to the North American coast, and that they employed in the different branches of the business no less than 10,000 men and boys. As may well be supposed, the moral character of many of these men, was not above par; and on the coast of Newfoundland, and perhaps further west, numerous atrocities were committed by them upon the poor natives and others, which could not fail to excite in their minds a violent hatred of the white race.

But while these fishermen were so earnestly prosecuting their business, on the extreme northeastern parts of the continent, few, if any of them, ventured so far as the coast of Maine. It was near the close of the 16th century, when their voyages began to be extended to the fishing grounds of this vicinity.

The early navigators in sailing for America, instead of making their course directly across the Atlantic, were accustomed to take a circuitous route by way of the Canary islands and the Azores; and *Capt. Gosnold* was the first man of eminence who ventured to censure the prevailing practice; and, to prove the truthfulness of his views, undertook to make the passage by the most direct course. But how was it with the hundreds of fishermen who, before Gosnold's time, were accustomed to make their annual visit to these shores? Were they too accustomed to sail by way of the Canary isles, and the West Indies?

Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold was a distinguished seaman of the west of England, who had previous to this time (1600), under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, made one or more voyages to America, but in a subordinate position. His

¹ *Sabine, Rep. on Fisheries*, p. 209.

² *Sabine, Rep. on Fisheries*, pp. 209, 215, 216.

advocacy of the direct passage, by which he claimed that at least 100 leagues would be saved, compared with the circuitous route alluded to, had attracted much attention. He was fitted out with a small bark, manned with thirty-two men, of whom only eight were experienced seamen, and sailed from Plymouth, March 16, 1602. He made land May 13, but at what point has not been satisfactorily determined, though he himself made the latitude to be about 42 degrees. Coursing southward, he discovered Cape Cod, to which he gave this name, because of the great abundance of this fish found by them in the neighboring waters. Passing around Cape Cod to the south, they discovered Martha's vineyard and other neighboring islands, on one of which they made some preparation to leave a part of their company, as the beginning of a permanent settlement; but, finding upon examination that their supply of provisions was not sufficient, the plan was relinquished, and all returned again to England.

An interesting circumstance, connected with this voyage of Gosnold, was the discovery of a boat of European make, in use among the savage natives, some of whom were also dressed in European clothes. From this, they inferred that "some unfortunate fisherman of Biscay or Brittany had been wrecked on the coast." The remark of the writer that they supposed the fisherman to have been from "Biscay or Brittany," indicates that they recognized the boat or clothing, or both, as not of British make.¹

Capt. Gosnold's passage to the American continent was made in seven weeks, lacking a day, and his return passage in five weeks; both of which at that time were considered highly satisfactory. The account of the voyage attracted much attention, especially in the city of Bristol, and, in the course of the autumn and winter, preparation was made for fitting out another expedition the following spring, one thousand pounds sterling being raised for the purpose.

Among those who especially interested themselves in the enterprise, were Mr. Richard Hackluyt, prebendary of St. Augustine Church, Bristol, Robert Aldsworth, a young but leading merchant, whose father, Thomas Aldsworth, had formerly been mayor of the same city, and others. Mr. Hackluyt afterwards

¹ *Purchase* v., p. 1647; *Belknap's Blog.*, ii., 206, Harp. ed.; *Williamson's Hist. of* *Mass.*, i., 181.

became celebrated, not only as a Christian gentleman, of more than usual enterprise, and large and liberal views, but as the compiler of a most important work, known as *Hackluyt's Voyages*, which has long been a standard authority in all matters pertaining to the early voyages on these shores.

April 10th, 1603, two vessels, the *Speedwell* of 50 tons, and the *Discoverer*, of 26 tons, the two manned with 43 men, were ready to sail, and actually departed on a voyage of discovery to the coasts of North Virginia. They were placed under the command of Capt. *Martin Pring*,¹ and two important characters, who had been with Gosnold the year before, were induced to join the expedition; they were *John Angell*, and *Robert Saltern*. Why Capt. Gosnold, who had given so much satisfaction the year before, was not again placed in command, does not appear. Four years later, we find him with Capt. John Smith, in South Virginia, where he died, Aug. 22, 1607.

Capt. Pring first made land among the Fox Islands, on the coast of Maine, giving them this name because of the multitude of these animals seen on them. This was early in the month of June. After spending a little time here, taking fish, they proceeded westward, noticing the bays and inlets as they passed; but, in general, not describing places with sufficient accuracy to enable us, at this time, to identify them. It is a remarkable fact that in this voyage along the coast they saw none of the natives, though the remains of their camp fires were frequent. Dr. Belknap, to account for it, suggests that the natives at this season (June), were probably at their fishing places on the streams, a little inland; but this hardly seems sufficient, when we consider that our voyagers, in several instances, passed up a considerable distance into the bays and inlets, where these fishing places were situated.

At every place where they stopped they made diligent search for sassafras (*laurus benzoin*), which was then much used for its supposed medicinal properties. Finding none at their first landing places, they pursued their voyage westward, and at length, came to anchor at a place now very well ascertained to be the harbor of Edgartown, Mass. Here they remained some time, busily engaged in gathering sassafras, which they found in great abundance. Having secured so much of this as to make

¹ Written also *Prin*, *Pryn*, and *Prynn*.

their voyage a profitable one, and gotten into a quarrel with the natives, they departed for home, carrying with them as a curiosity a [birch] canoe, of native manufacture.

CHAPTER IV.

Important voyage of Capt. *George Weymouth*, Pentecost Harbor.

Though the results of Gosnold's voyage, in 1602, and more especially that of Pring, in 1603, were considered very satisfactory, there seems to have been little done the succeeding year (1604) by the English, but the French, (ante, p. 18) were especially active; and De Monts made his exploration of the coast of Newfoundland, and sailed up the St. Lawrence. The effect of this was to excite the English to new exertions; and in the year 1605 occurred the memorable voyage of Capt. *George Weymouth*, an account of which was prepared and published, the same year, by James Rosier, a French gentleman, who was employed for this purpose to accompany him on the voyage. The professed object of the voyage was to discover the supposed north-west passage, that is, a passage to the great Western Ocean, and so to the east Indies, north of the American continent; but the real object was to anticipate the French in making discoveries on this coast.

Weymouth sailed March 31st, and made land near Cape Cod, May 11th; but immediately put his ship about and went out to sea again, being alarmed by the shoals and quick sands, with which his ship was nearly surrounded. On the 17th, they made land again, but it being near night "and the sea very high" they put out to sea again, and in the morning of the next day returned, and by 12 o'clock came to anchor about a league north of "an island some six miles in compass," which they called St. George's Island, but which is now known by its Indian name Monhegan.¹

¹ This is the received orthography of the name at the present time, but by early writers it is often spelled *Monhiggon*, *Munhiggon*, *Monahiggon*, etc.; and the au-

The language of the narrative is as follows, viz: "Friday the 17th of May, about 6 o'clock at night, we discovered the land which bare from us N. N. E.; but, because it blew a great gale of wind, the sea very high, and near night, not fit to come upon an unknown coast, we stood off till two o'clock in the morning being Saturday; then standing in again, we discovered it by eight o'clock in the morning bearing north-east from us. It appeared a mean high land, as we after found it, being an island of some six miles in compass, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered. About 12 o'clock that day, we came to anchor, on the north side of this island, about a league from the shore.
* * * This island is woody, grown with fir, birch, oak and beech, as far as we saw along the shore; and so, likely, within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild peas, and wild rose bushes. The water issued forth down the rocky cliff in many places, and much fowl of different kinds breed upon the shore and rocks."

"While we went ashore, our men aboard, with a few hooks, got about thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish, which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast. From hence, we might discern the main land from the west south-west to the east north-east, a great way (as it then seemed, and we after found it) up in the main we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land; which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discovery of some good; although we were driven by winds far from that place, whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage."

"The next day, being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the sea and winds, we weighed anchor about 12 o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains, about three leagues from the first island where we had anchored."

"When we came near unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our captain manned his ship boat and sent her before with Thomas Cam, one of his mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search between the islands for a place safe for our ship to ride in; in the meanwhile, we

thors of the recent map of Lincoln County, not satisfied with any of the old methods of spelling the word, invented a new one, and call it Manheigu.

kept aloof at sea, having given them in the boat a token to wesse in the ship, if he found a convenient harbor; which it pleased God to send us, far beyond our expectation, in a most safe berth, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough."

"We all, with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodness, who had from an apparent danger delivered us, and directed us upon this day into so secure a harbor, in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost harbor; we arrived there that day out of our last harbor in England, from whence we set sail upon Easter day."¹

After describing minutely the events of several succeeding days, during which a small boat or shallop was constructed from materials brought with them, the narrative proceeds:

"Wednesday, the 29th day, our shallop being now finished, and our captain and men furnished to depart with her from the ship, we set up a cross on the shore side upon the rocks.

Thursday, the 30th of May, about 10 o'clock before noon, our captain with thirteen men more, in the name of God, and with all our prayers for their prosperous discovery and safe return, departed in the shallop; leaving the ship in a good harbor; which before mentioned, well moored, and manned with fourteen men."

In the afternoon of this day they received at the ship their first visit from the natives, a number of whom came out in their canoes, and spent the night on an island near by.

A friendly intercourse at once commenced between the parties, which, in spite of the jealousy of the English, and the shyness of the Indians, continued a number of days, until violently interrupted by the English.

The next day, May 31st., about 10 o'clock, Capt. W. and his party returned from their excursion in the shallop, and reported the welcome discovery they had made of "a great river, trending alongst into the main about forty miles." "The pleasantness whereof," says the writer, "with the safety of the harbor for shipping, together with the fertility of the ground

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, VIII, 125; *Rosier's Narrative*, by Prince, I, 18;
⁴ *Purchase*, 1659.

² *Rosier's Narrative* by Prince, p. 22.

and other fruits, which were generally by his whole company related I omit, till I report of the whole discovery therein after performed."

By desire of the Indians, a number of the English now went several miles to meet a company of the former for purposes of trade, but nothing was accomplished. The English were suspicious that foul play was intended, and thought prudent to retire; but it is by no means certain that the natives intended any wrong.

The civilized white men needed a pretence for the wrong they were about to commit, and took this method to find it; at least, there is abundant reason for such a suspicion.

"These things considered," says the writer, "we began to join them in the rank of other savages, who have been by travelers in most countries found very treacherous, never attempting mischief until, by some remissness, fit opportunity afforded them certain ability to execute the same. Wherefore, after good advice taken, we determined, so soon as we could, to take some of them, least (being suspicious we had discovered their plot) they should absent themselves from us."

Accordingly, the next day, three of the natives having unsuspectingly come on board, were easily detained, and immediately afterwards a party of sailors went ashore, and succeeded in arresting two others, though not without a serious struggle. These being all securely confined on board, it was a small matter to steal two of their [birch] canoes, to take with them to England.

The names of those savages, as given by the writer, were "Tahanedo, a *sagamore* or *commander*; Amoret, Sicowaros and Maneddo, *gentlemen*; and Saffacomoit, a *servant*."²

Weymouth and company held considerable more intercourse with the natives; but the writer does not say whether any allusion was ever made by any of them to those of their brethren who had been unjustly seized, and were still held in bondage. During this intercourse with the Indians, they explored the region for a considerable distance "about the islands adjoining," everywhere taking soundings, and carefully noting the

¹ *Rosier's Narrative*, by Prince, p. 40.

² Probably a misprint for *Sussacomoit*, the sound of the letter f not being known in the Abenaki language. *Popham Mem. Volume*, p. 294. The name Tahanedo, is more frequently written, Nahanaada; but there are still other modifications. There is great variety in the spelling of Indian names.

peculiarities of the rocky shores, and the trees and plants, etc., growing inland.

This occupied them until the 11th of June, when it was determined to make a further exploration of the river previously visited, May 30th and 31st, as has been described.

The narrative proceeds, "Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the river with our ship (the Archangel) about six and twenty miles, of which I had rather not write, than by my relation detract from the worthiness thereof. For the river, besides that it is subject by shipping to bring in all traffics of merchandise, a benefit always accounted the richest treasury; for which our Thames hath that due denomination, and France by her navigable rivers receiveth her greatest wealth; yet this place of itself, from God and nature, affordeth as much diversity of good commodities, as any reasonable man can wish for present habitation and planting. * * * * As we passed up with our ship in this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy. Many of our company who had been travelers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld." Their admiration of the river and adjacent country was unbounded.

In the same connection, the writer says, "the river, as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles toward the great mountains, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three quarters, and half a mile in the narrowest, where you shall never have under four and five fathoms of water hard by the shore, but six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms all along, and on both sides every half mile very gallant coves." The tide, he says, flows about 18 or 20 feet.

Having passed the night at anchor in the river, they prepared the next morning to explore the country in the direction of the mountains they had seen. "Wednesday, the 12th of June, our Captain manned his light horseman¹ with 17 men, and run up from the ship, riding in the river up to the *codde*² thereof, where we landed, leaving six to keep the light horseman till our return. Ten of us with our shot, and some armed, with a boy

¹ A large boat without a deck; the name is not now used. Probably it was much the same as the modern *whale-bout*, or a large *dory*.

² *Codde* or *cod*, is said to be a Saxon word meaning *pod*. Its meaning here seems to be a *small bay*, or *cove*. (*Prince's Rosier*, 33.)

to carry powder and match, marched up into the country towards the mountains, which we descried at our first falling in with the land. Unto some of them, the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves where we landed, to have been within a league of them, but we marched up about four miles in the main and passed over three hills; and because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their armor not able to travel far and return that night to our ship, we resolved not to pass any further, being all very weary of so tedious and labor-some a travel."

Scarcely allowing themselves time to rest from their "labor-some travel," in their unsuccessful attempt to reach the "very high mountains," they determined the next day to continue their explorations further up the river. Says Rosier:

"Thursday, the 13th of June, by two o'clock in the morning, (because our captain would take the help and advantage of the tide) in the light horseman with our company, well provided and furnished with armor and shot, both to defend and offend; we went from our ship up to that part of the river which trended westward into the main, to search that; and we carried with us a cross to erect at that point, which (because it was not daylight,) we left on shore until our return back, when we set it up in manner as the former" (May 29th).

They estimated the distance they thus "rowed up" the river from the ship, to be 20 miles; and from the highest point they reached to Pentecost harbor, they supposed the distance to be "not much less than three score miles." Though they observed very carefully, they nowhere saw any indication that any civilized man had ever before trod his foot upon the shores visited by them; neither on the banks of the river they ascended, nor upon any of the islands previously visited!

Friday, June 14th, they returned with the ship to the mouth of the river, when Capt. W., either this or the following day, "upon the rock in the midst of the harbor," determined the latitude of the place, which, however, is not given by Rosier; but in the account of the voyage given by Purchase, is said to have been $43^{\circ} 30' N$. The variation of the compass was found to be "one point," or $11^{\circ} 15' W$.

Sunday, June 16th, "the wind being fair," they took their departure for Old England, and arrived at Dartmouth the 18th of the next month.

CHAPTER V.

The river discovered by Weymouth. Is it the Kennebec? The Penobscot? The St. George?

It is universally admitted that the present Monhegan is the "island some six miles in compass," discovered May 17th, by Capt. W.; and, of course, it was three miles north of this island where he first came to anchor. But what were the "very high mountains," which they "discerned" from the ship as she lay there, towards which "the next day, being Whitsunday," they sailed "in the road directly with the mountains," finding at length "between the islands" "a place safe for the ship to ride in," naming it "Pentecost harbor?" This harbor, the writer informs us, is "about three leagues from the first island," "more adjoining the main — is defended from all winds," and has "an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough!"

And what river was it which they ascended 26 miles in the ship, and then, subsequently, in a boat, by "estimation," 20 miles further, "in that part of the river which trendeth westward into the main?"

It is not proposed here to enter into a full discussion of these questions, which have in recent times excited so much interest; but their proper solution too intimately concerns the history of Pemaquid to allow us to pass by them without notice.

Three different answers have been given to the above question. 1st. That the "very high mountains," seen as they lay at anchor near Monhegan, are the White mountains of New Hampshire, towards which they sailed when leaving their anchorage; that Pentecost harbor is the present Boothbay harbor, and that the river, ascended so far by them, is no other than the present Kennebec.

This has been called the *Kennebec theory*, and was ably presented a few years ago by the late John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick, in a paper in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*.¹ Sewall earnestly advocates the same view.²

¹ *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, v, 309.

² *Ancient Dominions of Maine*, p, 53, et seq.

2d. The *Penobscot theory*, as it has been called. This theory was first presented by Capt. John Foster Williams, who for many years commanded a revenue cutter, connected with the port of Boston, and was familiar with the whole coast of Maine. In 1796, Dr. Belknap¹ placed in his hands an abstract of Rosier's narrative of Weymouth's voyage, requesting him to take it with him, in some of his cruises on the coast, and from actual observation determine, if possible, the several points in question.

Being thus prepared, Williams decided that the place where Weymouth first anchored was near Monhegan; that the "very high mountains seen from the ship" could be no other than the Penobscot or Camden hills; that Pentecost harbor must be the present George's Island harbor; and that the river, ascended by them, is the Penobscot.

This view was generally received for many years; Holmes, in his *American Annals*,² favors it, if he does not adopt it; Williamson³ and Folsom⁴ accept it without question.

3d. The *St. George's theory*, first suggested in 1858, by George Prince, Esq., of Bath, but formerly of Thomaston. He accepts Capt. Williams' view as to Pentecost harbor, but claims that the river discovered and explored by Weymouth is the present *St. George's river*, and not the Penobscot.

The subject is not without its difficulties, whatever view we may take; absolute demonstration in such cases is not to be expected; but a careful examination of the facts, it is believed, will enable the unprejudiced reader to arrive at very satisfactory conclusions.

The narrative of Weymouth's voyage was published in London immediately after his return, and excited no little attention.⁵ The idea of planting colonies on the coast of America received a new impulse, and one important result was the chartering, April 10th, 1606, of a company for colonizing America, called the *Council of Virginia*. The charter authorized the formation of two companies: one, called the *London Company*, for colonizing *South Virginia*, as the southern part of North America

¹ *American Biog.*, II, 240, *Harp. Ed.*

² *Ibid.*, I, 151.

³ *Hist. Maine.*, I, 192.

⁴ *Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, p. 22.

⁵ *Palfrey (Hist. of New England, I, 76)* is evidently mistaken when he says of Weymouth's voyage that, "except for this (the kidnapping of the natives) and for some additions to the knowledge of the local geography, it was fruitless."

was then called; and another, called the *Plymouth Company*, for colonizing *North Virginia*, meaning by this the northern part of the continent. This part of the country had not then received its present name, New England.

Under the auspices and patronage of the London company, the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, was begun in 1607; and by the Plymouth company a similar settlement, called the Popham colony, was attempted the same year, at the mouth of the Kennebec. Now, as the fitting out of this last expedition was chiefly stimulated by Rosier's "glowing narrative," and as the mouth of the Kennebec was finally selected for the site of the colony, it has been assumed that the "river of Weymouth" can be no other than this same Kennebec.

This view is also favored by Strachey,¹ in his account of the expedition which brought this Popham colony to our shores; a matter of every considerable importance, considering that he was contemporary with Weymouth, and wrote his account so near the time, about 1618.

But Strachey never was on this coast; he came to Virginia in 1609, and was for a time secretary of the colony there, but returned to England before 1612. His information, therefore, was all derived from others.

The writer cannot adopt this view, for many reasons; but only two can be introduced here.

1. The "very high mountains" seen from the ship, when near Monhegan, could not have been the White mountains. It is, indeed, allowed that these mountains can occasionally be seen from that point; but it is only, in the very clearest weather, such as actually occurs, on an average, only three or four days a month during the year. Some seasons, for many weeks together they cannot be seen. If Weymouth and his men may perhaps during their stay have occasionally caught glimpses of the White mountains, they were too dimly "discerned," and appeared too far away to require mention. Furthermore, if seen, they do not answer the description, either as to their appearance, or their bearing by the compass.

2. Wednesday, June 12th, (ante p. 27), Capt. W. and seventeen men went up the river a distance and landed, with the view of making a journey to the mountains, which, being in full

¹ *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, 280; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, I, 228; *Narrative of Rosier*, by Prince, Bath, 1860.

view, they judged to be "within a league of them!" Moreover, they proposed to make the journey to the mountains, and "return that night to the ship." (Ante p. 28). But after walking four miles, their courage failed them, and they returned. Now, on the Kennebec theory, the company must have landed at, or near the site of the present city of Bath ("near the rail road depot," *McKee*), from which the White mountains can never be seen; and their distance is not one league, but more nearly thirty leagues. But, supposing them in sight, who would think of making a journey to them on foot, and returning the same day?

This negative fact seems therefore fully determined, that the "very high mountains" of Weymouth were not the White mountains of New Hampshire!

These mountains were known nearly a century before Weymouth's time, being in all probability the "high mountains within the land" mentioned by Verrazani¹; but, if these were the mountains seen by Weymouth, would he not have recognized them, as being known? And would not Rosier, the historian of the voyage, have described them as such?

If the White mountains are not the "very high mountains" seen by Weymouth, then, of course, all other parts of the theory fail.

Of the second, or Penobscot theory, suggested by Williams, only a few words will be required.²

This theory claims, that the mountains seen by Weymouth, when lying at anchor north of Monhegan, must be the Penobscot or Camden hills, which admirably answer the description of the narrative; and that when they left their anchorage the next day, and proceeded in the "road directly to the mountains," finding at length a good harbor "between the islands," which they called Pentecost harbor, it was the present *George's Islands harbor* which they entered.

Thus far, every thing seems to be satisfactory; but, when we come to inquire as to the river they ascended from Pentecost harbor, the descriptions of Rosier do not apply. The mouth of the Penobscot is too far distant, and when we seek "that part of it

¹ *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d series, I, 265.

² Very many of those, for whom this work has been especially prepared, are familiar with the localities referred to, and will be very competent judges as to the chief points in controversy.

which tended westward into the main," we do not find it. "The river of Weymouth," therefore, cannot be the Penobscot.

3 The George's river theory. The suggestion of Mr. Prince, that the George's river is the true "river of Weymouth," though still rejected by some, will probably, eventually, be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of this long debated question. Rosier's description of Weymouth's river, applies well to this; very much better, certainly, than to any other on the coast of New England. It is indeed true, that the distances given by him, are much too great to apply to this river. 1st. When the party of discovery entered its mouth the first time, they were gone just twenty-four hours from the ship; but they are credited with the feat of having, in this time, "rowed up the river forty miles, and returned." 2d. Says the writer: "Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the river with our ship, about six and twenty miles. Thursday, the thirteenth of June * * in the light horseman, we went from our ship up to that part of the river which tended westward into the main;" rowing up it by estimation, twenty miles." In another place he says, "from the place of our ships, riding in the harbor at the entrance into the sound, to the farthest part we were in this river, by our estimation, was not much less than three score miles."

If these distances are correctly stated, it is admitted that the George's river cannot be the river of Weymouth; but, as suggested by Prince, if we diminish all the estimates (and they are only estimates, for no measurements were made), by about one half, they are not far out of the way,¹ as applied to this river.

Allowing, if we please, that considerate men ought not to have erred so egregiously in their estimate of the distances, it is well to note the fact that Rosier's Narrative was written with great enthusiasm; and his statement in regard to the natural beauties of the river and country adjacent, and its various productions, etc., are often greatly exaggerated; and it was natural that his estimate of distances should be made in the same spirit. So, the flow of the tide in the river was estimated by Rosier to be eighteen or twenty feet, which, reduced in the same proportion as above, will give us very nearly the actual flow of the tide in George's river. But Rosier was not alone of the early adventurers here in his manifest disposition to exaggerate;

¹ *Rosier's Narrative*, by Prince, pp. 34, 35, 36.

two years later, when the Popham colony came to establish themselves at the mouth of the Kennebec, a large party, in two boats, made a tour of observation up the river, and, says the writer, "sayled up into the river neere forty leagues," or one hundred and twenty miles.¹ But they were gone only about twenty-four hours, and we know that the performance of such a feat is impossible. Besides this, our knowledge of the river assures us, that, at the utmost, they could not have passed up in their boats more than about one-half the distance they estimated, because of the falls that would prevent further progress.

We, therefore, with some confidence, adopt this theory, as to the locality of Weymouth's adventures in this region, as altogether more probable than any other that has been presented. Indeed, if it is rejected, there is reason to doubt whether the question as to the locality of Weymouth's exploits on the American coast, in the summer of 1605, is capable of solution.²

CHAPTER VI.

Continued efforts to colonize North America — Sailing of the Popham colony under the directions of the Plymouth company — They visit Pemaquid, where they are kindly received; and finally debark at the mouth of the Kennebec — Voyage of Capt. John Smith to this coast (1605-1614).

The publication of Rosier's narrative in the latter part of the year 1605, as we have seen, very considerably stimulated the colonizing spirit which had for some time manifested itself among the English people. This interest was increased by the sight of the few natives whom Weymouth had kidnapped from this immediate vicinity, and whose appearance before the English public, just at this time, was very opportune. They may not have been the very first North American Indians ever seen in England, but the sight of one in that country was so rare, that, some years later than this, natives of this country were exhibited in London and other English cities, for money.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, p. 300.

² See Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 33, Sabine's reprint, for some early surmises on this topic.

Weymouth, on his return from America, ran into Dartmouth, of which port Sir Ferdinando Georges was then captain; and he at once became deeply interested in the Indians, and took three of them into his family. Many years afterwards, when writing his *Brief Narration* of his efforts to colonize New England, he says: "This accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our [American] plantations."¹

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Mention has already been made of the chartering of the great Council of Virginia, in April, 1606, authorizing the formation of two companies, called the London and Plymouth companies, for the express purpose of colonizing North America. Of the former, or London company, we shall not have occasion to speak further; but the doings of the latter, or Plymouth company, intimately concern us.

Without waiting for the full organization of this company, several gentlemen, deeply interested in its success, sent two or three vessels, at different times, to make discoveries on this coast; but, unfortunately, nothing was accomplished except to largely increase their experience, and convince them of the many difficulties necessarily attending the enterprise they were undertaking.

But the spring of 1607 opened with new and better prospects for the colonization of North America; by the London company the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, was begun, which was never afterwards entirely broken up. In the same year, but later in the season, under the auspices of the Plymouth company, came the *Popham colony*, so called, and made an unsuccessful attempt to found a plantation at the mouth of the Kennebec, then called the Sagadahoc.

This expedition sailed from Plymouth in June, in two ships, or rather a ship and a smaller craft, called a fly-boat; the former being named the *Mary and John*, and the latter, the *Gift of God*. Besides their respective crews, the two brought "one hundred and twenty persons for planters." Leaving Plymouth on the last day of May, they arrived at Monhegan early in August, this island having been agreed upon, as their place of rendezvous, before leaving England. Fortunately, we have quite a full narrative of the events of the voyage, including their visit to

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, II, p. 17.

Pemaquid, and also the circumstances attending their debarkation at the mouth of the Kennebec.¹ On one of the islands they saw a cross set up there by Weymouth two years before!

The ships remained at Monhegan only one night, because of their exposure to the winds and waves; and the next morning sought a more secure anchorage, very probably "among the islands," as Weymouth had done previously. Possibly they may have found refuge in the very Pentecost harbor of Weymouth. Whatever place it was, they began at once to make preparations for an excursion westward to Pemaquid. Says the author of the narrative:

"About midnight, Capt. Gilbert caused his shipp's boat to be mannde with fourteen persons and the Indian Skidwares (brought to England by Capt. Wayman),² and rowed to the westward from their ship to the river of Pemaquid, which they found to be four leagues distant from the shipp where she rode. The Indian brought them to the salvages' houses, where they found a hundred men, women and childrene; and their commander, or sagamore, amongst them, named Nahanada, who had been brought likewise into England by Capt. Wayman, and returned thither by Capt. Hanam, setting forth for those parts and some part of Canada the year before; at their first comying, the Indians betooke them to their armes, their bowes and arrowes; but after Nahanada had talked with Skidwares and perceaved that they were English men, he caused them to lay aside their bowes and arrowes, and he himself came unto them and ymbraced, and made them much welecome, and entertayned them with much chierfulness, and did they likewise him, and after two howers thus interchangeably spent, they returned aboard againe.

"Sunday 9th, the chief of both the shippes, with the greatest part of all the company, landed on the island where the crosse stood, the which they called St. George's island, and heard a sermon delivered unto them by Mr. Seymour, his preacher, and soe returned aboard againe.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, II, p. 21. *Hist. of Saco and Biddeford*, p. 21.

² The author, Wm. Strachey, as we have already seen (p. 31), was not connected with the expedition, but made up his account from the statements of others, some of whom may have kept journals of their proceedings. Strachey's account was written about 1618, but remained in manuscript until 1849, when it was published by the Hackluyt Society. It has since been published, both by the Massachusetts and Maine Historical Societies. (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, 283.)

³ Capt. George Weymouth.

"Monday 10th, Capt. Popham manned his shallop, and Capt. Gilbert his boat, with fifty persons in both, and departed for the river of Pemaquid, carrying with them Skidwares, and arrived in the mouth of the river; there came forth Nahanada, with all his company of Indians, with their bowes and arrowes in their handes. They, being before his dwelling house, would willingly have all our people come ashore, using them all in kind sort after their manner; nevertheless, after one hower they all suddenly withdrew themselves into the woodes, nor was Skidwares desirous to return with them any more aboard. Our people, loth to proffer any violence unto them by drawing him by force, suffered him to stay behind, promising to return to them the day following, but he did not. After his departure, they embarked themselves and rowed to the further side of the river, and there remayned on the shoare for that night."

The next day, August 11th, they returned to their ships which were still lying under St. George's Island, and the day following sailed west "for the river of Sagadahoc."

This extract from Strachey is of deep interest to us, as giving us a glimpse of the condition of the place at this early period. We learn from it that one, at least, of the Indians, seized by Weymouth two years before and conveyed to England, was a sagamore of this place.¹ His character as a chief of his tribe—probably the Wawenocks—seems to have been recognized when he was first taken into captivity; and though comparatively little is said of him during his residence with the English, when he is brought before us, he always appears to good advantage. After a residence in England of about a year, he was returned to his native country by Capt. Pring,² in 1606; and his kindly reception of the company composing the Popham colony, as just related, as indeed was always his conduct towards the English (when brought in contact with them), was quite in contrast with the treatment he had himself received of Capt. Weymouth.

A month later than this (Sept. 5th), Nahanada and Skidwares with some forty others, in nine canoes, came to visit the new English settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec, where they spent the remainder of the day and night in friendly intercourse,

¹ He is called Nahanada, Tanedo, Dehaneda, which are only different modes of spelling the same name.

² Strachey says by Capt. Hanam.

returning home in the morning. Before leaving, however, it was agreed that Capt. Gilbert should make a visit to the bashaba on the Penobscot, and that a delegation of the Pemaquid Indians should accompany him. With our present knowledge of the coast it may seem a little strange that experienced seamen, as they were, should have any difficulty in finding the wide mouth of the Penobscot, but we know not what obstacles, as stormy weather, or dense fogs (which are very common there), may have interfered with their designs. And then it was the particular locality of the great monarch they were searching for, and not merely the Penobscot river.

We next hear of Nahanada Oct. 3d, when he makes his appearance again at the Kennebec, attended by his wife, and having in company a brother of the bashaba, Amenquin, another sagamore, and his ever faithful attendant Skidwares. This time they remained some three days, one of them being the sabbath; and being invited by the president they attended public worship, behaving in all respects with the most perfect propriety. At their departure, Popham, president of the colony, bestowed upon them some trifling presents, promising to visit in person the bashaba at Penobscot, and make arrangements for a regular trade. This promise evidently was made with entire sincerity, but it never was fulfilled. A few months afterwards, President Popham died; and the next spring the colony was discontinued. After this, we hear no more of the Pemaquid Indians, until the arrival of Capt. John Smith, in the summer of 1614. Nahanada then makes his appearance again with the same character as before, treating the English with great kindness, and maintaining the same lofty bearing. Smith, in his description of New England, acknowledges his obligations to him, and in a few words plainly indicates a proper appreciation of his character.¹

This seems to be the last mention that is made of the name of Nahanada, or his accompanying friend Skidwares. Very soon after this visit of Capt. Smith, those two dreadful scourges of the human race, war and pestilence, fell upon the natives of

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.* 3d, vi., p. 130. "The main assistance, next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Salvages, especially with Dohannida, one of their greatest lords, who had lived long in England. By the means of this proud salvage, I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit with the rest of his friends and alliants, to have had as many of them as I desired in any design."

New England, of which we shall have more to say further on, and it is quite possible they were among the very many that perished. Certain it is, that the next time we find any reference made to the Pemaquid Indians, the names that appear are altogether new.

Smith sailed from England, March 3, 1614, and arrived at Monhegan the last of April. He had under his command a ship and a bark, and forty-five men. Their object, he says, was "to take whales, and make trials of a mine of gold and copper." The gold and copper they did not find, and were not any more successful in taking whales; but they secured a good quantity of codfish, and for a small sum purchased a large amount of furs of the Indians, as we have seen on preceding pages.

They built several boats on Monhegan¹ with which they ranged the coast many miles, both east and west. During this time, the ship and bark laid at anchor in Monhegan harbor.

Smith took with him in those excursions eight men, making everywhere as good surveys as was possible with the means at his command, very probably at the time intending to prepare a map² of the coast, he did two years afterward, (as described on the next page). The map was vastly superior to any that had before appeared; and as a result of Smith's labors during the season the general knowledge of the country (and its production) was greatly increased.

When Smith's ships lay at Monhegan, "right against him in the main was a ship of Sir Francis Popham," and "forty leagues to the westward were two French ships, that had made then a great voyage by trade." This shows that, at this period, there was beginning to be considerable intercourse between Europe and the coast of New England.

July 18th, Smith sailed in the bark for England, leaving the ship in command of Thomas Hunt to complete his fare of fish; but he soon left his fishing, sailed westward to Massachusetts, where he seized twenty-seven³ of the natives for the purpose of selling them as slaves. He took them with him to Spain, and

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d, vi, 120. Smith says "Monhegan (he spells the word Monahigan) is a round isle, and close by it is Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we rode." Spark's *Am. Biog.*, II., 355,

² Republished in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d. Series, vol. III; and in Palfrey's *Hist. New England*, vol. I.

³ One account says 24, another 27, and another 30.

was able to make a sale of a part of them, at about one hundred dollars a piece; but by the intrusion of some monks, the sale of the others was prevented. One of them, Squanto or Tasquantum, found his way back, and, early after the arrival of the May Flower in the harbor of Plymouth, introduced himself to the Pilgrims in the most friendly manner. Subsequently he did them much good service in various ways, and never betrayed the trust reposed in him.¹

This act of treachery, on the part of Hunt, greatly exasperated the natives against the English, and laid the foundation for that hatred which led to those disastrous Indian wars of later times.

After this visit of Capt. Smith to our shores, he showed his appreciation of the country by his efforts to establish a permanent colony somewhere in this immediate vicinity, but all his labors and sacrifices proved in vain. Two expeditions, fitted out under his charge, in the years 1615 and 1616 were entirely unsuccessful, though not because of any fault of his.

In 1616, Smith published his Description of New England with a map of the coast, from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod, for which he had collected the necessary materials during his visit on the coast just described. He dedicated the work "To the High Hopeful Charles, Prince of Great Britain," afterwards Charles I., requesting him to change "the barbarous names for such English, as posterity may say, Prince Charles was their godfather."² This the Prince condescended to do, for thirty or more places; and several of the names suggested by him are still retained, as Charles river near Boston, Cape Ann, (he called it Cape Anna), and Cape Elizabeth. In this work, the name, "New England" is first applied to this part of the continent, but it was given by Smith himself, and not by the Prince as has sometimes been said. The Prince named Pemaquid, St. John's town, and Monhegan (he called) Barty island.

Three years before this visit of Capt. Smith, another outrage, similar to that of Capt. Weymouth, had been committed upon

¹ Georges names Tasquantum as one of the three Indians brought to England by Weymouth, who afterwards came into his hands; but as the name is not on Rosier's list (p. 26), it is plain that he makes a mistake. (*Ms. Hist. Coll.*, II, 17). Tasquantum may have been in George's hands, but he was taken to England by Hunt, and not by Weymouth.

² *Ms. Hist. Coll.*, 3d, VI., p. 95.

the unsuspecting natives, tending to foster in their minds that intense hatred for the English, which at length became a settled passion. In the summer of 1611, Capt. Edward Harlow cruising on this coast, called at Monhegan, and either here or somewhere, probably in this vicinity, seized three natives who had come on board for the sake of trade, and carried two of them off, one having escaped by jumping overboard and swimming to the shore. He then sailed to Cape Cod, where he kidnapped three more, taking the five with him to England.¹

CHAPTER VII.

A fierce war among the natives, followed by a destructive pestilence—Several Englishmen, sent out by Sir F. Gorges, spend a winter in the country—Voyage of Capt. Dermer in pursuit of Roeroft, and cruise along the coast from Monhegan to Virginia—Levett's voyage (1615-1623).

The memorable voyage of Smith, followed as it was, by his description of the country, and especially the publication of his map of the coast, constitutes an important epoch in the history of this part of the continent. But events still more important, in the form of war and pestilence, were immediately to follow, of which however, it is to be regretted, we have only very meagre accounts. In the year 1615—probably early in the year—a fierce war broke out between the Tarratines, in the eastern part of Maine, and the tribes living on the Merrimac and Piscataqua, which was carried on with great fury until some of the tribes were nearly annihilated. The cause of this war cannot now be fully ascertained; but it appears that the Tarratines began it on account of some treachery, real or supposed, on the part of the tribes living at the westward, but acknowledging the supremacy of the same great monarch or bashaba. Hubbard² says “those that were seated more eastward about Pemmaquid and Kennebecke were called Tarratines; betwixt whom and those that lived about Pascataqua, Merrimack, and Agawam, now called Ipswich, had arisen some deadly feud, upon the account of some treachery used by those western Indians against the others; so as every year they were afraid of being surprised by them.”

¹ Prince, p. 23; *Wm. Hist. Maine*, I, p. 207.

² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xv, 30.

This war continued, it is believed, about two years; and though in the end the Tarratines claimed the victory, the results were about equally disastrous to both parties. During its progress, the great bashaba of the Penobscot was slain; and from the fact that we hear no more of such a ruler in this region, it is probable that his family was destroyed, and the dynasty effectually broken up. Levett,¹ in 1623, does indeed speak of the great sagamore of the east country, but it does not appear that after the time of this war, any one is spoken of by the title of bashaba.

Though the war is supposed to have terminated in 1617, we shall hereafter see that the enmity between the Tarratines, and the Indians residing in the eastern part of Massachusetts, was continued many years later, and sometimes broke out in acts of hostility.

The other important event, alluded to above, was a dreadful pestilence, which commenced its ravages amongst the natives about the time the war closed, or even before, and continued at different places on the coast for several years.

The Tarratines in the east, and the Narragansets in the west, were not affected by it, or not seriously; but all the tribes living between these suffered great loss, and some of them were nearly exterminated. Capt. Dermer, who sailed along the coast in 1619, found some places which, a few years before, were considered populous, now almost destitute of inhabitants; and some he saw afflicted with bad sores, who had recovered from the disease. In some places so many died that the survivors were unable, or afraid, to bury them, and their bones were to be seen years afterwards still bleaching upon the surface.

It would be interesting to determine, if possible, the nature of this destructive pestilence, but probably it was something peculiar to these people, and is not recognized among the diseases of civilized life. Some have supposed that it was the *small pox*, but others have claimed that the symptoms, which however cannot now be very accurately known, more resembled those of *yellow fever*; either of which, perhaps, in the entire absence of capable physicians, as was the case here, might be capable of producing similar disastrous results. It is interesting to know that some Englishmen, who lived with the Indians during the winter, were unaffected by the disease, whatever it was. A fact

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, II, 72.

mentioned by Hutchinson,¹ may aid us in forming an opinion on the subject. In the beginning of October, 1763, a destructive pestilence, sometimes called the plague, broke out among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, and so dreadful were its ravages that in the following January only 85 individuals remained of the whole tribe, which at the beginning numbered 320. And of these survivors, 15 had been absent during the prevalence of the disease.

For two years previous to this time the crops had been very deficient, and the Indians had been obliged to live upon the meanest kinds of food; and during the summer of this year they had been without any thing of a farinaceous kind, except what they could gather at the time from the fields. The consequence was, the large quantities of green food consumed by them, in connection with their peculiar mode of life, prepared them for the peculiarly destructive sickness which followed. It is remarkable that in this case the English people, living on the same island, were not effected by the disease.

This great diminution of the native population of our coast, was considered, at the time, as a providential interference favoring the colonization of the country, by Europeans; and in the patent of New England, granted by the King of England, Nov. 3, 1620, the extraordinary effects of this pestilence are referred to as a reason for the course he saw fit to take in regard to it. "We have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years, there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague amongst the savages there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation and depopulation of that whole territory, so as there is not left, for many leagues together, in a manner, any that do claim or challenge any kind of interest therein; whereby we in our judgment, etc."²

Though the tribes of this region are not specifically mentioned, in connection with either of these disastrous events, there is no reason to suppose that they escaped their ravages; and the negative fact that the names of the few with whom we have heretofore become acquainted no more appear, may be considered significant of their fate.

¹ *History of Massachusetts*, I, p. 33, 3d edition.

² For references to the authorities on this interesting subject, see an admirable note in Young's *Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 183.

The fisheries on the coast of New England had become so well established at this period, that ships from England were every year on this coast, but few records of their doings have come down to us. They, however, remained only during the season of fishing, all returning to Europe in the autumn. In 1616, Sir P. Georges, on his own responsibility, sent a party under Mr. Richard Vines, a man who had previously made several voyages to the coast, for the purpose of taking fish and trading with the natives; and it was especially stipulated that they should spend the winter in the country. This they did, living mostly with the natives about the mouth of the Saco river, and were uniformly treated with kindness.

It was during this winter the dreadful pestilence prevailed on this coast; and these were the only white men, so far as we know, who were brought in actual contact with the fearful malady. How or when they returned is not stated; but two years afterwards, in 1618, one Edward Rocroft, who had been sent on an expedition by the Plymouth company, having had a quarrel with some of his men, put three of them ashore at Saco, where they were left to take care of themselves.

These men by some means found their way, late in the season, to Monhegan, where it is said they passed a miserable winter. Here they were found in the spring of 1619, by Capt. Dermer, whom the Plymouth company had sent out to act in conjunction with Rocroft, and, at the same time, to use means for conciliating the natives, who, under their continued ill treatment, were becoming exceedingly hostile. Before Dermer's arrival Rocroft, without orders, had sailed for Virginia, where, as it afterwards appeared, he was killed in a quarrel with one of his own countrymen. Dermer therefore delayed a few weeks at Monhegan, until his men could load his ship with fish and furs, himself with a few men in the meantime making an excursion in an open boat to the west as far as Massachusetts. Returning to Monhegan, with two Frenchmen, whom he had rescued from a captivity of two years among the Indians, he despatched the ship¹ to England; and then in his open boat, of five tons, and six or seven men, started for Virginia. On his voyage south he passed through Long Island sound and the East river, into New York harbor, and so on by way of Sandy hook; being un-

¹ It is pleasing to know that this ship made a very successful voyage, and both her owners and sailors were well rewarded for their enterprise.

questionably the first man who ever sailed from Maine to Virginia by this route; but not the first (as by some claimed), to discover that Long island is not a part of the main land.

It will be seen from the facts above related, that there must have been considerable business transacted at Monhegan during the spring and summer of 1619; and probably from this time the island was permanently occupied, at least until the breaking out of the first general Indian war.¹

There is sufficient reason found in the unfriendly feelings of the natives at this time, to account for the fact that this business was transacted on an island like Monhegan rather than on the main; but it is possible that the settlement at Pemaquid harbor, also commenced about this time, perhaps this same year.

Rocroft was a scoundrel, and died in an ignoble quarrel; but Dermer was a true man, and ever faithful to the trust imposed in him. His efforts to conciliate the natives were sincere, and apparently attended with some success, but he at length died of wounds received at their hands. Returning from Virginia to the coast of Massachusetts, he was attacked by the Indians, and several of his men killed; and he himself only escaped with some severe wounds, of which he afterwards died in Virginia. By some however, it is said, he died, not of his wounds, but of disease contracted in the country.

Up to this time the Plymouth company had failed to establish a colony in North Virginia, and they therefore petitioned the king (James I,) for a new charter with enlarged powers. Such a charter was granted on the 3d of November, 1620, which gave to the Plymouth company, in fee simple, the whole country of North America, from ocean to ocean, between the parallels of 40 and 48 degrees of north latitude — a magnificent present truly!²

They were also to have complete civil jurisdiction — the right to appoint governors, magistrates and other authorities for the colony, and to enact laws needful for the administration of justice. To them were to belong the exclusive right of trade, and of taking fish within their territorial limits.

¹Thornton, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. v, p. 164.

²This corporation, consisting of "forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen residing in England," is often designated as the Plymouth council, or the Council of Plymouth; and is not to be confounded with the Plymouth colony, which was established at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in Dec., 1620.

Under this charter Capt. Robert Gorges, son of Sir F. Gorges, was immediately appointed governor general of the territory, and came to reside at Plymouth, having associated with himself as counsellors several other gentlemen, among whom was Christopher Levett, Esq., who also embarked for the country and arrived in the autumn. This gentleman was his majesty's woodward for Somersetshire, and just as he was about to sail, was made a member of the council for New England. He had interested himself in the company to the amount of one hundred and ten pounds, and received a grant of six thousand acres of land. He spent several months in the country, in search of a proper place to commence his plantation.¹

Landing first at the "Isle of Shoulds," [Shoals] he came next to the new settlement at Piscataqua (Portsmouth, N. H.), where he met Gov. Gorges, and remained a month, and then with two boats and several men made an excursion to the eastward, as far as Capmanwagan, now Southport. Here he remained several days, not deeming it advisable to go farther east for the reason that he "had heard that Pemaquid, Capmanwagan, and Monhiggon were granted to others." From this place he returned to the westward, and finally selected a site for his proposed plantation, to which he gave the name of York, probably near the present place of this name.

At Capmanwagan Levett met the Indian sagamore, Samoset (or Somerset as often written), whose interesting character we shall have occasion soon to notice more fully. With many others of the natives Samoset was preparing to go to Pemaquid, with "some store of beaver coats and skins to trade with one Mr. Witheridge, a master of a ship of Bastable" [Barnstable, Mass.], which then lay at Pemaquid; but Levett so ingratiated himself with these "children of nature," and especially with Samoset, that they proposed to bestow upon him their stock of furs gratuitously — no doubt however expecting a generous return. This he honorably declined, but at length secured by purchase "all except one coat and two skins, which they reserved to pay an old debt with; but they, staying all that night, had them stolen from them." In the morning great complaint was made to Levett, but when he showed a disposition to aid them in discovering the culprit, they intimated that such interference was not desired.²

¹ *Marine Hist. Coll.* v., p. 167.

² *Idem*, II, p. 88, and v., p. 168.

Levett from this place returned with some of the natives to the site of his proposed plantation, which however was not destined to become a success. Gorges remained in the country only until the spring of 1624, when he returned to England, of course resigning his office as governor.

Those who came out with Gorges to form a part of his colony now separated, some returning with him to England and others going to Virginia.¹

A very considerable business was now transacted on this coast, connected entirely with the fisheries and the fur trade, which centered chiefly at Monhegan and Pemaquid. At both places a very considerable and busy population was found in the summer season, and very possibly also some in the winter, though we have no positive evidence of the fact. Of the amount of business done on the coast we can form some opinion from the number of ships annually sailing here from Europe. In 1614, when Capt. Smith lay in the harbor at Monhegan, "right against him on the main was a ship of Sir Francis Popham," which had been accustomed to trade there for several years previously.

In succeeding years, the same business was continued by many others; and it has been determined that between the years 1607 and 1622, no less than "109 ships entered and cleared from the harbors of Pemaquid and its dependencies, where they did more or less business in the discharge and receipt of cargoes and commerce with Europe."²

The English ships employed in transporting emigrants to Virginia, with their necessary supplies, found it for their interest, on their return, to call on this coast and obtain such return cargoes of fish and furs, as the constantly increasing business of the country was able to afford.

In the spring of the year 1622, the people of the new settlement at Plymouth, Mass., were saved from starvation by a timely supply of bread obtained from the fishing-fleet in this region; and the next year the people of Weston's settlement at Weymouth sent an expedition here for the same purpose, and probably with the same success.³

¹ Hubbard, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 2d series, vol. v., p. 90.

² *Brunswick Telegraph*, July 19, 1872.

³ Young's *Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 293; Prince, I, p. 118.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Plymouth Patent of June 1st, 1621, in the name of John Peirce. Richard Pearce, son of John Peirce, and his father-in-law, John Brown, become permanent settlers at Pemaquid — Statement of Samuel Welles of Boston — Brown's purchase of two Indian sagamores — Abraham Shurte purchases Mowhegan for Aldsworth and Elbridge (1620-25).

We come now to a period in the history of this place concerning some points of which there is much obscurity, not to say mystery.

It is well known that when the Plymouth colony arrived on the coast of Massachusetts, in November, 1620, they were without a charter, or rather the charter they had obtained from the London or South Virginia company was useless, for the reason that they had come so far to the north as to be beyond the jurisdiction of that company. They, therefore, by the return of the Mayflower, made application for a charter from the Plymouth or North Virginia company; or, rather to the successors of this company now styled the Council for New England, or Plymouth Council on whose territory they found themselves located.

This charter was readily granted, and was issued June 1, 1621, in the name of John Peirce, "citizen and clothworker of London," and his associates. It was brought to Plymouth in the ship *Fortune*, which arrived in Nov., 1621.¹ That it thus came into the possession of the colony is certain, but it does not appear that they ever made any use of it. The same patent or charter, however, long subsequently, was made use of by descendants of Peirce as the basis of a claim to lands at Pemaquid, which was prosecuted with vigor.

This patent was of a singular character, mentioning no metes and bounds, but simply reciting the fact that a settlement had been commenced in New England; it gave to John Peirce and his associates, and his and their heirs and assigns, one hundred acres of "grownd" for every person who should be transported by them and continue in the country three years, with a long detail of limitations, restrictions and conditions. And inasmuch as churches, schools, hospitals, bridges, etc., were to be built, fifteen hundred acres, additional to that above provided for, were

¹Bradford, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, III, p. 107; Prince, I, 114; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, II, 158; *Proceedings of the Am. Antiquarian, Soc. for 1867*, p. 53.

given to the undertakers for these purposes. So, also, on certain other conditions, every emigrant was to have fifty more acres allotted to him, after a settlement should be fairly begun, and due return made of their transactions. Power was at the same time given to enact necessary laws and appoint necessary officers for the government of the colony, and to exclude all intruders.

Less than a year after the issuing of this patent (April 20th, 1622), Mr. Peirce, in some way, unfairly, as was charged by his associates, obtained another patent which produced considerable dissatisfaction, but in May, 1623, the difficulty was settled, and Peirce resigned the patent to the company for the consideration of 500 pounds.

Some months before thus closing his connection with the colony, he had at great expense fitted out the ship *Paragon*, and dispatched her with many passengers for the new settlement; but being forced back by the weather, he, at great additional expense, again fitted her for sea, and embarked in her himself with one hundred and nine passengers. Unfortunately, after making half the distance across the Atlantic, she was again obliged to return, and Peirce's name no more appears in connection with the Plymouth colony.

But only a few years later than this, a Mr. Richard Pearce, who is claimed to have been a son of John Peirce, is found as a permanent resident of Pemaquid, or rather Muscongus; and after the lapse of a century or more, some of his descendants laid claim to a large tract of land here, basing their claim in part upon this very patent of June 1st, 1621.

The subject is very fully presented in the following document of Samuel Welles of Boston:

"This may certify all concerned, that I have in my hand, a certain patent, signed by the Earl of Warwick, and several other members of the Council of Plymouth, in England, dated June 1st, 1621, about three years after the patent constituting the Council of Plymouth for ordering the affairs and settlement of New England, that is, of land between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude. The sum and substance of this patent of June 1st, 1621, is a grant to one John Pierce, a citizen of London, of liberty to come and settle in New England, with divers privileges in such place as he or his associates should choose under certain limitations of not

4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, II., p. 157; Bradford, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, III. p. 139.
Prince, *New England*, I, p. 136; Palfrey's *Hist. N. E.*, I, p. 210.

interfering with other grants, or settling within ten miles of any other settlement, unless on the opposite side of some great navigable river, and on return made, to have further grants and privileges. Now, as I am informed, and hear it is agreed on all hands, Mr. Pierce came over and here settled, that is, at a place called Broad Bay, and there his posterity continued above one hundred years; some time after the settlement was begun, one Mr. Brown made a purchase of a large tract of land of the natives; and as Mr. Pierce's was the most ancient grant thereabout, they united the grant from home with the purchase of the natives, and it is said that the Indians have ever acknowledged the justice of our claims and never would burn Pierce's house, even though he left it. * * * Boston, 11th September, 1755. SAMUEL WELLES."¹

The author of this statement was a native of Connecticut, but lived in Boston, where he was held in high estimation, and often appointed to offices of great trust and responsibility. We may believe that he would not make such a declaration without due consideration, nor without evidence satisfactory to himself of its truth; but that John Peirce, after holding the relation he did to the Pilgrim Fathers, could come to this country, and even undertake to found a permanent settlement on the coast, no farther than this from the Plymouth settlement, and the fact entirely escape mention in contemporary history, until the middle of the last century, is extremely improbable. The language of Mr. Welles plainly implies that his information was derived chiefly, if not entirely, from Peirce's descendants; and even with them it was preserved by tradition, only except so far as evidence was furnished by the patent itself.

But Richard Pearce (this appears to have been his way of spelling the name), who is conceded to have been a son of John Peirce, did establish himself here as one of the very earliest permanent settlers of the place, and left quite a numerous posterity, of whom we shall have something to say in the progress of this work. John Brown, whose daughter he married, purchased land here of the Indians, in July, 1625, but how long he had been in the place we do not know; nor can we now tell whether Pearce's intimate relationship with the Brown family began before their immigration to this country. The probability seems to be that they all came together, and it may be they came in an expedition sent out by Pearce's father, imme-

¹ *Willes, last Portland*, 2d ed., p. 22. Manuscripts in Archives of the Maine Hist. Society.

diately after the second disastrous return of his ship, the *Paragon*, in 1623. The fact that Brown afterwards purchased the same land from the Indians makes nothing against this view.

When the patent of June 1st, 1621, was issued in the name of John Peirce and his associates, it was intended to be for the benefit of the colony then recently established at Plymouth, Mass.; there can be no question of this. When therefore it is recited in the patent, "that whereas the said John Peirce and his Associates have transported and undertaken to transporte at their cost and chardges themselves and dyvers psons into New England and there to erect and build a Towne, &c.," it was the beginning of the Plymouth colony that was referred to.

There can be no escape from this, though some have supposed that the language may have referred to another settlement previously begun here by Peirce. But if there may have been, in former times, some reason for such a suspicion, the matter has been set at rest by the publication of fragments of the records of the Council for New England, by the American Antiquarian Society.¹

We may, indeed, suppose that two patents were issued the same day, in the name of John Peirce, in trust; one for Plymouth, and the other for a settlement elsewhere. But this is too improbable to be thought of for a moment.

Mr. Welles says further that "some time after Peirce's settlement here was begun, one Mr. Brown made a purchase of a large tract of land of the natives; and as Mr. Peirce's was the most ancient grant thereabouts, they united the grant from home with the purchase from the natives, &c."

But Mr. Welles was not the author of this ingenious mode of representing these transactions; it had been adopted by the Peirces, as early as 1734. But probably we shall best regard it as an *afterthought*, adopted by them to strengthen their supposed claim to a proprietary interest in the lands here, by virtue of the irregular transactions of their ancestors.

Thus John Brown — third of the name — in a quit-claim deed to several of the Pearce family, Sept. 10, 1734, says: "To all people to whom these presents shall come;—John Brown of New Harbor, in the county of York, yeoman, sendeth greeting, &c. Whereas my Hon^d. Grandfather, John Brown of said New Harbor, Deceas^d., in his Life Time stood seized of a Large Tract

¹ *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, 1867, pp. 85, 88 and 91.

of Land at and adjoining to s^d New Harbor by Purchase of Capt. John Summersett, &c., Indian Sachems, as per their Deed Dated the 15th Day of July, 1625, a Part of which Lands my said Grandfather gave to his Son-in-Law, Richard Pearce of Marblehead, Dec^d; and Instead of giving a Deed of said land to said Peirce he allowed the said Sachem to give a Deed of the Land to his Son-in-Law, as per the Deed of said Sachem, Summersett [9th] Day of January, 1641. Bounded, beginning at Round Pond Falls, Extending North West four miles and so back to Pemaquid River, which said Bounds Trench Partly on the Bounds of said New Harbor Purchase, which said Purchase since the Death of my said Grand-father, and the Death of my Hon^d Father John Brown late of Damariscotta has been divided, &c.”¹

The fact is well established, that Brown did fully assent to the sale of the land referred to — a part of his own tract — to his son-in-law Pearce, and by the same Indian sachem, Samoset, who sold it to him sixteen years before, for his name appears as a witness on the deed;² but not a word in it indicates that he, at the time, had any such thoughts as the interpretation afterward put on the transaction supposed. Is it not more probable that he considered the deed his son-in-law was receiving from the “untutored savages” as of even less consequence than his own previous deed?

But the fact that a son of John Peirce, in whose name the first Plymouth patent was issued, became a permanent resident here, at so early a period, coupled with the fact that the Plymouth people were greatly displeased with his father's doings, and charged him with managing their affairs in view of selfish ends of his own, must be considered as very significant. The Plymouth people did not confide in his integrity.

It is said that in 1623, without consulting his associates, he obtained another charter or patent ostensibly for the Plymouth colony, but containing certain provisions designedly favoring his own selfish ends, and those of his family. It is not now extant, and what its special provisions were is not known, but it was characterized in severe terms by Bradford and others. Subsequently, May 18th, 1623, the matter was settled by the payment to Peirce of £500, by the company; but it is evident that it was not done without some bad feeling between the parties.

¹ *York Records*, vol. xvi, p. 15. Files in possession of Maine Hist. Society.

² *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xiii, p. 365.

Did Peirce immediately after this send his son Richard to this place, accompanied perhaps by Brown and others, with the view of establishing another settlement under the patent? This seems probable; but no public announcement was ever made of such a transaction. Still, it may have been that those were the very men who had taken possession of Pemaquid, and of whom Samoset and other Indians of the place informed Levett, at Capinanwagen (Southport), late in the autumn of the same year, 1623.¹ But no evidence has been found that Peirce ever intimated an intention to make such a use of the patent of June 1st, 1621; and more important still, so far as we know, his son Richard, during his lifetime here, never put forward any claim based upon the provisions of that charter!

Some points in the character and history of the patent are decidedly curious:

First. No metes or bounds are mentioned in it, but Peirce and his associates were authorized to take possession anywhere between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, with only some restrictions in regard to other settlements, &c. It might, therefore, have been located here without any violation of its own express provisions.

Second, the said patent, so far as we can now learn, after being sent to Gov. Carver (who, however, died before its arrival), the same year it was given, was never in the possession of John Pierce, or his son Richard, nor was it ever brought to Pemaquid, or Muscongus, where Richard Pearce lived.

Third. The earliest date at which this patent of June 1, 1621, is mentioned by the descendants of Richard Pearce, as the foundation, in whole or in part, for their claim to lands in this place, so far as has been discovered, is that above given in John Brown's quit-claim deed to several of the Pearces, Sept. 10th, 1734. Several deeds of lands at Pemaquid, of an earlier date, are to be found on the York County Records, given by persons styling themselves "grand-children of Richard Pearce and great-grand-children of John Brown" of Pemaquid, but they mention only, as the foundation of their claims, the purchase from the Indians in 1625, and the "deed of gift" of John Brown to his daughter, Mrs. Richard Pearce, omitting entirely any allusion to the patent of 1621.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, II, p. 83.

Fourth. The patent referred to seems to have been in the custody of the Plymouth people, a whole century and more, without receiving any special attention, or exciting particular inquiry; but, in 1727 great search was made for it, and it could not be found. Again in 1733, 1739, and 1741, the search was renewed in Plymouth, Ipswich and Cambridge, but without success. At length, it is said Perez Bradford, by request, consented to aid in the search, and after considerable exertion brought it to light; and the fact was ascertained that it had been "designedly concealed."¹

May not the document have fallen into the hands of some one of the heirs of Richard Pearce, who was carefully preserving it in order to strengthen the family claim to a proprietary interest in the lands here, when the time should come for the settlement of the question? Nevertheless, when the settlement was actually made, early in the present century, as we shall hereafter see, only very slight reference was made to the patent by one or two of the claimants in the Peirce interest, and the commissioners seem to have given it little, if any, attention.

The purchase of land at Pemaquid of the Indians by John Brown, constitutes an important epoch in the history of the place. He probably came here directly from Bristol, Eng.; and the following document, copied from the records of that city, makes us acquainted with some items of his history.

"Feb. 21, 1658, Robert Allen of Sheepscoot River in New England, planter, came personally before me, etc., etc., that for 17 years last past he well knew John Brown of New Harbor in New England, mason, who often told him that he was the son of Richard Brown of Barton Regis, in Gloucester, in England, and that he married Margaret, daughter of Francis Hayward of Bristol. Said Brown was alive and in good health in New England last June."²

The Indian deed to Brown is as follows:⁴

"To all people whom it may concern. Know ye, that I Capt. John Somerset and Unongoit, Indian sagamores, they being the proper heirs to all the lands on both sides of Muscongus river, have bargained and sould

¹ Willis, *Hist. Portland*, p. 22, 2d ed. Hinman's *Catalogue of First Settlers in Connecticut*, p. 271, note. Plainly, Hinman did not understand the merits of the case.

² From H. G. Somechy, of Boston, the well known antiquarian, who himself made the copy from the Bristol records.

³ Two words illegible, but supposed to indicate occupation.

⁴ *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 106. Files of the *Maine Hist. Soc.*

to John Brown of New Harbor this certain tract or parcell of land as followeth, that is to say, beginning at Pemaquid Falls and so running a direct course to the head of New Harbour, from thence to the south end of Muscongus Island, taking in the island, and so running five and twenty miles into the country north and by east, and thence eight miles north west and by west, and then turning and running south and by west to Pemaquid where first begun — To all which lands above bounded, the said Captain John Somerset and Unnongoit, Indian Sagamores have granted and made over to the above said John Brown, of New Harbour, in and for consideration of fifty skins, to us in hand paid, to our full satisfaction, for the above mentioned lands, and we the above said sagamores do bind ourselves and our heirs forever to defend the above said John Brown and his heirs in the quiet and peaceable possession of the above said lands. In witness whereunto, I the said Capt. John Somerset and Unnongoit have set our hands and seals this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

CAPT. JOHN SOMERSET, [SEAL.]

UNNONGOIT. [SEAL.]

Signed and sealed in presence of us,

MATTHEW NEWMAN,

WM. COX.

July 24, 1626, Capt. John Somerset and Unnongoit, Indian Sagamores, personally appeared and acknowledged this instrument to be their act and deed, at Pemaquid, before me, ABRAHAM SHURTE.

Charlestown, December 26, 1720, Read, and at the request of James Stilson, and his sister Margaret Hilton, formerly Stilson, they being claimers and heirs of said lands, accordingly entered.

PER SAMUEL PHIPPS,

One of the Clerks of the Committee for Eastern Lands."

The two witnesses to this deed were probably men who had come with Brown from England, but nothing is now known of the first, Matthew Newman.¹ Wm. Cox became a resident of the place; and his posterity of the same name are still here. The late Capt. Israel Cox, who many years occupied a place on the board of selectmen of the town of Bristol, and died only a few years ago, claimed that this Wm. Cox was his great-grandfather's father. He continued to reside here, but the time of his death is not known. All of the name of Cox now in this

¹ It is remarkable that thirty-five years after this transaction, that is, in the year 1660, the same names, Matthew Newman and Wm. Cox, appear as witnesses to a deed from John Brown of New Harbor to Sander Gould and his wife, who was Brown's daughter. *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 121, 123.

region, and on the Kennebec, are believed to have descended from him; and it may be further added, that of all the settlers who came here from this period until the close of the century, when the place was destroyed by the Indians, the names of Cox and Hilton appear to be the only ones now perpetuated in the place.

Brown lived near New Harbor, and is therefore in the old records frequently called John Brown of New Harbor; but being a man of great enterprise, in 1639 he purchased more land of the Indians at a place called Naquassett (now Woolwich) on the Kennebec river, and removed there. In the year 1641, his name appears as a witness to an Indian deed of lands at Muscongus to his son-in-law, Richard Pierce, the land being a part of the same he had purchased of the Indians in 1625. We have already seen the interpretation given to this transaction by Peirce's descendants.

In 1646, he sold his lands at Nequasset, and returned to Pemaquid; but in 1654 he was living at Damariscotta, "Phillips, Taylor, and Scott being his neighbors." By some it is added that he died in 1670, probably at Damariscotta; but according to a deposition of Benjamin Prescott, of Danvers, made in Salem, in 1765, he lived with his son, John Brown, Jr., at Boston, the last years of his life."

These four, John Brown, John Taylor, Walter Phillips, and Robert Scott, were the only men having families who then lived at Damariscotta "Salt Water Falls," where the bridge now is. Scott lived on the east side directly opposite the "great bank of oyster shells," and Brown's House was south of him; Phillips and Taylor lived on the west side. During the war, called King Philips' war, about the year 1676, they were all obliged to make their escape, in the best way they could.

Brown left three children, John Brown, Jr., and two daughters, Margaret, who married Sander or Alexander Gould, and long resided in the place, and Elizabeth, who married Richard Peirce or Pearce.

The acknowledgement of this deed, it will be observed, was made before Abraham Shurte at Pemaquid, only a year after it was given. Shurte does not append any title to his name, and

¹ Files *Maine Hist. Soc.* The Indian deed referred to is published in the *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, vol. XII, p. 395.

² *Lincoln Rep.*, 1816, p. 115, 116. Files *Maine Hist. Soc.*

probably claimed no authority for such an act, but made the record as a matter of accommodation in a new settlement, far removed from any regularly appointed magistrates, leaving it for those whom it might afterwards concern to attach such importance to it as might seem just and proper.

“The precision and conciseness of this first deed of conveyance of American soil, written at Pemaquid, and the neat and compact formula of acknowledgement, drawn up by Abraham Shurte, and still adhered to in New England, word for word, are interesting to the jurist. There was no precedent for the acknowledgement, or the formula, and Mr. Shurte is well entitled to be remembered as the father of American conveyancing. The first legislation of Massachusetts, providing for this mode of authenticating deeds, did not occur until 1640, when commissioners were especially appointed for the purpose, and Plymouth colony did not adopt this security against fraudulent conveyances until six years later, in 1646.¹

This deed was not recorded for nearly a hundred years, and was then entered on the records at Charlestown, Mass.

Shurte gives quite a history of himself and some of his doings in the following deposition, given by him, Dec. 25th 1662.

“The Deposition of Abraham Shurte, aged fourscore years, or thereabouts, saith—

That in the year 1626, Alderman Alsworth [often written Aldsworth], and Mr. Gyles Elbridge of Bristol, merchants sent over this Deponent, for their Agent, and gave power to him to buy Monhegan, which then belonged to Mr. Abraham Jennings of Plimouth, who they understood was willing to sell; and having conference with his agent, about the price thereof; agreed to fifty pounds, and the patent to be delivered up; and gave him a bill upon Alderman Alsworth; which bill being presented, was paid, as the aforesaid wrote me. The Deponent further saith, that about the year 1629, was sent over unto him by the aforementioned Alderman Alsworth, and Mr. Eldbridge a patent granted by the Patentees, for twelve thousand acres of land at Pemaquid, with all islands, islets adjacent, within three leagues; and for the delivery was appointed Captain Walter Neale, who gave me possession thereof; and bounded the twelve thousand

¹Thornton, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 193. Mr. Thornton has since learned that the same form was in use in the mother country, long before Shurte's day. (Letter to Author.)

acres for the use above named, from the head of the river of Damariscotta, to the head of the river of Muscongus, and between it, to the sea. Moreover it was granted by the same patent; that every servant, that they, Alderman Aldsworth and Mr. Eldbridge did send over, one hundred acres of land and to every one there born fifty acres of land, for the term of the first seven years; and to be added to the former twelve thousand acres.—Likewise this Deponent saith, that Domaniscove was included, and belonging to Pemaquid; it being an island, situate, and lying within three leagues of Pemaquid Point; and some years after Mr. Thomas Eldbridge coming to Pemaquid, to whom the patent by possession did belong, and appertain, called a Court, unto which divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, and continued their fishing, paying a certain acknowledgement—and further saith not.

Sworn the 25th December, 1662, by ABRAHAM SHURTE,
Before me RICHARD RUSSELL, Magistrate.”¹

According to Mr. Thornton,² Mr. Jennens, with others, had made considerable purchases of land in New England from the Plymouth council, as early as 1622; and probably it was under the title thus acquired that he claimed to hold the island of Monhegan. Jennens himself, so far as we know, had never visited this country, but a very considerable business had been transacted on the island in his name, for, when it was known at the new settlement at Plymouth, Mass., that his establishment was to be discontinued, Gov. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, with several others proceeded there to make purchases. Stopping at Piscataqua on their way, Mr. David Thompson took passage with them, being anxious also to make purchases. In order to avoid the evils of two great competition between the two parties, they agreed to purchase all the goods offered, and to divide them equally between them. They also purchased “a parcell of goats.” The purchases of Gov. Bradford amounted to about £400 Sterling. The same Spring a French ship had been cast away at Sagadahoe, but many goods were saved, and for sale

¹ *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 40.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 169, 170.

among the fishermen at Damariscove and Monhegan, of which the Gov. purchased to the amount of another hundred pounds.¹

Shurte became a resident at Pemaquid soon after his arrival in the country, and spent here the rest of his life. Nearly all his life he was actively engaged in business, often extending his trading expedition as far west as Massachusetts, and as far east as Nova Scotia. In one of his excursions he came near losing his life, by the recklessness of a seaman, who was so addicted to smoking that he could not forego the use of his pipe for small reasons. He was on his way to Boston, in a small vessel commanded by Capt. Wright. As they were entering the harbor at Piscataqua a seaman in attempting to light his pipe near a keg of gunpowder, exploded the powder, blowing the vessel as well as himself to atoms. Shurte with the others escaped with little or no injury. He is always spoken of as having been a magistrate of influence in the colony, but it does not now appear from what source his authority was derived. It is probable that the excellent influence he exercised was due more to his elevated character as a just and upright man, than to his civil authority. The Indians he always treated justly and kindly, and thus maintained their friendship and respect, even when they were enraged against others.

In the summer of the year 1631, near a hundred of the Eastern Indians, in thirty canoes, made their way to the west, as far as Agawam [Ipswich, Mass.], and fell suddenly upon the Indians there, killing several, and carrying into captivity, with others, the wife of one of their Sagamores. Through the mediation of Shurte of Pemaquid, she was afterwards restored to the chief; and thus probably was laid the foundation for the friendship ever afterwards shown him.²

It is not known that Shurte left any family. Being eighty years of age in 1662, it is probable that he soon afterwards passed away.³ Nothing is really known of him after this date, but it is altogether probable that he ended his days at Pemaquid, where he had been so long known as an honest man and an upright magistrate.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. III, p. 208.

² Hubbard. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, [2], v, p. 145. Lewis, *Hist. of Lynn*, p. 75, 2d ed.

³ Lincoln Rep., 1811, p. 40. Will, *Hist. Maine*, I, p. 602. Williamson, on the page last quoted, says that Shurte died at Pemaquid about 1669, but on page 694, he mentions 1690, as the year of his death. Both dates are probably erroneous. See also *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxv, p. 131.

CHAPTER IX.

The two Indian sagamores, Samoset and Unongoit — Pemaquid the centre of business on the coast — Beginnings of other settlements in the vicinity — The first fort at Pemaquid — Traders and pirates on the coast — Dixy Ball — Mills at the Falls.

Of the two Sagamoies whose names appear on the deed of Brown, one, Samoset, is very well known in the history of the time, but the memory of the other, Ungonoit, except his mere name, has utterly perished. Indeed, this seems to be the only instance in which even his name occurs, or it may be that he was known by other names which, we are not able now to identify.

Samoset¹ has left behind him a name which is every way honorable and interesting. The first we hear of him is at Plymouth, March 16th, 1621, where he was the first to welcome "The Pilgrim Fathers" to the inhospitable shores of Massachusetts. Though they landed, as we know, in December, the natives feared and avoided them; and, until this time, held no intercourse with them. Indeed, few had been seen, and they were altogether hostile. The account of Samoset's meeting with them is as follows:

"This morning [Friday, March 16, 1621,] we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had begun to consider before, but were interrupted by the savages. And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again; for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendez-vous; where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us 'Welcome,' for he had learned some broken English among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon (Monhegan), and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters that usually come. He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things; he was the first savage we could meet withall.

¹ The name is often written Somerset, Summerset, Sameset, Sammoset, etc. On the deed his name is written Capt. John Somerset. Mr. Drake (Hubbard's *Ind. Wars*, II, p. 81, note), supposes that this may not have been his real Indian name, but one given him by the English. His suggestion partakes too much of the fanciful.

He said he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon,¹ and one of the sagamores or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horse-man's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before; none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water, and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard; all of which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. * * * All the afternoon we spent in conversation with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard, wherewith he was content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and the water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at Steven Hopkins' house, and watched him."²

Bradford says that "he came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand." "He become profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them."³

Both of the writers just quoted proceed to show the various modes in which this interesting "savage" made himself "profitable" to them. He informed them of the hostility of the natives to the English, in consequence of Hunt's⁴ treachery, some years before, and used his influence to produce a better state of feeling. He introduced to them his friend *Squanto* or *Tisquantum*, a native of the place who had been in England, and who afterwards became "a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation."

¹ It would seem very evident that this is only another name for Monhegan, or rather a mere modification of the name; but Dr. Young (*Chron. of Plym.*, p. 183.) appears to have some doubts.

² *Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 182.

³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, III, p. 93.

⁴ See page 59.

Samoset continued in the vicinity some time, always seeking to promote good feeling between the English and the natives. This led to the formation of a treaty of peace between the new colony and Massasoit, sagamore of the neighboring Wampanoag Indians, which remained inviolate more than fifty years, or until the time of King Phillip's war in 1675.

Samoset probably returned soon after this to his native place, as we hear nothing further of him at Plymouth.

The next we hear of him he is at Capmanwagan,¹ (Capnewagen) or the coast of Maine, at the time of Levett's visit there, in the winter of 1623-4. Levett introduces him to us as a "sagamore that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, and others from killing."

He received Levett with much cordiality, calling him cousin. He had become so much acquainted with the English as to be entirely free from the timidity usually shown by the natives at this early period, and proposed that perpetual friendship should be maintained between them, "until Tanto carried them to his wigwam, that is, until they died." He had his wife and son with him here, and several noble attendants; and the simple narrative of Levett presents them before us in a very interesting light. His wife in particular conducted herself in truly royal style. "When we came to York the masters of the ships came to bid me welcome, and asked what savages those were. I told them, and I thanked them; they used them kindly, and gave them meat, drink and tobacco. The woman, or reported queen, asked me if those men were my friends, I told her they were; then she drank to them, and told them they were welcome to her country, and so should all my friends be at any time, she drank also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her country too; for you must understand that her father was the Sagamore of this place, and left it to her at his death, having no more children."²

This interview of Levett with this kind-hearted "savage" of Pemaquid, it will be noticed, occurred only a year, or a little more, before the time of Brown's purchase, and it is possible that Brown and Pierce were even then both of them on the ground. And this kindly intercourse with the English prepared

¹ *Ante*, p. 13.

² Levett, *Maine Hist. Coll.* II, p. 89.

the mind of the simple-hearted native for the favor the new settlers received at his hands.

Samoset lived many years after this in quiet and peaceable intercourse with his new neighbors: certain it is history records no quarrel between the parties! January 9th, 1641, he with two other "sagamores sold to Richard Pierce, carpenter of Remobseus" (alias Muscongun), a large but ill defined tract of land at that place, said tract being a part of the same previously sold by him and Unongoit to John Brown, as before stated (p. 55). Still another deed of his, or rather a fragment of one, has been brought to light by Mr. Thornton.¹ This document is dated July, 1653, and appears to be a deed of land also at Muscongun.²

Samoset must at this time have been an old man, and probably soon passed away. Though an "untutored savage," he has left behind him a character highly creditable to him, as a man of elevated rank among his countrymen. He appears not only to have been destitute of the jealousies and petty vices of his race; but, at the same time, to have manifested on all occasions a love of justice and truth, a generous confidence in others, and an elevation of soul far superior to very many of the Europeans with whom he was brought in contact. And the fact that twenty years later than the date last above given, his name was still remembered among the natives as that of a "famous sachem," shows that his manly character was not unappreciated by them.

The settlement at Pemaquid was now beginning to assume considerable importance as a centre of business, much of that formerly done at Monhegan, having been gradually transferred to this place. Fishing vessels in the proper season were continually coming and going; and there was more activity manifested than at any other point on the whole coast.

Other settlements also began to spring up in the neighborhood, as at Damariscotta Lower Falls (Damariscotta Bridge), Sheepscott Farms (Wiscasset), Cape Newagen (Boothbay) Nequasset (Woolwich), and perhaps other places. A trading house was also established at Bagaduce (Castine) at the mouth

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 188.

² Such instances show very clearly that the Indians, in selling their lands, really had no proper idea of the nature of the transactions. Their idea probably was that they were simply conferring the right to hunt and fish, as they did themselves.

of the Penobscot, by the Plymouth colony. This was in 1626. At Pemaquid, St. Georges, and Sheepscott there were in the year 1630 no less than eighty four families, besides the fishermen.¹

Williamson thinks that the first settlement at Pemaquid was on the west side, but he gives no reasons for this opinion. The chief business here at this time was in connection with the fisheries; and the land on either side was well adapted to their operations. The sterile soil did not particularly invite cultivation, but agriculture was not entirely neglected, and even at this early period a considerable commerce was springing up; and this in spite of the various restrictions and monopolies which it was the fashion of those times to establish. Furs obtained of the Indians, and fish taken on the coast, and properly cured, were the chief articles of export; and though their principal market was in the mother country, a regular trade was carried on with the Plymouth colony.

The first fort at Pemaquid was erected in 1630, or 1631; and seems to have been intended rather as a protection against renegades and pirates, that were beginning to infest the coast, then against the Indians, who were in the main very friendly. This fort was only a stockade; and its site very probably, was the same or nearly so, as that on which all the other forts were successively built.

Among the traders on the coast at this time, whose characters were not above suspicion, was Mr. Isaac Allerton, one of the passengers by the *May Flower*, who had subsequently made several voyages to England chiefly on business for the Plymouth colony, but had so managed the affairs committed to him as to forfeit their confidence. Having chartered a ship in England, he loaded her heavily and "set forth againe with a most wicked and drunken crue" for the coast of New England, where "he set up a company of base fellows, and made them traders to rune into every hole, and into the river of Kennebec" in a manner altogether contrary to the established rules of trade. By this course he brought upon himself no little scandal, and occasioned much disquiet.

He was a man of much energy and industry, and appears to have faithfully transacted the business committed to him as

¹ Sullivan, *Hist. Maine*, p. 167. Files in Secretary's office, Boston.

² 4 Bradford, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, III, p. 291.

agent of the colony, but the popular voice was against him, and he left the colony in disgust.¹

Very many of unlicensed traders of that day thought it quite allowable, if not meritorious, to overreach the simple natives in trade; and the enmity of those latter was constantly excited, and liable at any moment to break out in acts of open hostility. About the year 1628, one Walter Bagnall took up his residence upon Richmond island, near Portland, for the purpose of trading with the Indians, and in three years acquired a large property, as was thought in those times. In the autumn of the year 1631, the Indians, stung to madness by his constant cheating them in trade, went to the island and killed all the inmates of his house, which they then sacked and burnt. A party was immediately sent from Piscataqua in pursuit of the murderers, but not finding the real authors of the outrage, they hung a poor wretch, known as Black Will, though without the least evidence of his guilt.²

Among the noted characters, who at this period sought illicit trade with the natives, was one Dixy Bull, of whose history little is known previous to this time. A shallop containing his goods having been seized by the French, he collected a company of characters like himself, and made preparation for a piratical cruise on the coast. It is said that he took several vessels at sea, but with a single exception, we do not know who or what they were. One of the vessels taken was commanded by Capt. Anthony Dix, who came to Plymouth in 1623; and probably the vessel belonged to that place. Coming to Pemaquid in 1632, Bull seems to have taken the fort without any serious resistance, and at once rifled it of its contents, at the same time plundering the neighboring planters, as farmers were then called.

But if the pirates met with little resistance in their attack upon the fort, they were not allowed to leave the place without loss; for, as they were about weighing anchor, a well directed shot from the shore killed one of Bull's principal men. The courageous individual, who fired the shot, is said to have been one of Shurte's men; and, as the pirates made haste to depart,

¹ Baylies's *Hist. of Plymouth*, I, p. 204.

² Williamson's *Hist. of Maine*, I, p. 251.

it is probable that the people at the fort were beginning to manifest a little more spirit than they first showed.

Information of Bull's piratical doings at Pemaquid having been received at Piscataqua, notice was given to Gov. Winthrop at Boston; and means were taken to subdue and punish them. Four small vessels ("two pinnaces and two shallops")¹ were fitted out at Piscataqua, with forty men, and sent to Pemaquid, where they were joined by others from Boston; but the object of their pursuit had escaped some time before to the eastward. A paper was afterwards received, purporting to be from this piratical gang, in which they promised to commit no more depredations upon their own countrymen; and requested that further pursuit of them should be abandoned, saying that they would die rather than be taken. They also made some restitution for previous wrongs committed by them.

Little more is now known of this bold and reckless man; but it has been said that he was afterwards taken to England, where he suffered the just reward of his deeds.

Some time before these events connected with the pirate, Bull, a trading house, which had been established at the mouth of the Penobscot by the Plymouth colony, was robbed by the French, who took away every thing of value that suited them; and there were rumors that the French were also taking measures greatly to extend their influence in that region. These things caused considerable alarm in Boston; and measures were taken to erect a fort at the entrance of that harbor, but the object was not accomplished until the summer of 1634, several years after the erection of the first fort at Pemaquid.²

An important article in the treaty of St. Germain, March 29, 1632, between England and France, threatened serious evil to Pemaquid. By the third article of this treaty, England relinquished to France "all the places occupied by the British subjects in New France, Acadia, and Canada;" and though the limits of neither of these places were very well defined, it was well known that Pemaquid was within the French claim of New France.

It is perhaps to this period, or possibly to a period a little later, that we are to assign the erection of certain public works

¹ Winthrop, vol. I, p. 115.

² Sewall, *Am. Dom. Maine*, p. 114; Drake, *Hist. Boston*, p. 172,

in the vicinity of Pemaquid, the remains of which are yet to be seen. The most important of these is a canal or watercourse, still plainly to be seen at the falls, just above the head of tide water. It is on the east side, and commences where the bridge now is, and extends down, a distance of fifteen or twenty rods, to a point near where the dam for the old mills stood, forty years ago. This canal was evidently a watercourse for conveying water to mills, which were erected there at an early date. A low dam was probably made exactly where the bridge now is, and a part or all of the water, except in time of freshets, was turned into the canal and used to carry the mills below. When first made, it must have been at least ten feet wide and probably six or eight feet deep. No definite tradition of the existence of such mills has come down to us; nor, indeed, do we *know* that any mills were erected in this vicinity until a hundred years later than this; but, from sheer necessity, the early settlers must have provided themselves with them; and no other site as good as this could be found anywhere in the vicinity. When the ancestors of the present inhabitants came here, about the year 1730, maple and other trees a foot in diameter were found growing in the canal, which shows that it had long been disused.¹

We are told by Belknap,² that, at this period, "bread was either brought from England in meal, or from Virginia in grain, and then sent to the wind-mill at Boston, there being none erected here" [at Piscataqua]; and from places as far east as Scarborough, we know the inhabitants were accustomed to take their corn there to be ground.³ If, as Mr. Thornton suggests, the people of Pemaquid for a time actually took their corn and grain to Boston to be ground, is it not extremely probable that they very early endeavored to erect mills of their own? Two small mill stones made of granite were found at the head of New Harbor many years ago, which may possibly have been used at this early period.

Allusions have been made to the restrictions under which the fisheries were managed at this time, and trade carried on

¹ Mr. Alexander Fossett of Long Cove, Horatio N. Fossett.

² Belknap, *Hist. New Hamp.*, I, p. 25; Thornton, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 204; *Pepham Mem. Volume*, p. 375.

³ The first mill for grinding corn in the Massachusetts colony was a wind-mill erected in Newtown, but in August 1632 it was removed to Copp's hill, Boston. Drake, *Hist. Boston*, 141, 144. The first water-mill appears to have been erected erected in Roxbury in 1633. (Holmes's *Annals*, 1633.

with the natives, but some further explanation may be necessary. These restrictions were founded in the rights supposed to be conferred on certain of the colonies to enjoy exclusively the benefit of these pursuits in all localities included in the charters respectively. Thus the colony of Plymouth very early established trading houses on the Kennebec, at the mouth of the Penobscot, and still farther east, at Machias. They therefore, claimed, according to their charters, the *exclusive* right of trade with the natives of these places, in opposition not only to the French, or English, but also in opposition to the people of other American colonies. At Cushnoc (Augusta), on the Kennebec, a vessel coming from Piscataqua, belonging to lords Say and Brooke, was forbidden to trade with the natives, and ordered to depart; and the contest was carried so far that one man on each side was killed, which gave rise to the saying that "on the Kennebec they cut throats for beaver."¹

The French, as we have before seen, early gained a foothold on the North American coast, and at this period, stimulated by the recent treaty of St. Germain, were disposed to extend their influence. Their claims were, of course, exclusive of all others, and acting under it, in 1633, they attacked the Plymouth trading house at Machias, killed two of the five men in charge of it, and carried the others with all their goods to Port Royal.

The next year Mr. Allerton of Plymouth was sent there to obtain the men, who were held as prisoners, and to demand satisfaction for the goods which had been taken. He was met with great firmness by the French commander of the post, M. La Tour, who affirmed that he had taken them as a lawful prize by the authority of the King of France, "who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod," and assured them that if the English ventured to trade to the eastward of Pemaquid he would seize them. Being asked to show his commission he answered that "his sword was his commission, when he had strength to overcome, and when he wanted he would show his commission." Only two years later however, that is, in 1636, the French commander at Penobscot, M. D'Aulney de Charnise, in answer to a letter from Governor Winthrop, acknowledged that the claim of France extended no farther west than Pemaquid.

If we may find a reason for this restrictive policy in the matter of trade between the people of different nationalities, it is

¹ Baylies's *Hist. Plymouth*, II, p. 214.

not easy to see what could be gained, in the long run, by these incipient colonies to hamper each other in the business intercourse of their people with the Indians, or with each other. But such was the spirit of the times; nor has it yet entirely passed away.

CHAPTER X.

Patents granted by the great Council of Plymouth — The Pemaquid patent — Gyles, John and Thomas Eldridge — Nicholas Davison becomes sole owner of the Pemaquid patent — Shem Drowne.

The "council established at Plymouth [Eng.] in the county of Dover, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America," as the successor of the North Virginia, or Plymouth company (*ante*, p. 45), was called, consisted of forty noblemen and gentlemen of England, and was to have jurisdiction over all the territory of North America between the 40th and 48th parallels of latitude, but a few months after their organization, they relinquished to Sir Wm. Alexander all that part lying south of the St. Lawrence, and east of the St. Croix.

They were then prepared to apportion the immense territory that remained to them among individuals and companies, as seemed to them proper, by patents or charters, which gave to the patentees the right of property in the soil; but it has always been a question whether they also conferred power to enact laws and establish civil governments. Yet some of them actually did undertake to establish civil governments and enact laws, and were never called to account for it. The corporation continued in operation nearly fifteen years, but finally surrendered their charter to the king, June 7th, 1635. But before thus dissolving they by lot divided all the remaining territory among themselves, fully expecting that the king would, subsequently, confirm the transaction.

During the short life of the corporation, it made certainly twelve grants of land within the present state of Maine, without including the grant to John Peirce and his associates (June

1st, 1621), of which so much has already been said. Probably two others were made of which no record has been preserved.¹

Three of these grants which more particularly concern us in this work, are the following, viz: 1. The grant to Wm. Bradford and his associates (January 13, 1630), of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebec river, extending up as far as the Cobiscontee river, which was afterwards transferred to the Plymouth adventurers, and became known as the Kennebec purchase. 2d. The grant to John Beaucamp and Thomas Leverett (Feb. 12, 1630), of thirty miles square on the west side of the Penobscot river, which became known subsequently as the Lincoln or Waldopatent; and, eventually, near the close of the last century, came into the possession of Gen. Henry Knox. 3d. The grant to Robert Aldsworth and Gyles Elbridge (Feb. 29, 1631), of 12,000 acres at Pemaquid.

The limits of these grants being poorly defined, the claimants under them, in subsequent years, found no little difficulty in settling their respective boundaries, *as will appear in the progress of this work.*

These three grants covered substantially, the whole territory on the sea coast from the Penobscot to an indefinite point, somewhere fifteen miles west of the Kennebec.

The Pemaquid patent to Aldsworth and Elbridge is as follows. It is copied from Thornton's *Ancient Pemaquid, verbatim et literatim.*²

The Patent.

This Indenture made the Nine and twentieth day of February Anno D'm 1631, And in the Seaventh yeere of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. **Betweene** the President and Councill of New England on the one parte, and Robert Aldsworth and Gyles Elbridge of the City of Bristoll merchants, on the other parte, **Wytnesseeth** That whereas our Soveraigne Lord King James of famous memori late King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, by his hignes Letters Pattente and Royall graunte vnder the great Seale of England bearing date the Third day of Nouember In the eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne [1620] of England Fraunce and Ireland &c for the causes therein ex-

¹ Willis's *Hist. of Portland*, p. 63, 2d ed.

² Mr. T. informs us that it was verified by the notarial copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass. By the kindness of S. F. Haven, Esq., librarian of the society, the author had the privilege of examining the interesting reliet several years ago. It is on parchment. Mr. T. notices the peculiarity of the date, Feb. 29, 1631.

pressed did absolutely giue graunt and confirme vnto the said President and Councell and their Successors forever, All the land of New England in America lying and being from fortie to fortie eight degrees of northerly Latitude and in length by all that breadth aforesaid from Sea to Sea throughout the Main land, Together with all the woods, waters, soils, rivers, havens, Harbors, Iselands, and other commodities whatsoever therevnto belonging with divers other priviledges preheminences profits and timbers, by Sea and land As by the said Letters patents amongst other things containyd wherevnto due relacon being had it doth and may appeare Now this Indenture w^{itnesseth} That the said President and Councell of New England by vertue and authoritie of the said L^{res} Patent and for and in consideracon that the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have and will transporte and doth vndertake to Transporte att their owne Costs and Chardges divers persons into New England and there to erect and build a Town and settle diuers Inhabitants for their own safetie better assuerance and advancement of the generall plantacon of that Country and for the furtherance of the said Plantacon and Encouragement of the said Vndertakers **HAVE** agreed and doe hereby agree graunte assigne allot and appointe to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heirs and assignes and every of them one hundred acres of ground for every Person soe by them, or anie of them Transported or that shall now or hereafter be Transported besides diurse other priviledges liberties and Comodities hereafter menconed. And to that intent they have graunted allotted assigned And confirmed And by theis Presents doe grante allot assign And confirme vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes and euerie of them, One hundred seuerall acres of ground in New England for every p^{son} transported or to be transported within the Space of Seaven yeeres next ensuing that shall abide and continew there Three yeares either att one or severall times or dye in the meane season after hee or they are Shipped with an Intent there to inhabite The same lands to be taken and chosen by them or either or anie of them their deputies or assignes in anie place adject to the said Twelve thousand acres of land hereafter menconed to be granted and not lately granted, settled and inhabited by anie English and wherein noe English person or persons are allreadie placed or settled, Togeather with free libertie to fish in and uppon the Coste of New England in all Havens, Ports, Rivers, and Creeks, thereunto belonging and not granted to any others And that noe person, or persons whatsoever shall take anie benefit, or lib^{tie} of or to anie of the said grounde, (excepting the free use of highwaies by land, and Navigable Rivers) but that the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, shall have the Sole right, and use of the said grounds with all their profits and appurtenances AND the said President and Councell doe farther graunte assigne allot and confirme vnto the said

Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes Twelve Thousand acres of land more over and above the aforesaid proportion of One hundred the person for every person Transported or to be Transported as aforesaid as his or their proper inheritance forever, The same land to be bounded, Chosen, taken and laid out neare the River Commonly called or known by the name of **PEMAQUID** or by what other name or names the same is or have ben or hereafter shal be called or knowne by and next adioyning by both along the Sea Coast as the Coast lyeth, and Soe upp the River as farr as may Containe the said Twelve Thowsand acres within the said bredth and length Together with the said hundred acres for every person by them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge to be transported as aforesaid Together alsoe with all the Iselands and Iselettes within the lymitts aforesaid Three leagues into the Main Ocean Yeelding and paying vnto our Sovereigne Lord the King his heires & Successors One fifth parte of all the Gould and silver Oare to bee found and had in and on the premises or any parte thereof and one other fifth part of the said President and Councell aforesaid and their Successors for ever and alsoe **Yeelding and Paying** to the said President and Councell in the name of all other rents services duties and demands whatsoever for every hundred acres of Arrable lands soe obtayned by the same Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and every or any of them And by those said other P'rson or p'rsons, their heires and assignes The yearly rent of twoe shillings of lawfull money of England At the feast of St Michaell the Archangell [September 29th] to the hands of the Rent gatherer of the said President and Councell and their Successor forever (when it shall be by him the said Rent gatherer lawfully demanded) The first payment to begin after the expiracon of the first Seaven years next after the date hereof And it shall and may be lawfull for the said Vndertakers and Planters, their heires and Successors freely to Truck Trade, and Traffique in all lawfull comodities, with the salvages in any parte of **New England** or neighbouring thereabout att their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbance, As also to have libertie to hunte hawke fish or flowle in any place or places whatsoever now or hereafter, by any English Inhabited and the said President and Councell doth Covenant and promise to, and with the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and every of them and others the prson and prsons as aforesaid his and their heires and assignes; That their Tenants or servants shall not be taken from their owne imployments, by any Governor or other there to be established but only for the publique defence of these Countries, or suppression of Rebellion, Riotts, or Routs, or other unlawful assemblies and further it is Covenanted upon lawfull survey to be had and made att the charge of the said Vndertakers and Planters, and lawfull Informacon given of the bounds meets and quantitie of the lands soe as aforesaid to bee by them Chosen and Possessed,

They the said President and Councell upon surrender of this present grante and Indenture and upon reasonable request made by the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires or assignes or any of them, within Seaven yeares now next comeing shall by their deede Indented and Vnder theire Common Seale graunte, enfeoffe and confirme All and every of the said lands sett out, and bounded as aforesaid to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge and their associats and such as Contracte with them, their heires and assignes in as large and beneficiall manner as the same are in theis presents granted or intended to be granted or hereafter to be granted to all intents and purposes with all and every pticular priviledges and freedomes reservations and conditions with all dependancies And shall also att any time within the said Terme of Seaven yeares upon request vnto the said President and Councell made, grannte vnto them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes letters and grants of Incorporacon by some usuall and fitt name and title with libertie to them and their successor from time to time to make orders, Laws, Ordinances, and Constitucons for the rule, government, ordering, and directing of all persons to be Transported and settled upon lands hereby graunted intended to be granted, or hereafter to be granted And of the said lands and profits thereby arising, And in the meane tyme and until such grant be made, it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes from time to time, to establish such laws and ordinances as are for the better government of the said prsons soe Transported and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices Elect, and choose to putt in execution.¹

AND that it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes or either or any of them from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their several defence and safety to encounter expulse expel fortifie defend and resist by force of Armes as well by sea as by land, and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever and to take apprehend seize and make prize of to their owne use, and behoofe All such prson and prsons, their Ships and goods, as without the Speciall license of the said President and Councell and their Successors or the greater parte of them, shall attempt to inhabite or Trade with any of the Salvadge people of that country within the several precincts or lymitts of their said Plantacon, or shall enterprize or attempt att any tyme hereafter destrucion, invacon or annoyance to the said Plantacon And further that it shall be lawful to and for the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, or either of them from tyme to tyme to Transport and carry such powder, Shott, provision and Ordenances as shall be necessarie for their defence and further That the said Robert

¹ This, and every clause of the patent, are drawn evidently with the nicest reference to the provisions in the patent creating the Plymouth Council. — *Thornton.*

Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires or assignes shall not anye tyme hereafter aliene their premises or any parte thereof to any foraigne Nation [especially the French] or to any other prson or prsons whatsoever without the Spetiall License consent and agreem^t of the said President and Councell and their Successors and assignes, Except it be to their owne Tenants or Vndertakers, belonging to the said Towne by them to be Erected as aforesaid upon paine of forfeiture of the said land soe Aliened, to the Use of the said President and Councell againe and further know yee that the said President and Councell have made constituted and deputed Authorized and appointed and in their steade and place, doe put Captaine Walter Neale and Richard Vines gent. or in his or their absence to anie person that shall be their Governour or other officer to the said President and Councell to be their true and lawful Attorney or Attorneys, and in their name and steade to enter the said Porcon of land, and other the premises, apptenances or into some Part thereof in the name of the whole soe had and taken then for them, and in their names to deliver the full and peaceable possession and seizen of all and singular the said granted premises vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge or to their certain Attorney or Attorneys in that behalf according to the true intente and meaning of these presents Ratifying, allowing and confirming all, and whatsoever their said attorney or Attorneys shall doe in or about the premises by their presents. In Witness whereof, the President and Councell to the one part of these present Indentures have set their Seale and to the other part thereof the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have set their hands and seals. Given the day and year first above written.

R. WARWICK.

[L. S.]

FERD. GORGE.

This is a true copy of the Letters pattents under the Seale of the President and Councell of New England signed by the Earle of Warwicke and S^r Gerdinando Gorge, examined with the same Letters patents this twenty and sixth day of March 1648, By us whose names are subscribed viz

FRA. YEAMANS, Noty Pubb.

ROBT. DENNIS,

DEW TONY, Servants to the said No. P^o 1

This document is here inserted entire because of its intimate connection with the subsequent history of the place, for a period of nearly two hundred years. It is remarkable that no writer,

¹ Verified by the notarial copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. — *Thornton*.

except Mr. Thornton,¹ has noticed the peculiarity of its date, Feb. 29, 1631. Feb. 29th occurs only in *leap year*; and it is evident, that, according to our present mode of reckoning time, it should be 1632. One year and three months after the date—that is May 27th, 1633, possession was formally given to the grantees, in the usual mode of those days, Capt. Walter Neale, acting as agent of the grantors, and Mr. Abraham Shurte, of Pemaquid, as agent for the grantees. This latter gentleman, as we have seen (p, 59), was an honored resident here for many years.

By referring to his deposition, as previously given, it will be seen that he was not altogether correct in some of his statements. He there says that the patent was sent over to him “about the year 1629,” whereas, in fact, it was not granted until Feb. 163½. He also says that fifty acres of land were to be allowed to each child born in the colony during the first seven years; but this particular provision is not found in the patent. Evidently he spoke from memory only.

Capt. Thomas Cammock, whose name appears as the first witness to the delivery of the patent, resided at Black point, of which settlement he was the founder. He was a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, and came to this country in 1631, fixing his residence first on the northern bank of the Piscataqua. Two years later he removed to his patent between Spurwick and Black point, now Scarborough. In 1636, he was appointed by Gov. Wm. Gorges, one of the councilors for his new government of Somersetshire, and died in 1643, on a voyage to the West Indies. He was an early and intimate friend of Henry Jocelyn, who, after his death married his widow.²

Wm. Hooke (or Hook) another of the witnesses, lived at Accomenticus, and was a man of excellent reputation. He was also appointed one of Gorges’s board of councilors, but never acted with them. Probably he came to this country in 1631, and removed from Accomenticus to Salisbury, Mass., in 1640. From that place he was elected deputy to the general court in 1643 and 1647. He died in Salisbury in 1654.

Walter Neale, who was appointed to make delivery of the Pemaquid patent, to the agent of Aldsworth and Elbridge,

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 207.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, p. 12. *Allen’s Biog. Dict.*, Winth., I, p. 107. *Will. Hist. Maine*, I, pp. 278, 666 and 678. *Hist. of Saco and Bid.* p. 44.

came to this country in 1630, and was at one time styled "Governor of Piscataqua." Only four days before making delivery of possession of the Pemaquid patent, as agent for the Plymouth Council — that is, May 23, 1633 — he had performed the same office for the Cammock patent at Black point. He sailed for England the following August and never returned.

The history of the three other witnesses to the delivery of possession, Barksted, Newman, and Knight, cannot now be traced. They were probably residents at Pemaquid or the immediate vicinity.

As the proprietors of the patent under which possession had now been taken, were to receive a hundred acres of land for every settler they should introduce within seven years, and as it is known that the population from this time rapidly increased, it is altogether probable that active measures were taken to forward immigrants from England, but only few and very scanty records of the transactions are now to be found. According to Shurte's deposition, when possession was given under the patent, it was agreed to bound the twelve thousand acres from the head of Damariscotta river to the head of the Muscongus, and "between them to the sea;" but this tract contained much more than the quantity mentioned. And more than a century later, the proprietors of the patent laid claim to ninety thousand acres.¹ The only pretence for making so large a claim must have been because of the large number of settlers introduced by the proprietors, in accordance with the provisions of the patent.

Robert Alsworth, first named in the patent, died in 1634, and Elbridge thereafter became sole proprietor,² but by what right we are not told. July 21st, 1639, he obtained permission "to export eighty passengers and provisions to New England, they taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy."³ These, it is fair to presume, were designed to reinforce the settlement of Pemaquid, although the seven years limitation had already expired; but we, unfortunately, have no further evidence in regard to them.

On the death of Gyles Elbridge the patent fell by inheritance to his eldest son, John Elbridge, who by his last will and testa-

¹ *Hist. of Maine*, I, p. 241, note.

² *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 10.

³ *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, VIII, p. 144. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 222.

ment, dated Sept. 11th, 1646, bequeathed it to his brother Thomas Elbridge. John Elbridge dying soon after the date of his will, his brother Thomas became sole proprietor, and at once manifested his interest in his new possessions, by repairing here, and giving his personal attention to the affairs of the settlement. The exact time of his arrival is not known, but it is certain that he was here as early as 1650.¹ According to Shurte's deposition he "called a court here, unto which divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, continuing their fishing, and paying a certain acknowledgement."

Thomas Elbridge being now sole proprietor of the patent, by deed Feb. 1st, 1651, conveyed one-half to Paul White, merchant of Pemaquid, but who afterwards removed to Newburyport, where he died at the age of 89, in the year 1679.²

White retained his ownership in the patent only two years, for in April 1653 he conveyed his right to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison, both of whom resided in Charlestown. Thus the ownership remained for four years, but in July, 1757, Russell conveyed his quarter to Davison, and in September following, Elbridge conveyed to Davison the half which he had until this time retained. Thus Nicholas Davison, of Charlestown, became the sole proprietor of the Pemaquid patent; and his heirs-at-law, nearly a century later, became the "Proprietors" so hated by the settlers; they were represented by Mr. Shem Drowne, who long acted as their agent. It thus became known as the *Drowne claim*, and was not fully settled until the beginning of the present century.

Davison by his will, dated March 26th, 1655, gave all his property in equal parts to his widow, Joan Davison, and his two children Daniel and Sarah Davison,³ or in case of their death to other relatives of his. We omit the further history of this matter for the present.

¹ *Lincoln Report*, 1811, 9, 10 and 49. *Hist. of Maine*, i, p. 329.

² *Hist. Newbury*, p. 321.

³ *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 52, 53. Davison's will was attested on oath by John Dudley, one of the witnesses of its signing in 1664, where Davison is spoken of as having deceased. But as his will is dated in 1655, two years before he became sole proprietor of the patent, what becomes of that supposed principle of law that a man cannot convey by will real estate not possessed by him at the time of making the will?

When Elbridge came to the place he did not fail, as we have seen, to assert his rights under the patent, as he at once took measures to establish a civil government; but it is remarkable that no evidence of any sales of land made by him have been preserved except the sale of the patent itself, as heretofore detailed.

The deeds to White and Davidson, conveying the patent, are decided curiosities. They go wonderfully into details, conveying to the grantee everything above and below, around and beneath, real or imaginary, pertaining to the place. The deed to White is a full warranty, as we should call it at the present time; and the grantor engages "to save and keep harmless, and indemnify, as well the said Paul White, his heirs, undertakers and assigns, and every of them, and all and singular the said premises, and from and concerning all other bargains, sales, joyntures, dowers, titles of dowers, arrearages of rents, and of the staple, execut[ive] judgments, extents, forfeitures, charges, titles, troubles, incumbrances, and demands whatsoever, &c."

The deed to Davison is only a quit claim. By recitals in it we learn that Nov. 5, 1650, Elbridge had mortgaged Damariscove island and Monhegan¹ to Richard Russell of Charlestown, Mass.

The consideration mentioned in the several deeds, including the mortgage, amounts only to £385, lawful money.

Elbridge continued to reside at Pemaquid, long after he had conveyed away all his right in the patent. In his conveyances he styled himself "merchant of Pemaquid." He was a man of small stature and insignificant appearance, but ever exerted a mild and beneficial influence in the settlement. But he was not permitted to live without molestation, for in 1659 he brought two actions against George Cleaves, one for defamation, and the other for assault and battery, on the first of which he recovered fifty pounds damages. The result of the other action is not stated.² He was still living in 1672, for we find his name as the signer of a petition from residents of the place, to be taken under the government and protection of Massachusetts. It is not known whether he had any family, nor has the time of his death been ascertained. Thomas Elbridge, who was a member of the first fire company formed in Boston, 1676, may have been the same man.

¹ Called in the deed Damariscotty Cove and Monhiggan.

² *Hist. Port.*, p. 122, 2d Ed.

CHAPTER XI.

The great storm of August, 1635, on the coast of New England — The ship Angel Gabriel, wrecked at Pemaquid — John Cogswell and family passengers by her — Affidavit of Samuel Haines, a servant in the Cogswell's family — Encroachment of the French at the east — Immigration from England checked by the political troubles, there — Ferocious strife between the two French rivals, D'Albney and La Tour, in the French colonies at the east, threatening at times to involve Massachusetts and other English settlements on the coast.

The great storm of August 15, 1635, was probably one of the most severe and destructive ever known on the coast of New England. It ravaged the whole coast from Nova Scotia to Manhattan (New York) and probably further south." It began early in the morning with the wind at the northeast, and continued with great fury five or six hours, the tide rising in some places more than twenty feet "right up and down." According to some of the old writers, the tide not only rose to a very unusual height, but was attended by other peculiar circumstances. High tide seems to have occurred about the proper time, according to calculation, and was followed by a partial ebb, but then immediately succeeded another and unaccountable tidal wave, in which the water rose even higher than at first. The growing crops every where were greatly injured; and the largest trees of the forest, which then covered a large part of the surface, were blown down in immense numbers.

This storm was very severe at Pemaquid, but we are indebted chiefly to a disastrous shipwreck that occurred here for what information we have of its ravages. June 22d, previously, two ships, the Angel Gabriel of two hundred and forty tons, and carrying sixteen guns, and the James of two hundred and twenty tons, sailed together from Milford Haven for New England, both bringing passengers and supplies for the colonies. They kept together for nearly two weeks, but the James, being the best sailer, at length lost sight of the other, and proceeded on her voyage. During those two weeks the latter had not spread all their sails, so that they "might not overgo her."

Among the passengers of the James was the Rev. Richard Mather and family, the ancestors of Drs. Increase and Cotton

Mather, and most or all of the name in New England. Both of the ships, besides their passengers, brought also cattle and horses and other domestic animals, with the necessary supplies for the voyage. Mr. Mather kept a diary during the voyage, which was published by Dr. Young in his *Chronicles of Massachusetts* in 1846, after having been kept in manuscript two hundred and eleven years. Afterwards it was republished by the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society.

But though the *James* thus early in the voyage was obliged to part with her consort, because of her own fast sailing, she did not arrive much in advance of her. The great storm of Aug. 15th, found her at anchor at the Isle of Shoals; but having, in the first part of it, lost all her anchors she was obliged to put to sea again, and after a very perilous contest with the storm, and having all her sails "rent in sunder and split in pieces, as if they had been rotten ragges," arrived in Boston harbor the next day. Mr. Mather "was exercised" as he expresses it, at least once every Sabbath, during the voyage, and sometimes at "both ends of the day."

The night before the storm, while the *James* lay at the Isle of Shoals, the *Angel Gabriel* lay also at anchor at Pemaquid; but probably not in the inner harbor, for if she had been there, even if her anchors could not hold her, she could not have been dashed in pieces, as actually happened. One seaman and three or four of the passengers were lost, and most of the animals and goods. Of the latter a part was recovered in a damaged state.¹

Among the passengers by the *Angel Gabriel* was Mr. John Cogswell, a London merchant, who afterwards established himself in business at Ipswich. He was accompanied by three sons and several servants; and brought also many valuable household goods.

The following deposition is of interest, as connected with the shipwreck. It is contained in the *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. xxx, p. 535. A quarrel had arisen among the sons, or other descendants of Cogswell, which found its way into the courts; and this deposition was taken in reference to the trial, and probably was actually used. Another deposition of Wm. Furber, also servant of Cogswell, was taken the same day, and is of the same character. — *Mass. Archives* vol. xxxix, p. 504.

¹ *Journal of Richard Mather*, above cited, *passim*.

"The Deposition of William Furber Senr. aged 60 years or thereabouts.

This Deponent testifyeth and saith, that in the year of our lord 1635 I the said Deponent did come over in the ship (called the Angell Gabriel) along with Mr. John Cogswell Senr. from Old England, and we were cast ashore at Penmayquid; and I doe remember that there was saved several Casks both of Dry Goods and provisions which were marked with Mr. Cogswell Senr. Marks and that there saved a tent of Mr. Cogswell Senr. which he had set up at Penmayquid; and Lived In it (with the goods that he saved in the wracke) and afterwards Mr. Cogswell Removed to Ipswich; And in november after that ship was cast away I the said Deponent Came to Ipswich and found Mr. Cogswell, Senr. Living there, and hired myself with him for one year; I the said Deponent doe well remember that there were severall feather beds and I together with Deacon Haines as servants lay upon one of them, and there were severall dozen of pewter plat- ters, and that there were severall brass pans besides other pieces of pewter and other household goods as Iron worke and others necessary as for house Repairing and have in the house then. I the said Deponent doe further testify that there were two maires and two Cowes brought over in an other ship which were landed safe ashore and were Kept at misticke till Mr. Cogswell had y^m. I doe further testify that my maister, John Cogswell Senr. had three sons which came over along with us in the ship (called the Angell Gabriell) the Eldest sonnes name were William, and he were about fourteen yeares of age, and the second sonne were called John and he was about twelve yeares of age then, and the third sonne name were Edward which was about six yeares of age at that time, and further saith not. William Furber Senr. came and made oath to all the above written this first of X^{ber}. 1676.¹

Before me RICHARD MARTYN, Comist."

A fellow passenger with Mather on the Angel Gabriel, was Bailey, who came over to this country with the view of settling here, but left his wife in the old country, until he could first make himself a little acquainted with the new country, and provide a suitable place for his family. Though he escaped from the wreck unhurt, his mind was deeply effected by his narrow escape, and he wrote to his wife such a doleful account of the storm and shipwreck, that she never could be persuaded to undertake

¹ *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXIII, p. 153. For account of the storm, *Chronicles of Mass.*, p. 478; and 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 199; *Winthrop*, 1, p. 197; *Thornton, Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 217.

the voyage, even to join her husband. And as he was too timid to risk himself again on the stormy Atlantic, they remained separate the rest of their lives.¹

It is interesting to remark here that Thacher's island, at Cape Ann, received its name from a circumstance that occurred there in this storm. A small vessel with 23 persons, men, women and children on board sailed from Ipswich for Marblehead, and being overtaken by the storm, was dashed to pieces on the island; and all on board were lost except a man named Anthony Thacher and wife. These latter had with them their four children, all of whom perished. They afterwards had three other children, from whom, and a nephew of Anthony, who came over with him, have descended probably all of the name in New England.²

Two circumstances occurred this year (1635) which produced some uneasiness in all the New England colonies: the surrender of the charter of the Plymouth Council in England (*ante* p. 69), and the continued encroachments of the French at the eastward. The latter especially concerned the Pemaquid settlement, as being in their immediate neighborhood.

On the division (on paper) of the territory by the council of Plymouth before giving up their charter, the Pemaquid river was made the boundary between two different proprietors; but as those proprietors never took actual possession, or exercised any other act of ownership, it is not necessary to pursue the subject further.

The encroachment of the French at the east especially concerned the Pemaquid settlement, but all the English colonies on the coast, even as far west as Connecticut, were not uninterested spectators. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of St. Germain, the French agents proceeded to suppress the trading house at Machias, belonging to the Plymouth colony: and a few days before the great storm, a French ship with a commission (as was pretended) from the king of France, seized the other Plymouth trading house at Bignydouce, at the mouth of the Penobscott, sending the men away, but appropriating the goods to themselves, only giving bills for them. They bade the men to till the plantations, that they would come

¹ Coffin, *Hist. of Newbury*.

² *Chronicles of Mass.*, p. 485.

within a year with eight ships and displace them all, as far south as forty degrees of N. latitude. Subsequently, the French Captain (D'Aulney de Charnissé) in a letter to the governor of Plymouth, stated that his commission was from Gen. Razilly¹ commander of the fort at La Heve,² and that his orders were to displace the English, only as far west as Pemaquid.³

But Plymouth was not disposed to submit to a decision so summary, in regard to her rights in the east, and made application to Massachusetts for aid against the French. They sent an armed ship to settle the matter at the Penobscot, but the French having had time to fortify their position, nothing was accomplished. Further negotiation with Massachusetts was had, and men and ammunition were to be supplied by Massachusetts, but the crops having been so much injured by the great storm, it was found that sufficient provision for such an expedition could not well be spared. The whole thing therefore failed; and it is added "nor did they (the Plymouth colonists) find any means afterwards to recover their interest there any more."

In this affair the Pemaquid settlers found themselves between two fires, for while the French on one hand, were threatening to displace them as intruders, on the other hand, Gov. Bradford of Plymouth complained that they "filled ye Indians with gunes and munishtion to the great danger of ye English," and kept both the French and Indians informed of what was passing among the colonists. Their position was exceedingly critical, but their affairs seem to have been managed with great skill and moderation; so that if they did not altogether please the three parties, viz., the English colonies west of them, the French at the east, or the native Indians, in their midst, they at least gave mortal offense to none. As a natural result they for many years enjoyed a good degree of prosperity, and the population of the place rapidly increased. Gov. Winthrop,⁴ in

¹ This name is variously spelled by different writers, as Roselly (Wint.), Rosillon (Hub.), and Razilla (Williamson), Charlevoix writes it as in the text.

² This place is in the present Dublin County, Nova Scotia.

³ *Hub.*, 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. v, p. 161; *Wint.*, i, p. 198; *Brad.*, p. 336.

⁴ *Hist. N. E.*, i, p. 490. Is it a misprint that Mr. Savage, in his note on page 491, is made to call the 6th day of the week Saturday? Mr. Thornton (*Me. Hist. Coll.*, v. p. 225), copies the mistake. What authority has either Mr. Savage or Mr. Thornton for saying that Gov. Winthrop made the entry in his journal on Sunday. Rather small criticism.

a very incidental manner, affords us some evidence of the prosperity of the place, in the month of May 1640. "Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem, the 2d day in the morning, in a ketch of about forty tons, (three men and a boy in her) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind easterly) upon the third (Tuesday) in the morning, and then took in some twenty cows, oxen, &c., with hay and oats for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day about three afternoon."

This was making good despatch, but the voyage could very easily be accomplished in the time mentioned, if the vessel was only a moderately good sailor, and the wind was favorable both going and returning.

The first cows were brought to Plymouth in 1623, but after this they were brought over in considerable numbers; but as the natural increase would at first be small, prices were high. In 1636, cows sold in Massachusetts as high as 25 and even 30 pounds a head, and oxen at 40 pounds per pair; but after this the price was lower. In 1640, cows were worth in Massachusetts only 20 pounds;—and the next year, 1641, the same cows could be purchased for 4 or 5 pounds.¹

This great fall in prices was occasioned by the great diminution in the number of emigrants arriving from the mother country. Not only was there as Hubbard expresses it, "a total cessation of any passengers coming over," but there was a return tide, many persons returning home on account of the changes taking place there or in prospect. For twenty years beginning with the year 1641 the New England colonies lost as many returning home as they received of new immigrants.²

This is not at all strange. A great change had taken place in the affairs of the mother country, by the concessions which the king, Charles I, had been compelled to make to his people. After a long recess, during which the king had undertaken to rule the country without the aid of parliament, this body was again called together. The mass of the people of England, who had been driven almost to despair by the tyrannical rule of the king, began to take hope. As a natural consequence, very many who were preparing to escape from the evils they complained of, by emigrating to America, now resolved to change their course and remain at home, some who had become resident

¹ *Wint.*, II, p. 37; *Hub.*, 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. V, p. 238.

² *Neal's N. E.*, I, p. 218; *Williamson's Maine*, I, p. 287; *Holmes's Annals*, 1640.

and in the colonies, in the change of circumstances at home, returned again to join their friends and relatives under the old flag.

The settlements at Pemaquid and vicinity were probably less affected by their cause than the more decided puritan colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. There were now many scores of English settlers at Damariscotta, Sheepscott, Arowsic Island, in other places on the Kennebec, and also at the St. George and the Penobscot rivers. Further east were several small but vigorous French establishments. At Pemaquid, and probably at the other settlements, some attention began to be given to agriculture, but the catching and curing of fish was the chief business. Every spring many fishing vessels arrived from Europe, to spend the summer on the coast; and though they brought most of their supplies with them, a ready market was made for any surplus produce the colonists might have.

The natives of the country, though not numerous, mingled freely with the colonists; no serious difficulty, so far as we know, having ever occurred between them. Furs abounded in the vicinity, and the trade in these, with the natives, added something to the general business.

The winter of 1641-2 was very severe, and navigation on the coast was especially dangerous; but in the month of January a shallop with eight men started from Piscataqua for Pemaquid. Being overtaken on the voyage by a furious N. W. gale, they were unable to hold the shore and were driven out to sea. After fourteen days of great suffering, they at length arrived at Monhegan, from which four of them, who alone survived, were rescued by some fishermen.¹

It is implied in this statement that there were at this time no residents on the island; and this harmonizes with the remark of Richard Mather, in his journal of his voyage to this country, in 1635, that "the island called Menhiggin" was then without inhabitants.² We have before seen (p. 70) that the proprietors of the island, Messrs. Aldsworth and Elbridge, of Bristol, England some twelve years before this, had procured their patent of Pemaquid, and taken possession under it; and it is probable that they very soon directed their agent, Abraham Shurte, to transfer the seat of his operations from the island to the main land, at Pemaquid.

¹ *Wint.*, II, p. 72; *Ibid.*, p. 421.

² *Chron. Mass.*, p. 470.

The real condition of affairs here at this period, in some respects, cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of some of the transactions taking place east of them, in the French settlement. New France was the name applied by the French to the territory beginning at the gulf of St. Lawrence, and extending indefinitely westward, but certainly including a part of what is now the state of Maine. The right of France to the territory had been disputed by the English, and in 1621, James I made a grant of all this territory, east of the St. Croix river, to Sir Wm. Alexander, under the name of Nova Scotia. This grant was confirmed three years afterwards by Charles I, who had succeeded to the throne of England. Sir William, then, with the approbation of the government, and aided by Sir David Kirk a French protestant, and refugee from his native country, projected a plan for the entire expulsion of the French from New France; and so energetically did the two enter upon the undertaking that they well nigh succeeded the very first campaign. This was in 1627.

It was natural that transactions like these should arouse the French to renewed activity to preserve their ascendancy in New France; and, for this purpose an association was formed, called the Company of New France, to whom the whole territory was ceded, upon condition that the colonies should immediately be strengthened by new emigrants from France. Many other conditions were also stipulated, but they do not concern our immediate purpose. Great preparations were made by the company to fulfill their contract, and an armament under *Razilly* was about to sail for Nova Scotia, when, by the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, the whole territory was given up by Charles I, to the king of France.

Razilly was also appointed commander in chief of Acadia by the French government, and in addition received a grant of the river and bay of St. Croix. Leaving behind the forces he had collected, as not being needed under the new circumstances, he set sail for Nova Scotia with high hopes.

Next east of the St. Croix a large tract was granted to Charles Etienne La Tour, and still farther east, and extending to the St. Lawrence, a grant was made to M. Denys.

Besides his grant on the St. Croix River, La Tour had claims to other large tracts, some of which he inherited from his father, who long resided in this region—indeed he had pur-

chased of Sir Wm. Alexander in 1630 all his right in Nova Scotia except Port Royal.¹ It is hardly necessary to say that he was a man of fortune and influence; a protestant in religion professedly, but utterly destitute of Christian principle, or any noble traits of character whatever.

Razilly had the chief command; and it is understood that he was instructed by the French government to maintain possession of the country as far west as the Kennebec if possible. One of his first acts was to send his lieutenant, M. D'Aulney² de Charmissé, to the Penobscot³ to seize the trading house established there, as we have just seen. When D'Aulney and his men arrived there the head man of the establishment, as it happened, was absent, but the Frenchman, pretending to have put in there in distress, and earnestly requesting permission to repair damages, succeeded in deceiving those in charge, and so gained easy possession. This was in 1635.

So also the suppression of Mr. Allerton's trading house at Machias, the year before (in 1635) was by La Tour, acting under the authority of Razilly, who claimed all the country east of Pemaquid, and threatened to seize any traders who might be found there without being properly authorized.

Gen. Razilly died soon after the suppression of the Plymouth trading house at Penobscot, and his lieutenant D'Aulney succeeded him in office. Razilly had his residence at La Heve, but his successor removed to the Penobscot, at the place afterwards made famous as the residence of the Baron de Castine, and now known by his name. From some cause, having no other foundation apparently than personal rivalry, a misunderstanding occurred between D'Aulney and La Tour which speedily ripened into a disastrous quarrel, and seemed likely at one time to involve not only the small English settlements at the east, but even the Massachusetts colony itself.

D'Aulney was a Catholic, and naturally felt that he could confide in the French government for aid against his Huguenot rival, but La Tour, at the same time, hoped for sympathy and assistance, if needed, from Massachusetts and the other Protest-

¹ *Holmes's Annals*, I, p. 253.

² This name D'Aunai, D'Aunay, D'Aulnay, and D'Aulney, and sometimes by English writers, Doney. This latter indicates the true pronunciation. Haliburton in his *History of Nova Scotia* writes the name Daubré.

³ *Haliburton* (vol. I, p. 52), errs in speaking of this trading port as being at Pemaquid.

ant settlements on the coast. Accounts of their dissensions reached France, and the two rivals were enjoined by the king, Louis XIV, to confine their operations each within his own territory. This advice was good but ineffectual in stopping the dissensions; and mutual complaints and criminations were performed before the king, until at length he found it necessary to take some more decisive steps. He therefore caused an order to be issued to D'Aulney, authorizing him to arrest La Tour, and send him a prisoner to France. This was in February, 1641.

The result was to intensify the strife. The contest between the parties was at once commenced with vigor, each bringing into action all the force he could command whether of men or ammunitions of war. The French government was too much engaged in its own affairs at home to interfere with forces, and they were left to prosecute the war upon each other like two independent chieftains.

In Nov. 1641, La Tour made application to Massachusetts for aid against his rival; but nothing was done, though the people of Massachusetts sympathized with him. The agent of La Tour brought with him a letter of introduction from Mr. Shurte of Pemaquid.

Another, and more forward and urgent request for aid, the next autumn, was attended with no better result, except that a system of perfect free trade was agreed upon between Massachusetts and the adherents of La Tour. Some of the merchants of Boston, availing themselves of this agreement, at once sent a small trading schooner to the eastward, which was received very cordially by the people on the St. Johns, and La Tour their chief. On their return home they called at Pemaquid, and were surprised to find there D'Aulney himself, who very consequentially showed them the authority he had received from the French Government for the arrest of La Tour, and threatened to sieze any Massachusetts vessels that might presume to visit the St. Johns river for purposes of trade.¹

In the spring of the next year D'Aulney was able to raise sufficient force to blockade completely the river St. Johns; and in the meantime a ship arrived from Rochelle with 140 emigrants for La Tour's colony, but being unable to enter the river she set sail for Boston, with La Tour and his wife, who were

¹ *Wint.*, II, p. 109; *Hab.*, p. 479; *Charlevoix*, II, 156.

able to get on board by passing the blockade in the night. This ship, it would seem, had been sent out by friends of La Tour in France, and brought several documents from the Vice Admiral of France and others, to La Tour, styling him His Majesty's Lieut. General of Acadia. This seemed to place La Tour at least on an equality with his great rival, as it regards the favor of France.¹

Many influential citizens of Massachusetts were now much disposed to favor La Tour, but the governor and others in authority hesitated; and the subject was discussed *pro* and *con*, sometimes angrily, through all the English settlements on the coast, from Boston to Pemaquid. Most persons had full confidence in the Protestantism of La Tour, which they would gladly favor, but they did not desire a quarrel with D'Aulney. It was at length, after due consideration, decided that though government, as such, could not extend any aid to him, yet he was at liberty to employ ships, and enlist men into his service, as he pleased.

By mortgaging his possessions at St. Johns, he succeeded in procuring four ships and 142 men as sailors and soldiers, with which he set sail for the Penobscot about midsummer. The attack upon D'Aulney was made with great vigor, and he was obliged to run some of his vessels ashore, but he then made a stand with such determination, and such means of defense, that the commander of the Massachusetts forces declined to prosecute the enterprise further. The Boston ships returned in due time without loss.

Massachusetts, not wishing to provoke the anger of D'Aulney, felt it necessary to send him an official note, informing him of what they had done in reference to his rival La Tour, but the messenger did not find him in a very pleasant mood; still he was not in a condition, as was more than suspected in Massachusetts, to manifest openly his displeasure. But he resolved no less vigorously to prosecute his measures for the subjugation of his rival; and therefore made another application for aid to the French government. To ensure the success of his application he shortly set sail for the French capital.

¹ Writers on this, without exception, concede the genuineness of these documents and those of D'Aulney to arrest La Tour, purporting to have been issued by authority; but there is not sufficient reason to question them. Neither D'Aulney nor La Tour was too honest to forge such documents, if there was a prospect that they could be used advantageously.

By this time the trade of Massachusetts with the French at the east was now nearly destroyed; and persons having debts due them in the French settlements thought it necessary to take measures for their collection. La Tour, at the time, stood as debtor on the books of several wealthy men of Boston, and D'Aulney himself held the same relation, at least to Mr. Shurte of Pemaquid. So about midsummer, 1644, Mr. Vines of Saco, Mr. Wannerton of Piscataqua, and Mr. Shurte started with a suitable boat's crew, on a collecting tour to the east. They called first at Penobscot where D'Aulney detained them, as semi-prisoners, several days; and it was only in consequence of the great personal influence of his creditor, Mr. Shurte, that they were at length released. They then proceeded to St. John's, not without some decided feeling of resentment because of this inexcusable treatment.

Thomas Wannerton had been a man of considerable influence in the colony at Piscataqua, and his name appears with those of Gorges, Mason, and others, as one of the commissioners in the Laconia patent. But he was a man of low and grovelling feelings and base passions, and, at least, in the latter part of his life, a miserable drunkard. John Jocelyn¹ says of him: "Sep. 24, 1639, several of my friends came to bid me farewell, among the rest Capt. Thomas Wannerton, who drank to me a pint of Kill-devil, *alias* rum." At a period still earlier, in 1635, he had a quarrel with several others, for which he was put under bonds for his good behavior. Hubbard says that he had been a soldier many years, and that by the irregularities of his conduct, he at one time occasioned much trouble in Mason's colony at Piscataqua.

Arriving at St. John's, Wannerton was easily persuaded by La Tour to join with him in an expedition against D'Aulney, especially as it was supposed that the forces of the latter at that time, were not very considerable, and that he was short of supplies. The number of men in the expedition was about twenty; and when they arrived at Penobscot, instead of making an attack upon the fort, they went to a farm house six miles distant, where Wannerton, in attempting to enter the house, was shot dead, and one other of his men wounded. There were only three men in the house, one of whom was killed, and the others taken prisoners. They then burned the house and killed

¹ *Voyage*, p. 26; *Wint.*, I, p. 217; *Hubbard's N. E.*, p. 434.

all the cattle they could find, and retired. Leaving the Penobscot they set sail, not for St. John's, but for Boston, where La Tour had now gone, and where his wife soon after arrived from London, though not until a few days after her husband had left for his home.¹

D'Aulney now greatly incensed by this ill-judged affair, threatened vengeance against the English colonists at the west, and actually issued commissions for the capture of all vessels of theirs found east of the Penobscot; but Massachusetts now manifesting a little firmness, and intimating a disposition to call him to account for such acts of aggression he apologized for his haste, and said that he had received commands from his sovereign to hold friendly intercourse with all the English.

But the end of this strife was not yet. Later in the autumn of this year, an agent of D'Aulney came to Massachusetts for the double purpose to make known the plenary authority he had received from the French government, for the arrest and confinement of La Tour, and to form such a treaty with the government of Massachusetts as he might be able. Though Massachusetts would by no means allow all the claims and pretensions made in behalf of D'Aulney, only four days elapsed before terms were agreed upon by the parties, and a settlement of their difficulties effected, which caused great rejoicing among the scattered settlements on the eastern coast of New England.

Thus affairs remained during the winter of 1644-5; but in the spring D'Aulney, learning that La Tour was absent from his garrison, he prepared an attack upon it, expecting to make an easy conquest. On his way he met with a New England vessel, somewhere on the coast, and in utter disregard of his treaty with Massachusetts, on which the ink was but just dry, made a prize of her, turning the crew ashore on a distant island, without food or comfortable clothing. Arriving at St. John's, he moored his ship before the fort and began a bombardment, but Madam La Tour, who had command in her husband's absence, made such spirited resistance that he was obliged to retire, his ship being badly damaged, and twenty of his men killed and thirteen wounded. On his return, a wiser if not a better man, he took aboard the men he had put ashore on the island, who had remained there ten days in great suffering

¹ For character of Wannerton further, see *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, II, p. 203.

and gave them an old shallop to return home in, but without restoring any of their property.

The indignation of the government and people of Massachusetts was justly excited at this perfidious outrage; and a messenger with an energetic remonstrance was at once sent to D'Aulney; but he was not in a temper to negotiate, and the messenger returned, not however without an assurance that no further acts of aggression should be committed, until time should be had for consultation between the parties.

The question what next to do now occupied the minds of the government and people of Massachusetts, and the matter was anxiously, and even angrily, discussed among the magistrates and people. A considerable party were in favor of making a proposition to the haughty chieftain that representatives of the two parties should meet at Pemaquid, and confer together concerning their mutual difficulties and complaints; but, before any conclusion was arrived at, a notice was received from D'Aulney informing them that he would, in due time, send messengers to Boston for the purpose.

But it was not until late in September of the next year (1646), that the promised messengers made their appearance; — having succeeded in preventing his rival at St. John's from receiving any supplies from the English colonies, at the west, there was on his part no occasion for haste. But to the colonies it was a grievous delay, all their trade at the east being suspended.

At the beginning of the negotiation, D'Aulney's representatives demanded damages of Massachusetts for injuries he had suffered, to the amount of eight thousand pounds, which, however, Massachusetts refused; but at length it was agreed that the former treaty should be revived, and that Massachusetts should send to D'Aulney, as a present, an elegant *sedan*, which had been sent by the viceroy of Mexico, as a present to his sister in the West Indies, but had been brought to Boston and presented to the governor, by the captain of a ship sailing from that port. The article was a costly thing of the kind, but, not being suited to the taste of the Bostonians, was little prized by them; and the result of the negotiation was considered a triumph of diplomacy on the part of New England.¹

But the time was now drawing near for the termination of this miserable quarrel, which, originating in matters purely per-

¹ *Hubbard*, p. 496; *Winth.*, II, p. 853; *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, I, p. 319.

sonal between two as despicable characters as the history of those times has made known to us, at length came to involve in some of its consequences, the whole eastern coast of the continent north of Cape Cod.

La Tour, effectually prevented from receiving anything from the English colonies west of him, before the spring of the next year, 1647, found himself short of provisions, and was therefore obliged to be much from home, cruising from place to place in search of the necessary supplies. Seeing a favorable opportunity thus afforded him, in the month of April, D'Aulney, with such a force as he was able to raise, suddenly made his appearance at the St. John's, and laid siege to the fort with so much energy that he soon gained possession of it, making Madame La Tour and the whole garrison prisoners, and appropriating to himself all of La Tour's effects of every kind, the value of which was not less than ten thousand pounds.

Madame La Tour, in the absence of her husband, had command of the fort, and, as on a former similar occasion, defended it with great vigor, killing and wounding many of D'Aulney's men, but the latter, having gained some advantage, offered favorable terms, and she was induced to capitulate, surrendering every thing into the hands of her adversary. But as soon as possession of the fort had been gained, D'Aulney, utterly disregarding the promises he had made, in accordance with his base nature, put the whole garrison to death, except a single man, and compelled Madame La Tour herself, with a rope around her neck, to be present at the execution.

This lady, exhausted by the heroic exertions she had made in defending the fort, and stung to madness by the wrongs and indignities she was made to suffer, died only three weeks after the surrender of the fort; and her husband, now reduced to poverty, was left a wanderer and an exile.

At this time La Tour owed considerable sums to individuals in Massachusetts, to whom much of his property in Nova Scotia was mortgaged, one man alone, by name of Gibbons, having a claim of more than £2,500. The prospect of ever collecting their dues was now small.

La Tour in despair now made application for aid to his former friend Sir David Kirk of Newfoundland, but without effect,

¹ *Charevoix's Hist. N. F.*, II, p. 196; *Hub. Hist. N. E.*, p. 497; *Hutch. Hist. Mass.*, I, p. 127.

and then turned again to Massachusetts, where he found some men of wealth who still having confidence in his integrity, furnished him with a vessel and goods to the value of £400, for a trading excursion among the Indians at the east. Arriving at Cape Sable, he developed his true character as a low scoundrel and hypocrite, by entering into a conspiracy with a part of his crew, who were Frenchmen, to put ashore the others who were English, and take possession of the vessel and cargo as their own. The men, thus put ashore in the depth of winter, in a destitute condition, were, after much suffering, relieved by a party of Mickmack Indians, who kindly aided them to return to their homes.

La Tour and his confederates, now regular pirates, it is believed, sailed further east to the Hudson's bay; but nothing is known of their doings. D'Aulney died in 1651, and a way was thus opened for La Tour's return to the scene of his former exploits.

The ferocious contest, between those two unscrupulous rivals, raged with more or less violence for twelve years, and produced effects not a little detrimental to the settlement at Pemaquid, and all others on the coast. Sometimes enormous wrongs were committed on innocent people, living in the neighborhood of their exploits; and angry menaces occasionally thrown out, could not but excite the apprehensions of persons living so near as Pemaquid.

But the strangest thing connected with this affair remains yet to be mentioned. La Tour, after his return, made love to the widow of his late hated rival, D'Aulney; and they were actually married, and lived together many years, several children being born to them. All his former possessions in Nova Scotia were now resumed by him, and a singular prosperity marked the latter years of his life; but, it is added, in the history of the time, that in all his prosperity he did not remember his friends in Massachusetts, who aided him in the days of his adversity and trial, so much as to pay them the money he owed them.¹

So singular a termination to such a bitter and protracted contest exceeds the limits of ordinary romance; and one scarcely

¹ *Charlevoix's Hist. N. F.*, II, p. 198; *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.* I. p. 127; *Sullivan's Hist. Maine* p. 282.

knows whether it should be contemplated as belonging to the sublime or the ridiculous, to the romantic or the disgusting.

Capt. Wannerton who was killed in an attack upon D'Aulney's plantations at Penobscot, was deeply in debt at the time of his death, as has often been the case with fast livers like himself. His creditors, among whom was Abraham Shurte of Pemaquid, in the settlement of his estate, became involved in a law suit among themselves, which terminated only in 1648. The decision was adverse to Mr. Shurte, some of the other claimants being able to establish their claims as being superior to his.

CHAPTER XII.

Civil Government at Pemaquid — Silvanus Davis's statement as to the population of Pemaquid and vicinity — Progress of the settlements west of the Kennebec — The Piscataqua settlement taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts — Inquiry as to the northern boundary of the latter — By actual survey it is found to be in lat, 43° 43' 12" — The line extended east to Clapboard Island — Massachusetts extends her jurisdiction east to Saco — Charles II sends Commissioners to investigate the difficulties of the colonies — The territory of Sagadahoc — The Royal Commissioners of Penobscot — Oath of allegiance taken by citizens — County of Cornwall — New Dartmouth — The governments established by the Commissioners soon die out, and the people look to Massachusetts.

The settlement at Pemaquid, for the first half century of its history, may be said to have been almost literally without civil government. Abraham Shurte, as agent of the proprietors of the Pemaquid patent, for a time performed important magisterial functions here, but his influence seems to have been of a moral rather than governmental character. The same also may be said of Thomas Elbridge, during his sojourn in the country, though he was then sole proprietor of the patent. By general consent, a limited authority was considered as belonging to them, simply because of their relation to the patent.

Williamson remarks of this patent, "that it is a charter as well as a patent;" and its language seems plainly to authorize the establishing of a regular civil government over the territory conveyed by it; but the proprietors never undertook to exer-

cise such a power, whatever may have been their opinions of the proper interpretation of the language used in it.¹

It is indeed said of Thomas Elbridge, when he came to reside in the place, being then sole owner of the patent, that he "called a court," here, to which divers fishermen repaired, paying a certain acknowledgement for the right to continue their fishing. This indicates that his chief object was the collection of money. What his success was, we do not know; but as he was willing in a very few years, to dispose of the patent, and all his right under it, for a very moderate compensation, the probability is that his collections were not large. Probably he came to this country about 1647, and in 1651, he disposed of one half of the patent, and the remaining half only six years later.

After the sale of the patent by Elbridge, until the time Massachusetts assumed jurisdiction in 1674, the people seem to have been without form or pretence of civil government of any kind, except such as they may have organized for themselves.

As may readily be supposed, in an isolated community as this then was, and on the very "outskirts of civilization," made up largely of desperate adventurers from Europe, poor fishermen, many of whom spent only their summers in the place, or on the coast; and not a few miscellaneous characters, and transient visitors, both from the mother country and from the other New England colonies, the moral and religious condition of the place was not elevated. Not until several years later than this do we hear of any attempts for the cultivation of religion.

Elbridge was an Episcopalian, or, at least, sympathized with the national church of his country, but he did nothing for the introduction of the church into the settlement. Many of the permanent residents in the place, in all probability, were in sympathy with the Puritan² colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, but we do not learn that religious service was by them regularly established here, until at least a century after the first settlement of the place. We shall see hereafter that chaplains, in several instances, accompanied the troops that were stationed at the fort, and religious services were occasionally held by ministers

¹ Sullivan (*Hist. of Maine*, p. 160), says the "patent contained no power of civil government."

² Though the people of the Plymouth colony were not technically Puritans, as were those of Massachusetts, still, as regards the English government, they all thoroughly sympathized together.

accidentally in the place, to which the people resorted from considerable distances, often coming on the sabbath from the neighboring islands, which, at a very early period, even contained a greater population than they now do.

At this period (1640-1650) the settlement, at first limited to the two banks of the Pemaquid river, from the harbor to the falls above, had become much more extended, but we cannot now determine with any accuracy the number of permanent residents. Sullivan,¹ on the authority of Capt. Sylvanus Davis, says that in 1630 there were "eighty-four families, besides fishermen, about Pemaquid, and St. Gorges and Sheepscott river," but the statement of Davis, still on file in the secretary's office in Boston, scarcely justifies the assertion. The statement is as follows:

"March, 1701.

"Capt. Sylvanus Davis, gives this account of the several English settlements, that he hath known to be formerly, at the eastward of Kennebec or Sagadahock, along the sea-coast to Mentinicus. Sundry English fishing places, some 70 and some 40 years since.

At Sagadahock many families and 10 boats and sometimes more.

At Cape Newagen many families and 15 boats.

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|-------------|-------------------|
| At Hippocras Island, | 2 | } fishermen | } Fishing vessels |
| At Damariscove, | 15 | | |
| At Two Bacon Gutt, | | | |
| At Holmes Island, | | | |
| At Pemaquid, | 5 | | |
| At New Harbor, | 6 | | |
| At Monhegan, near | 20 | | |
| At St. Gorges fishers, | | | |
| At Mentinicus Island, | 20 | | |

Farmers Eastward.

| | | | |
|---|-----|------------|------------------------------|
| At and near Sagadahock, | 20 | } Farmers. | } St. George 84 Families. |
| At E. side of Sagadahock to Merry meeting, | 31 | | |
| From Cape Newagen to Pemaquid, | 15 | | |
| At Pemaquid, | 15 | | |
| At New Harbor, | 10 | } | |
| At St. Gorges, W. side, M. Foxwell, | } 1 | | |
| At Saquid Point, 60 years ago, | | | |
| On the E. side of Quisquamago, | 1 | | |
| Philip Swaden 50 years ago, besides fishermen | | | |
| 60 or 70 years, | 84 | | |

¹ *Hist. of Maine*, 167-331.

Within Land.

| | |
|---|--------|
| Between Kennebec and Georges Rivers, | 12 |
| At Sheepscott town, besides farms, | 50 |
| Between Sheepscot and Damariscotta River, | 10 |
| At Damariscotta, | 7 or 8 |
| Between Damariscotta, Misconcus } and Pemaquid and Round Pond. } | 12 |

91 Families.¹

Though the statement of Davis fails to *prove* that as many as eighty-four families had settled at Pemaquid and vicinity as early as 1630, it is of importance as indicating something of the populousness of these places, at a later period, when the Indian wars began.

Davis had been a resident of Damariscotta or vicinity where in 1659 he purchased lands of the Indians, but subsequently removed to Arrowsic island in the Kennebec, and acted as agent of Clark and Lake, who claimed large tracts of land in that region. In the attack on that place by the Indians, Aug. 14th, 1676, he was badly wounded, but finally made his escape. Afterwards he resided at Falmouth, where he was highly esteemed. In 1690, he was in command of Fort Loyal at Falmouth, when it was besieged and captured by the French and Indians. Taken a prisoner to Canada, he was detained there several months; but subsequently returned and settled in Boston. In the charter of Massachusetts, granted by William and Mary, in 1692, he was named as one of the council.² He died in 1703.

For a full half century after the settlement began, the native Indians seem to have given them no trouble whatever; and the houses of the settlers were considerably scattered, at Pemaquid Harbor, New Harbor, Round Pond, Muscongus and Broad Cove, and on the Damariscotta river north as far as the bridge. On the west side of the Damariscotta also, there were scattered houses besides the settlement on the Sheepscott, which was particularly flourishing. But the Indians, though friendly, were in full sympathy with the French, at the east, whose nearest settlement was at the mouth of the Penobscot, now Castine.

¹ *Council Files*, State House, Boston.

² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I, p. 101; *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, I, 671; *Hist. of Portland*, p. 284, 2d ed.

West of the Kennebec, the settlements increased with more rapidity than in this vicinity, but they were kept, almost without cessation, in a state of uncertainty and discontent by the quarrels of those claiming to be proprietors of the soil.

These quarrels, though taking place at a distance, were not without their injurious effect upon the Pemaquid, as well as other neighboring settlements; but the matter can only be alluded to here. They originated chiefly from the indefinite, and often conflicting charters, granted to different parties, by the crown, or by the council of Plymouth, neither apparently having much regard to the doings of the other. Thus their difficulties were for sometime increased not a little by the political troubles in England. Charles I can hardly be said to have had any particular colonial policy; but whatever was his mode of treating his American colonies, it could not but be changed on the accession to power of the protector, Oliver Cromwell; and another momentous change was equally inevitable on the restoration of Charles, II in 1660.

The founders of these settlements, as well as the settlers themselves were, most of them, warmly attached to the established church, and, as a matter of course, adopted the forms of the Episcopal church, in their religious worship. This excited no little antipathy against them among the Puritans of Massachusetts, in which feeling the colonies of Plymouth and the two colonies in Connecticut largely participated. Therefore, when, in 1643, the confederacy was formed by the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, Maine was not invited to join them.

The small colony established on the banks of the Piscataqua, in 1623, maintained a separate existence for a time, but at length became so much distracted, chiefly by their own internal dissensions, that they felt obliged to look abroad for aid. Their religious sympathies were favorable to the English church, but the distractions in England, at this time, precluded any hope, they might otherwise have indulged, of receiving the royal attention. In this extremity, therefore, the more considerate of the people thought it their best course to seek a more intimate alliance with Massachusetts;—and thus began the series of measures, which eventually resulted in the annexation, not only of the Pemaquid settlement, but of the whole state (or district) of Maine, to Massachusetts.

Fortunately, just at this time, Massachusetts was more than willing to lend a listening ear to the proposition. For several years prior to this the question of her proper northern boundary, according to her charter, had been much discussed. According to this instrument, their north line was to be "three miles to the northward of the Merrimack river and any and every branch thereof;" but no actual survey of the line had ever been made. As soon as attention was drawn to the subject, it was seen, that, wherever the line should fall, by the plain language of their charter not only the Piscataqua settlements, but also those farther east, within the present state of Maine, would be brought within the territorial limits of Massachusetts. Gladly therefore did the Massachusetts people listen to the proposals of the Piscataqua settlements for a political union, which was formally ratified June 14th, 1641.¹

But it was ten years after this before the proposed survey was actually made. The survey, in itself, was a very innocent transaction; but for the colonial government to extend its jurisdiction over all the territory which they proposed to grasp, could not fail to provoke violent opposition at home, and might call down upon them the indignant frowns of the English government.

The watchful leaders of the Massachusetts Bay colony knew how to choose their time. Charles I had perished upon the scaffold; and under the Parliament, or under Cromwell, the people of Massachusetts could take hope. In 1651 the matter was brought before the general court, and it was determined, that, to fix the northern boundary of the colony, a point three miles north of the Merrimack must first be found, through which a due east and west line being drawn would constitute the boundary in question.

Commissioners were at once appointed to make the survey, who after employing the best scientific talent in the country to assist them, proceeded with the work. August 1st, 1652, they made their report, in which they decided that "the head of the Merrimack, where it issues out of the lake, is in latitude $43^{\circ} 40' 12''$ "; and of course the boundary line would be three miles further north, or in latitude $43^{\circ} 43' 12''$. "This line traced eastward, it was found, would strike the coast at Clapboard island

¹ The connection continued until 1680, when the colony of New Hampshire received a separate charter from the crown.

[in Casco Bay] about three miles eastward of Casco peninsula." Nothing was said of territory farther east.

By this movement of Massachusetts, great excitement and much disquietness was produced among the people living on the territory in question, many of whom probably, both in politics and religion, sympathized with the Puritans of Massachusetts; but a majority were of the opposite party, and abhorred any connection with their neighbors west of them. Even before the actual movement for the determination of the line, an earnest remonstrance against any such plan as Massachusetts had in view, and a petition for protection against such a catastrophe, was sent to the English government, which however had now fallen into the hands of Cromwell; and the effort was without avail.

Massachusetts having now settled her northern boundary to her own satisfaction, immediately took measures to conciliate her new subjects by sending commissioners among them to explain more fully their real intention, and give to them positive assurances of the most perfect protection in the enjoyment of all their rights. Massachusetts only proposed to take them under her jurisdiction and protection, to become a part of her own people, with the same rights, privileges and responsibilities. These commissioners, while they pressed earnestly the claims of Massachusetts, were careful to do it with the utmost kindness, and not without effect.

The time for this movement had been judiciously chosen; all the circumstances, both in the mother country, and in the colonies were favorable. Many of those who by the proposed movement were to be brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were still furiously opposed to the measure, but they were powerless. The commissioners, proceeded in their work with great firmness and decision, but at the same time, with equal forbearance and kindness, until at length the opposition entirely broke down.

The jurisdiction of Massachusetts being thus extended over the Piscataqua settlement, the commissioners next addressed themselves to the Province of Maine, which then included only that part of the present state of Maine west of the Kennebec river. They first presented the subject to the authorities of the Province, who still held their offices under their charter from the crown; but finding it impossible to produce any effect in this direction, they ignored the rulers and turned to the peo-

ple. Visiting all the principal settlements in the province, they addressed themselves directly to the citizens, persuading them individually to make their submission to Massachusetts, and take the oath of allegiance.

In this they succeeded even beyond their own expectations; and soon they were in a condition to organize local governments, and appoint the necessary local officers. This was a movement worthy of Young America of the present day, and as a necessary result the officers who had been acting under the royal charter, to their great mortification, found "their occupation gone."

Thus in the summer of 1653, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended as far east as Saco; but five or six years more were required before it could be extended so as to include Falmouth, now Portland. This was at length accomplished by the spontaneous movements of the people of Scarboro and Falmouth themselves. Deeming it for their own interest, the people of these places, in 1658, quietly elected a deputy to the Massachusetts general court, who was allowed to take his seat without opposition.

But all this time there were individuals who utterly refused submission, and by their opposition produced much disquiet among certain classes of the people. Among these were the Rev. Robert Jordau, Henry Jocelyn, and Richard Bonython, [Bonighton] who were men of character and influence. It was not until some of them had been arrested, and removed to Boston for trial, that they were brought to see the futility of their course.

Of course it was only because of the revolution in England that this marvellous success of Massachusetts, in these movements, was possible. But the time was at hand, when, on the restoration of Charles II, their skill and firmness were to be severely tested.

This event occurred in 1660; and among the many things pertaining to his government, that were at once brought before him, while there were some which more immediately concerned the stability of his throne, there were few that occasioned more perplexity than the management of his American, and especially his New England, colonies. Finding it difficult to understand clearly the full import and bearing of the many conflicting questions and interests presented before him, he resolved to send commissioners to this country, to examine the condition

of affairs, and make report to himself. Indeed he went much farther than this, and gave them power to "examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all contests and matters, as well military as criminall and civill, and to proceed in all things, providing for and settling the peace and security of the said country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they or the survivors of them shall from tyme to tyme receive from us in that behalfe, and from tyme to tyme as they shall find expedient to certify to us, or our privy councill of their acts and proceedings." ¹

For commissioners he named Coll. Robert Nicholls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick. The last mentioned, Samuel Maverick, had been many years in the country, and had his residence on Noddle's island, now East Boston

These proceedings greatly disgusted the people of Massachusetts, but they were too wise to make any open opposition. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the proprietor of the province of Maine, (that part of the present state west of the Kennebunk) also became alarmed for his proprietary interest, and sent over an agent John Archdale, to attend to his affairs. He visited all the settlements, asserted in a formal manner the claims of his principal, and even undertook to appoint civil officers, as authorized, by the charter. But his efforts were unavailing, except to prepare the way for a sale of the patent or charter to Massachusetts, as was afterwards effected.

The royal commissioners in due time made their appearance in Boston; and after attending to their business in Massachusetts, and at Piscataqua, proceeded east as far as York, where, in the language of that day, they again "held a court." June 23d, 1665, they issued a formal proclamation, annulling (on paper) the authority both of the Gorges government and that of Massachusetts, in the then province of Maine, at the same time, in the king's name undertaking to establish a kind of government of their own. Proceeding eastward, they "held court" in several other places, in each going through the same forms, by which they claimed that the several municipal governments of these places were annulled, and others substituted in their stead. Sept. 5th, they arrived at Sheepscott, and "opened court" as usual at the house of *John Mason*, and called upon

¹ *Hutch. Hist.*, II, p. 460; *Doc. Col. Hist.*, N. Y., III, p. 64.

the inhabitants to come forward and swear allegiance to their royal master, the king of England.

It is necessary to remark here, that the year before this (March 10, 1664), Charles II, wishing to do a favor to his brother James, duke of York, by royal charter had made a grant to him of the territories of New York and Sagadahoc, the latter being defined as "all that part of the Main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called and known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland [Nova Scotia] in North America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast into a place called Petuaquine or Pemaquid, and so on up the river thereof to the farthest head of the same as it trendeth northwards and extending from thence to the river Kinebequi, and so upwards by the shortest course to the river of Canada."¹

The commissioners supposed themselves in these transactions to be within the limits of the duke's patent, but plainly they were not, as a careful examination of the language of the above extract will show.

As we have heretofore seen, there had been here, before this, scarcely the pretence of a civil government; and the way was therefore comparatively easy for the commissioners to execute their office and authority. Proclamation being made for the citizens to appear, and make their submission to his majesty's government, the following twenty-nine persons answered to the call, and took the prescribed oath.

Of Pemaquid and Winnegance.²

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| Henry Chamness, | George Buckland, |
| Edmund Arrowsmith, | M. Thomas Albridge, [Elbridge.] |
| Thomas Gardiner, | |

Of Shipscot.

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| John Mason, | John Taylor, |
| Thomas Mercer, | John White, |
| Walter Philips, ³ | William Markes, |
| Nathaniel Draper, | Robert Scott, |
| Christopher Dyer, | Andrew Stalger, |
| William Dole, | Moses Pike, |
| William James, | Thomas Gent. |

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 6; *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, i, p. 407.

² This was the name of a small settlement on the Sheepscott somewhere near its mouth.

³ See next page.

Of Sagadahock.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Richard Hamons [Harrmond.] | John White, |
| Thomas Parker, | Markes Parsons, |
| Robert Morgan, | John Miller, |
| Thomas Watkins, | William Friswell. |

Of *Arrowsick*, Nicholas Raynal.¹

The territory of Sagadahock they erected into a country which they called *Cornwall*, and gave to the *Sheepscott* plantation the name of *Dartmouth* or *New Dartmouth*. The officers then appointed were *Walter Phillips*² of Damariscotia, clerk and recorder, *Nicholas Raynal* of Sagadahock, *Thomas Gardiner* of Pemaquid, and *Wm. Dyer* of Dartmouth, justice of the peace, and *Richard Lemons*, constable.

They even pretended to establish a kind of church government, but nothing ever came of it.

Having thus arranged the political affairs of Sagadahock or New Dartmouth to their satisfaction, the royal commissioners were prepared to return again to Massachusetts, where they found the spirit of the government and people not all together submissive to their authority.

Of their doings in this last place of their visitation *Williamson*³ very justly says, "short sighted statesmen, unacquainted with the genius of the people, their necessities, and the political remedies needed, they formed no regular system of government; their whole management giving full proof of their inadequacy to the magnitude of the trust to which they had been commissioned." Though they were received kindly by the people here, they were evidently in a mood not to see things favorably, as their official representations of the condition of the people plainly shows. They say "the places beyond Sagadahock [river] were given to His Royal Highness by his Ma^{ty}. yet as Col. Nicolls⁴ desired, who could not attend to go himself, we have appointed some to govern them for the present, as there was

¹ *Sd. Hist. Maine*, 287; *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, 421.

² "Walter Phillips of Damariscotta," appointed "clerk and recorder," began his book of records, at this time the title of which has been preserved, but the book itself long since disappeared. *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, 420.

³ *Ibid. Maine*, I., 422, 423.

⁴ Col. Nichols [Nicolls, Nicholls] was in New York at this time; he did not accompany the other commissioners into Maine.

great need. Upon 3 rivers, east of [the] Kennebec, [the] Shipscot [Damariscotta], and Pemaquid—there are 3 plantations, [but] the greater hath not more over 20 houses, and they are inhabited by the worst of men. They have had hitherto noe government and are made up of such as to avoid paying of debts and being punished have fled hither; for the most part they are fishermen, and share in their rivers as they do in their boats.”¹

Their account of the country was more favorable, for, however much they disliked the people, they looked with admiration upon the immense stores of timber the country afforded, and the wild game and the wild fruits that abounded.

The commissioners were recalled in 1666; and in a little time all traces of their doings “were obliterated” except a “few monumental evils.” England was now at war both with Holland and France, and little attention from her could be expected by the colonies. This war terminated the next year, in a way deeply interesting to the New England colonies, by the cession of Nova Scotia to France and of the Dutch colony on the Hudson to England.

In 1668, the governments established by the commissioners had nearly died out. In fact they never “possessed within themselves any permanent principle or power to give sanction to their authority,” “the officers received no support or encouragement from England,” “the laws were feebly administered, and the public affairs fell into confusion.” The people were therefore compelled to take action in the matter; and considering the miserable result of the doings of the royal commissioners, it was natural that they should look to the stable government of Massachusetts Bay, which had recently shown more than ordinary firmness and skill in the management of their own political affairs.

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, III, 101. A discrepancy appears here that needs explanation. This report of the royal commissioners to the English secretary of state is dated Boston, July 26, 1665, and yet the time of their “holding court” at the house of John Mason, at Sheepscott, is said to have been Sept. 5, of the same year.

CHAPTER XIII.

Massachusetts, on application, sends commissioners to the eastern settlements— Fierce war between the Mohawks and the New England Indians— Acadia ceded to France; and the latter takes possession of the country as far west as the Penobscot, but asserts a claim to the territory quite to the Kennebec— Massachusetts orders a new survey of her northern boundary line with a view of extending her jurisdiction over the eastern settlements— The people petition to be taken under her protection— Action of the general court— Commissioners appointed by the general court “hold a court” at Pemaquid— Organization of the county of Devon or Devonshire, and civil and military officers appointed— The Indian war, called King Philip's war, begun in Massachusetts, extends to the eastern colonies— The people of Pemaquid still hope to preserve the peace and make commendable efforts for the purpose— John Eartly.

The indications of the popular sentiment in these eastern settlements were favorably received by the government and people of Massachusetts; and the matter was early (May, 1668), brought before the general court, by whom it was decided that four commissioners¹ should be sent to York, and open the court there, which was to be held the first Tuesday of July, of course in the name and by the authority of Massachusetts. Proclamation to this effect was made at once; and, on the day appointed, the commissioners repaired to the meeting house where the court was to be held, and proceeded with their business, though not without some rather sharp altercation with the opposite party. It was plain, however, that the feelings of the people were very generally in favor of the Massachusetts commissioners, who soon found themselves firmly established in the authority they claimed.

Thus was the jurisdiction of Massachusetts fully established over the western part of the present state of Maine, never again to be interrupted until the organization of the present state government.

Several circumstances that occurred about this time tended to produce much uneasiness in New England, and especially in the eastern settlements. A great war between the Mohawks on the Hudson and the New England Indians began about the year 1663, and continued full six years, terminating in 1669 by a great battle, in which the New England Indians were defeated and

¹ The commissioners were Major General *John Leverett*, Mr. *Edward Tyng*; assistants, Mr. *Richard Waldron* and Major *Robert Pike*.

obliged to retreat. Even the Tarratines, living on the Penobscot and further east, it is said, were engaged in the war, and on their retreat were pursued by the outraged Mohawks quite to their homes.¹ Before the time of this war no serious difficulty had occurred between the English and the natives, but, immediately afterwards, a growing uneasiness and disquiet made itself visible among the latter, and among the former a greatly increased distrust of their savage neighbors.

The war declared by France against England in 1666, (already referred to) was terminated by the treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667, by which, or rather, by a subsequent article, all Acadia was ceded to France. No boundaries of this indefinite country, Acadia, were given in the treaty, but several places in Nova Scotia were specifically named, and also Pentagoet, the French name for Penobscott. The agents of the French government immediately took possession of the country, erecting forts in several places, and extending their jurisdiction westward, undisputed, quite to the Penobscot, but claiming the country as far west as the Kennebec.²

This claim, if allowed, would bring the Pemaquid and neighboring settlements within the jurisdiction of France; and not only the residents of Pemaquid, but the people and government of Massachusetts were obliged to consider the condition of things with some concern. The matter was brought before the general court at its session in May, 1671; and, after much deliberation, it was decided to extend the line constituting their northern boundary, as already determined, further east, as it was claimed the charter authorized. As their agent for this purpose they appointed Mr. Thomas Clark, of the firm Clark & Lake, of Boston, who claimed a large tract of land on the coast, between the Kennebec and Sheepscott rivers. Clark employed as surveyor, George Munjoy of Falmouth, who was a celebrated surveyor of the time. His report, made in 1672, was as follows:

“From Clapboard Island, the place Mr. Jonas Clarke and Mr. Samue Andrews observation, due east takes in about one mile and three quarters above New Damerells Cove, and along a little above Capt. Paddishalls house in Kinnebecke, wth Capenawagen, Damerells Cove, Monhagen, Munstinicus and Muntenock, wth some part of Pemaquid, most of St. Geor-

¹ *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, 446; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I, 166.

² *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, 441.

ges Island, and so runneth out into the sea, no more land east untill wee come to Cape Sables; this I have observed by a lardge quadrant, with the approbation of Mr Wisewall who is well skilled in the mathematics, and into my best skill and judgment due east from the aboue said island. If the honorable Court were pleased to goe twenty minnits more northerly in Merrimack River it would take in all the inhabitants and places east along, and they seem to desire it.

Falmouth, 9th, 2 mo., 1672.

GEORGE MUNJOY.¹

Mr. Munjoy's remarkable suggestion to the Massachusetts authorities, that if "they were pleased to go twenty minutes more northerly in the Merrimac river it would take in all the territory they desired, is excellent in its way; and Williamson² says "in his (Munjoy's) search he found, as he believed, the northernmost source of the Merrimack to be about two leagues farther north, than had been determined by the preceding surveyors." Adding this to the latitude as previously determined ($43^{\circ} 43' 12''$) and we have for the latitude of the north boundary line of Massachusetts Bay colony $43^{\circ} 49' 12''$. "A line from this point, stretched due east would cross the Sagadahock near where Bath now is, and terminate at White Head island in the bay of Penobscot." This, if the determination of the latitude had been correct, would have brought the "principal part" of the Pemaquid settlement within the limits of the Massachusetts Bay patent.

The feelings of the people of Pemaquid and vicinity towards this movement of Massachusetts at this time is apparent from the following petition.

"To the Honor'd Governor, Deputy Governour, Majestrates, & Deputies Assembled in the General Court now sitting in Boston this 18th day of May, 1672.

The petition of * * * several of the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts of New England, viz. Kenebeck, Cape Bonawagon, Damares Cove, Shipscoate, Pemaquid, and Monhegan.

¹ *Mass. Coll. Rec.*, iv., Part II, p. 519; *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, I, p. 442; *Hist. Portland*, p. 186, 201 ed.

² *Hist. Maine*, I, p. 442. By the maps of the coast survey it appears that the true parallel of $43^{\circ} 49' 32''$ falls a little south of the southern extremity of Pemaquid point, so that all their efforts to bring the settlement within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts would have availed nothing if an accurate determination of the latitude had been made.

Humbly Sheweth that whereas the Providence of God hath stated our habitations into these parts wherein *some times* past we have had *some kind* of Government settled amongst us; but *for these Several years* have not had any at all which is greatly to our Prejudice and damage having no way to *Right ourselves upon any Account whatsoever* and have little hopes of obtaining any to be helpfull to us for the good of our *Soles* unless we have Government *settled* amongst us; The *Humble Request* therefore of your *Petitioners* is that you will please so farr to favour us as to take us under your Government and protection that we may all have the Benefit of all those Laws settled among yourselves granted unto us which if this Honourable Court shall accept of & granted to us we have desired our loving friend Mr. Richard Collacot to advise with this honoured Court or committee wth they shall appoint for that purpose, & so to ad in our behalf what shall be Judged meet or convenient for us whereby your Petitioners shall be ever Engaged to pray &c."

This petition was signed by twenty-five names from "Kennebeck," sixteen from "Cape Bonawagen" [Capenawagen] and the following from the places named.

| <i>Pemaquid.</i> | <i>Sheepscoate.</i> | <i>Damaris Cove.</i> | <i>Monhegan.</i> |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Thos. Gardner, | Wm. Dyer, | Richard Honeywell, | Jas. Palmer, |
| Jer. Hodsden, | Nathl. Draper, | Jona. Allen, | Jns. Dollen, |
| Jno. Cole, | Thos. Dwinthine, | Roger Seaward, | Antho. Pedell, |
| Jno. Hinks, | Thos. Morrer, | Jno. Wrieford. | Geo. Bickford, |
| Alex. Gold, | Wm. Cole, | Elias Trick, | Reynold Celer, |
| Jno. Browne, | Sam. Coxbinson, | Jno. Bedwell, | Jno. Dare, |
| Wm Phillips, | John Whyte, | Robt. Parker, | Richd. Wooring, |
| Thos. Harrison, | Wm. Collecott, | Emanuel Whiteham, | Edwd. Davy, |
| Tho. Elbridge, | Christo. Dyer, | Leonard Alber, | Thos. Flewen, |
| Walter Phillips, | Jno. Dyer, | William Lee, | Richd. Boone, |
| Jno. Taylor, | Wm. James, | Sym ^u . Lewsombe, | Richd. Oliver, |
| | | Nich ^o . Oyand, | Roger Willis, |
| | | Richd. Friend, | Hen. Stokes, |
| | | Th ^s . Alger, | Wm. Sanders, |
| | | Edm. Robins, | Robt. Wittell, |
| | | | Abr ^m . Larkrow, |
| | | | Abel Horkridg, |
| | | | Peter Widgor. |

No mention is made of this petition in the records of the General Court for this year (1672), but under the date of Oct. 15, 1673 we find the following;

"In answer to the petition of Mr. Richard Collecott, in behalf of the inhabitants dwelling wth our jurisdiction to the eastward, this court doth hereby empower the Gouvor^t. wth fower or more of the Assistants, to appointe, and empower constables in such places as they judg convenient, to

prepare things in order to keeping a Court the third of July next, by such as the Court of Election shall appoint thereto, the Charge thereof to be discharged by the inhabitants."

The petition was passed upon favorably by the deputies, four days after its date, (May 22), but was not consented to by the magistrates, by which the Governor and Assistants are meant.¹

In this final movement of Massachusetts to extend her jurisdiction, another unexpected event occurred which favored her designs. The territory where New York city now stands had been wrested from the Dutch in 1664, and an English government established in its stead; but now a Dutch fleet from the West Indies suddenly made its appearance in the harbor, and restored the place to the rule of its former owners. This serious disaster to the British government and people served, for the time being, to withdraw their attention from New England to New York.

Though the petition of the people of these eastern settlements, was at first rejected by the "magistrates," the subject was again brought before the General Court, at its October session, 1673, with a more favorable result, which, however, did not take definite form until the next May session, 1674. It was then determined to appoint four commissioners who should "repair to Pemaquid, Capenawaggen, Kennebec etc., or some one of them to the eastward, and there, or in some one of these places, to keep a Court, as a County Court, to give power to the constables thus appointed, as also appoint and approve such meet persons, inhabitants there, to such offices and places (as farr as may be wthin the l^{ij}ue of our patent), according to God and the wholesome lawes of this jurisdiction, so that the wayes of godliness may be encouraged and vice corrected." They were also declared to "have magistrattical power to punish criminall offences, as also in marrying," to organize the militia etc.² The commissioners appointed were Major Thomas Clarke, Mr. Humphrey Davy, Mr. Richard Collicott, Lieut. Thomas Gardner.

At the suggestion of the commissioners, all the places east of the Kennebec, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were organized into a county, which received the name of Devon or Devon-

¹ *Thornton, Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. 240.

² *Rec. Mass.*, v, p. 5, 17.

shire; and courts authorized to be held there the third Tuesday of July, annually.

Due notice having been given, the court was held at Pemaquid July 22.

Thomas Gardiner of Pemaquid was appointed county treasurer, and *Richard Oliver* of Monhegan recorder and clerk of the courts for the county.

The following persons took the oath of fidelity.

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Thomas Humphreys, | Richd. Warren, | Gregory Longberry, |
| Robt. Gammon, | Henry Stoakes, | Abra. Clarke, |
| William Waters, | Wm. Denio, | Thos. Cox, Jun., |
| John Dolling, | Edwrd. Dorr, | Henry Curtis, Jun. |
| Thomas Cox, | Jno. Dare, | Shadrick Cox, |
| Robt. Edmunds, | George Burnet, | Richard Cox, |
| Ambrose Haswell, | Nicho. Osbourne, | Richard Pearce, Jun., |
| Jno. Wriford, | Tho. Parker, | Robert Cauly, |
| Elijas Trick, | David Oliver, | Tho. Adger, |
| John Pride, | Emanuel Whichalls, | Richard Bradeway, |
| George Bickford, | Jno. Cook, | Richard Bucknell, |
| Reynald Kelley, | Tho. Phillips, | Wm. Edwards, |
| Jno. Cole, | Tho. Hibman, | Tho. Cox, |
| Edmund Patteshall, | Nicco Carary, | Wm. Waters, |
| Ichabod Wisewell, | Jno. Parker, | Wm. Welcome, |
| Richard Oliver, | Nicco Deming, | Jno. Bassell, |
| Wm. Buckford, | Abel Hoggeridge, | Peter Collins, |
| Edward Barton, | Edward Cole, | Richard Glass, |
| Richd. Hill, | Jno. Wildgoose, | Tho. Phillips, |
| Henry Curtis, | Tho. Parnell, | Henry Palmer, |
| Francis Browne, | Aaron Beard, | Jno. Palmer, Jun. |
| Philip Bry, | James Widger, | Wm. Trout, |
| Wm. Phillips, | Tho. Harls, | Nico. Heale, |
| Jno. Stover, | Jno. Gingden, | George Bucknell, |
| Jno. Palmer, Sen., | Nico. Vallack, | Wm. Cox, |
| Robert Edmunds, | Jno. Selman, | Tho. Cox. ¹ |

It will be noticed that the name of Thomas Elbridge, former owner of the Pemaquid patent, is not on the list of those taking the oath of fidelity. He was one of the few who made their submission to the royal commissioners at Sheepscott. So also when the governments established by these commissioners failed, he united with others in the petition to be taken under the protection of Massachusetts. Loyalist as he was, this last act of his must have been felt as not a little humiliating, but it was praiseworthy in him to be willing to make the trifling sacrifice of sentiment out of regard to the public good.

¹ *Rec. Mass.*, v, 18; *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, III, 243.

The other officers appointed at this court, were *Thomas Humphreys*, constable for Sagadahoc and Kennebee, *Robert Gammon*, for Capenawagen, *Wm. Waters*, for Damariscove, *John Dolling*, for Monhegan, and *Thomas Cox*, for Pemaquid. The following were returned as grand jury men, viz., *Robert Edmunds*, and *Ambrose Hamell*, of Sagadahoc, *John Wriford*, *Elias Trick*, and *John Pride*, of Damariscove, *George Bichford*, and *Raynald Kelly* of Monhegan, and *John Cole*, of Pemaquid.

"*Thos. Humphreys*, sargeant, and *James Middleton*, corporal for Sagadahock.

"*John Bessell*, sargeant for Damariscove, and *Hippocras*, heto choose his own corporal.

"*John Dolling*, sargeant for Monhegan, to choose his own corporal there.

"*Robert Gammon*, sargeant for Capenawagen, to choose his own corporal there.

"*Lieut. Thomas Gardiner*, commander of all the military forces to be raised in the country.

"*Thomas Gardiner*, *Edmund Patteshall*, of Kennebee, *John Palmer*, Sen. of Monhegan, and *Robert Gammon*, are appointed county commissioners for holding commissioner's court during the year, and "to have magistratical power in marrying such as are duly and legally published according to law, as also to punish criminall offences according to the particular order of the General Court, Dated 27th May, 1674, in Boston."

"The following were appointed clarks of the writts in the several places.

"Sagadahock and Kennebee, *Thos. Humphreys*.

"Monhegan, *Richard Oliver*.

"Damariscove, *William Wallers*.

"Capenawagen, *Robert Gammon*.

"*Thos. Humphreys*, marshall for the county.

"Those persons following are appointed and have liberty to keep houses of publicke entertaynment, and are to be provided wth necessarys for lodging, &c., accordingly, and to retayle beare, wine, and liequors in the several places for the ensuing year, according to law.

"For Monhegan, *John Dolling*, for Sagadahock and Kennebeck, *Willyam Cook*.

"For Damarills Cove, *John Wriford*.

"For Capenawaggen, *Edw. Barton*.

"For Pemaquid, *Jno. Cole*.

"Also Left Gardiner to his fisherman, and *John Earthy*, for Corbyn Sound, George Bucknill.

"To pay the expenses of the court, to procure books and stationary etc. county tax of £20 was assessed, proportions, as follows: viz.

"Sagadahock and Kennebec, £4.; Monhegan, £5,10s; Capenawaggen, £3,10s.; Damariscove and Hippocras,¹ £5.; Pemaquid, £2."

The apportionment to individuals was to be made by the grandjurymen and constable in each place, and the tax collected by the constables and paid over to the treasurer of the county.

The amounts assessed respectively on the settlements probably represent the relative valuation of the property in the several places, as estimated by the court. Monhegan, it seems, had nearly three times the wealth of Pemaquid, and the small islands Damariscove and Hippocras together more than twice as much. Two reasons may be given for this; the chief business here at the time was fishing, and for this the islands were more favorably situated than the main land, and property on them was considered more safe from Indian depredations than on the main.

No mention is made of Sheepscott for the reason that it was not considered as coming within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Administration on the estate of John Waller, fisherman, "sometimes resident at Monhegan and sometimes at Damarills Cove, who died fower years since" was granted to George Burdet of Monhegan, who gave bonds as required by law, Richard Oliver being his surety.

Though the court for the county of Devonshire was by law to be held annually, it was early foreseen that there would be great difficulty in finding magistrates properly qualified to go there and hold them; therefore in October of this year (1674), by an act of the general court, the local commissioners were

¹ This was one of the small islands lying southwest of Pemaquid point, perhaps the one called Hypocrites on the map of Lincoln county. All of these islands were in that day considered more valuable than they are at present. This was the case even down to the time of the Revolutionary war.

authorized "to hear and determine all civil actions arising within the county to the value of ten pounds, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."¹ The following May "Mr. *Humphrey*, *Davy*, Capt. *Thos. Lake*, Mr. *Richard Collecot*, Capt. *Thomas Gardiner*, and Mr. *George Munjoy*, were appointed commissioners 'for the ensuing year,' any three of whom 'whereof Mr. *Davy* or Capt. *Lake* to be one,' with such as shall be appointed associates for that county for this year, as Capt. *Thos. Gardiner*, Capt. *Robert Patteshall*, *John Palmer*, Sen. of Monhegan, *Robert Gammon*, and *Richard Oliver*, who are hereby appointed and approved for this year ensuing as associates in Devonshire and to keepe courts for tenn pounds value, and either of them to take acknowledgment of deeds, marry such as are legally published, punish offenders, the penalty of which offences exceed not tenn shillings, or by whipping, not exceeding tenn stripes, and in other cases to bind them over to the associates and county courts."

This action of the general court was taken two months before the time for holding the court at Pemaquid, but there is no evidence that the session was held this year (1675).

The next year (May, 1676), Lake, Davy and Collecot, "or any two of them," were appointed commissioners to "joyne wth the associates of Devonshire, to keepe the county court there the third second day [third Monday] of July next,"² but no record of such session is now to be found. The war with king Phillip began in the early summer of 1675, and may have prevented the sitting of the court that year; and this year (1676), as we shall soon see, only a few weeks after the time for holding the court, the settlement at Pemaquid as well as the other settlements in the vicinity were broken up by the Indians.

When information of the Indian depredations was received in Boston, on petition of *Ichabod Wisewall*, *James Giles*,³ and *Richard Collecot*, the general court (Sept. 6), took action in reference to "the distressed inhabitants of Devonshire," and ordered that a garrison should be established at some convenient

¹ *Rec. Mass.* v., 23.

² *Rec. Mass.* v., 87.

³ James Gyles, or Giles, when the Indian wars began, was living at Merry-meeting bay, but subsequently removed to Long Island and then to New Jersey, where his posterity still reside. (*Giles Memorial by Rev. John A. Vinton*), Ichabod Wisewall resided on the Kennebec; he took the oath of fidelity to Massachusetts

place in the country, sufficient to "keepe possession and maintayne our interest there, and also to issue forth to the daunnifying of the enemy, and that the men imployed in their service be those persons who have lately deserted their habitations there, so many of them at least as are fitt for such imploy." But the season was now late, and considerable time was required to make the necessary preparation; and though some forces were sent to defend the settlements in the western part of the state, nothing it is believed was done for the settlers in this region; and the place, for a time, passed under the government of the Duke of York; a topic to which we shall by and by return.

The fierce Indian war, which burst with such fury upon Pemaquid and the neighboring settlements in 1676, was only a part of the same great struggle which, the year before raged in Massachusetts, and is known in history as King Phillip's war. A full half-century had now elapsed since the settlement at Pemaquid was begun, and no serious difficulty with the Indians had occurred, but here, as in the other neighboring settlements, indications were not wanting that mutual jealousies and fears were forming in the breasts of the two parties, that strongly suggested danger in the near future.

And this evidently was the general feeling in all the eastern settlements, and is to be attributed to the same general causes.

Information of the outbreak under Phillip was received by the settlers on the Kennebec, in a very little time, and after serious consultation, it was deemed necessary to disarm the neighboring Indians, some of whom were compelled for a time to submit to the measures, though it deprived them of the chief means of obtaining their daily food. But many serious collisions occurred, and the ill feelings and jealousies of the Indians were greatly increased; this in turn reacted upon the minds of the settlers, producing feelings of exasperation and hatred quite beyond the control of right reason. Indeed the position of both parties in all the eastern settlements of the English, was at this time truly deplorable. The settlers were comparatively few in number, but were moderately well supplied with arms and am-

at Pemaquid two years before. Richard Collicott lived in Boston but was well acquainted with the eastern settlements, having served as one of the commissioners of Massachusetts in 1674. Wm. Collicott who lived at Sheepscott, and was among those who in 1672 signed the petition to be taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, may have been a brother of his.

munition, while the savages, now becoming much exasperated, were entirely dependent for these things upon the trading vessels on the coast; and for the settlers to undertake to deprive the hostile Indians of the means of destroying them was only an instinct of self-preservation. On the other hand, the Indians had become so accustomed to the use of the musket, as to be largely dependent upon it for the means of obtaining their daily food; to say nothing of its necessity to them, as well as to the opposite party, to protect themselves in turn from their enemies, whether of other Indian tribes, or of the white race.

Under the existing circumstances "it was futile to imagine that the Indians would respect their engagements, the recollections of former kindness, or the dictates of humanity and justice; and consequently open hostilities became the signal for extermination. They first began by gratifying their revenge, but ended by an indiscriminate slaughter" of friends as well as foes.¹

Looking back now, from our secure position, upon these scenes of strife and blood, it is easy to hurl our denunciations against one party or the other for acts of injustice, cruelty, and treachery; but, while obliged to lament most sincerely such exhibitions of the perversity of human nature, let us also ever keep in mind the almost unparalleled difficulties of the times to either party.

Some have doubted whether the outbreak with the eastern Indians had any connection with Phillips' war but the connection of the two is too plain to need argument. In the course of the war, several Narragansett Indians were actually captured in arms with their brethren at the east.

The Indian depredations in Maine begun Sept. 20, 1675, by an attack upon the house of Thomas Purchase, who had lived many years at Pegypscott (Brunswick), and carried on an extensive trade with the Indians of the Kennebec river. Only the female members of the family were at home at the time; and the savages contented themselves with seizing some property, and killing some cattle; but it was the beginning of a contest which was to end only with the destruction of all the English settlements in the present state of Maine.

Only a few days after this event, a number of the settlers went with a sloop and two boats, from Falmouth to some place at the northern part of Casco bay, to gather some corn that was planted

¹ *Hist. of Portland*, p. 195, 2d ed.

there, and accidentally met with three Indians whom they undertook to arrest; but in the affray one was killed and another wounded, the third only escaping unhurt. The escaped Indian soon rallied to his aid a company of friends who were near, and the Englishmen, some of them wounded, were glad to escape with the loss of their two boats laden with corn.

This most unjustifiable act on the part of the settlers, cannot be too severely condemned; and miserably did they suffer, as a consequence of their rashness. Only another week passed, and the Indian war in these parts began in earnest by an attack upon Falmouth, the savages killing or carrying into captivity no less than thirty-four persons, and destroying most of the houses and other property in the place. But while venturing to censure the course of the settlers, in thus provoking their treacherous neighbors to further acts of hostility, it is not certain that they could have escaped the conflict by an opposite policy, or by any mode of conciliation whatever.

Other attacks on the different settlements, in the western part of the territory of Maine, now followed in rapid succession, but they cannot be here described. At the beginning of winter, which this year (1675) set in earlier than usual, some fifty or eighty of the settlers between the Pemaquid and the Kennebec rivers had been slain, and probably twice as many Indians.

The people of Pemaquid and vicinity must have sympathized deeply with their friends west of them in their sufferings, but, as yet, with much effort, their savage neighbors had been held back from committing any acts of violence.

In fact we must allow that all appearances indicate a sincere desire on the part of the natives of this vicinity to live in peace with the settlers, but the increasing strength of the settlement probably had began to excite their fears and, more than this, they were frequently goaded to madness by unpardonable outrages committed on them by men claiming to be civilized. Many long years had passed since the seizure of native Indians by Weymouth, Hunt, and others, but the outrages were not forgotten; and now there were indications of a disposition on the part of some to make the seizing of natives on the coast to be sold as slaves in Europe, a regular business.¹

¹ Very probably many native Indians were kidnapped and sold into slavery of whom history makes no mention. This same year (1675) Indians probably from

To increase the difficulty, the people of Monhegan, very secure themselves by their island retreat, so distant from the shore as to be scarcely accessible by the canoes of the Indians, publicly offered a bounty "of £5, for every Indian that should be brought in."¹

Two of the citizens, John Earthy of Pemaquid, and Richard Oliver of Monhegan, deserve commendation for their efforts to pacify the Indians, and avoid the threatened danger; and very probably they would have succeeded but for the intemperate language and conduct of many, who, yielding everything to their timidity, were burning with rage, and a desire for revenge upon their supposed enemies, though as yet they had not suffered any wrong.

John Earthy was licensed to keep a house of "publicke entertaynement" at Pemaquid by the Commissioners' court at its session in 1674;² and besides this we know but little more of him than what appears in connection with his wise and energetic movements to prevent the catastrophe so soon to burst upon the place. By great exertion the Indians were persuaded to assemble at Pemaquid for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace. The Indians complained chiefly of injuries done them on the Kennebec, but upon receiving assurances that all their wrongs should be redressed, and that they should be protected in their rights, they engaged to live in peace and friendship with the English, and to use their influence with *Anasagunticooks*, (Androscoggin Indians) to prevent them from committing any further depredations.

the coast of Maine, were landed as slaves at Fayal, one of the Azores. Drake's note in *Hub. Ind. Wars*, II, 94.

¹ *Hub. Ind. Wars*, Drake's ed., II, 149. *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, I, 526 interprets this as meaning that this sum was offered for every Indian's head that should be brought to them; implying of course that the reward would be paid whether the Indian was dead or alive. But this evidently was not the design, and the language of Hubbard, the only original authority, was not intended to be so understood. The reward offered was for captives to be sold into slavery. The miserable expedient of paying bounties for *scalps* had not yet been adopted. See Article by the Author in *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, vol. XXV, (April, 1871.)

² *Rec. Mass.*, v, 19, 20.

CHAPTER XIV.

Efforts of the Pemaquid people through their agent, John Earthy to preserve peace with the Indians—A slaver on the coast—Indian conferences—Indian hostilities begun at Casco, and continued on the Kennebec—The people of Sheepscot, and Pemaquid, hearing of the hostilities at the settlements west of them make their escape to the islands—All the settlements destroyed—Indian Treaty negotiated at Boston—The Penobscot sachem, Mugg—Fight with the Indians at Pemaquid.

The Indian conference being over, Mr. Earthy, though it was now winter, made a journey to Boston, where he was astonished to find that complaint had been made against him, for selling ammunition to the Indians, contrary to law. This was a difficulty of no small magnitude, the wise and prudent had to contend with, at the time; the minds of very many good people were too much excited to tolerate moderate counsels, or allow them to look without suspicion upon any, who proposed to treat the Indians with ordinary justice. "These false opinions being blown away," as Hubbard expressed it, Earthy returned to Pemaquid, before the close of winter, and found his services needed immediately to protect the natives from the evil designs of wicked men. A vessel was at or near Pemaquid, which had been lurking about there in a strange manner, and was strongly suspected to be watching for an opportunity of seizing upon the natives for slaves. He hastened to wait upon the captain, and remonstrated with him against doing such injustice to a people with whom they were at peace, and whose friendship the settlements greatly desired to maintain. He also cautioned the Indians to be on their guard, informing them of their danger. The result was that the slaver failed of his object here, but was more successful farther to the eastward.

A few months before this, a vessel commanded by one *Laughton*,¹ was on the coast for the same purpose, and actually seized several natives at Cape Sable, and sold them into slavery. The business was managed as follows: the Massachusetts authorities having authorized Major Waldron² at Cochecho

¹ Williamson writes the name *Laughlin*.

² Waldron, Walderne, Waldern, Waldren.

(Dover, N. H.), to seize, and send as prisoners to Boston, all Indians known to have been engaged in any of the recent outrages committed against the English, he took it upon himself to issue *general warrants* for this purpose, and often committed them to hands that were entirely irresponsible. In several instances, masters of vessels obtained these warrants, and used them for the unjustifiable purpose alluded to.

In the Spring (of 1676), another conference was held with the Indians, somewhere to the eastward, at which Mr. *Earthy*, Mr. *Oliver* of Monhegan, and others attended. The Indians complained bitterly of the seizure of their friends by the slavers, but, were pacified partially, by the promise, that means should be adopted to return them again. They complained also—and with deep feeling—that arms and ammunition were denied them, in consequence of which they had suffered for food the past winter, many having actually perished from starvation. The previous autumn, they had been frightened by the English from their fields of corn on the Kennebec, which were thus lost to them, and if the English were their friends, as they pretended, they would not thus leave them to die.

The fright alluded to occurred in this way; when news of the beginning of the war in Massachusetts was received at the Kennebec, it was thought indispensable, for the safety of the English settlements, to disarm the neighboring Indians, and refuse them any further supplies of ammunition. For this purpose messengers were sent to Teconnet¹ (Winslow) where many of them were known to have collected. These messengers, after informing the Indians of the demand made upon them to deliver up all their arms and ammunition, proceeded to add, that if the demand was not complied with, the English would come and destroy them. Greatly alarmed, they at once fled eastward to the Penobscott, and St. Johns, leaving their scanty crops unharvested, and thus they had been obliged to pass the winter in want. To be without the means of taking their game, and, at the same time, destitute of other food, was deplorable indeed; and it is plain from the account, that the civilized representatives of Pemaquid, were not insensible to the difficult positions occupied by the parties.

¹ Teconnet, Taconnet, Totonnock, Ticonic, Taconet.

The preceding winter had been very severe, and the Indians west of the Kennebec, greatly exhausted by the recent contests, suffered exceedingly; many, therefore, made their way to Major Waldron's garrison at Coheco, and sued for peace. At length, terms of peace were agreed upon between the authorities and the Casco and Piscataqua Indians; but the "Amonoscoggan men"¹ were not present at the formation of the treaty, nor was the tribe represented at the present conference. The two representatives of the settlers, therefore, proposed that another effort should be made to bring them into the agreement, and thus unite, in a general treaty, all the Indian tribes east of the Piscataqua. The eastern tribes, sincerely desirous to remain at peace, "joyfully" assented to the plan; but the conference appears to have closed without any good result.

In a very little time, a messenger arrived from Teconnet, desiring Mr. Earthy, at once, to repair to that place where he would meet the Amonoscoggans, and sachems of other tribes, and where they might hope to agree upon terms for a general peace. Without delaying an hour, Mr. Earthy prepared to accompany the messenger on his return, and proceeded with him as far as Capt. Lake's residence on Arrowsic island, where he stopped to consult with the resident authorities. Here it was deemed advisable to send Capt. Silvanus Davis with Mr. E.; and the two together started on their journey up the Kennebec. The few Englishmen they met were very jealous of the sincerity of the Indians in their recent movements; and they fancied also, that the Indians were more shy and incommunicative than usual. Arriving at the Indian village, at Teconnet, they were received with demonstration of respect, and introduced to the chiefs assembled there, among whom were *Assiminasqua*, chief of the Penobscots, and *Madockawando*, his adopted son, *Turumkin*, a chief of the Androscoggins, *Hopegood* and *Mugg*, and many others. Mugg belonged to the Penobscot tribe, but Hopegood was a Kennebec Indian.

First, Assiminasqua, in the name of the others, assured them "it was not their custom, when messengers come to treat with them, to seize upon their persons, as sometimes the Mohawks did, with such as had been sent to them, and as the English once did with some of their men, seizing fourteen of them and

¹ Called also Anassagunricook, or Androscoggan Indians, and considered the most hostile to the English of all the tribes. *Ind. Wars.*, Drake's ed., II, 153.

putting them under guard, after taking their guns from them. And not only so, but a second time, you required our guns, and demanded us to come down to you, or else you would kill us, which was the cause of our leaving both our fort and our corn to our great loss."¹

This speech caused much embarrassment to the Pemaquid representatives, as they knew the complaints to be literally true; but they put the best construction they could "on such irregular actions, which could not well be justified," and "told them the persons who had so done were not within the limits of their government, and therefore though they could not call them to account for so acting, yet they did utterly disallow thereof."

This closed the morning session, the Indians intimating that they would have more to say in the afternoon; but when they came together again, the two Pemaquid representatives, assuming to be satisfied with what had been said, as if the questions between them and the eastern Indians had thus been settled, addressed themselves to the Androscoggins, with whom they wished more particularly to treat. Tarumkin, their chief, after a little pause, proceeded to say, that he had recently been to the westward, where he found most of the Indians unwilling to make peace, and only three sachems, who were in favor of it, but, as for himself, he greatly desired it. Then turning round he gave his hand to the white men "with protestations of his continuing in friendship," as did seven or eight more of his men, among whom were Mugg, and a son of Robinhood.

The point seemed now almost gained, and at least a temporary peace secured; but Madockawando, appreciating more clearly than the others their miserable condition, here interposed, and asked "what they should do for powder and shot, when they had eaten up their corn? What they should do for the winter, for their hunting journeys? Would they have them all die, or leave their country, and go over to the French?"

These were questions of the deepest import to both parties. What could be done? The white representatives, thus pressed to the wall, said they would do what they could, to persuade the governor to allow them enough powder and shot for their necessities; but they had just admitted, that many of the western Indians would not make peace, and if the English should sell their powder, much of it would soon find its way to these hos-

¹ *Hub. Ind. Wars*, Drake's ed., II, 153.

tile Indians; and "what do we then but cut our own throats?" The Indians replied, they had waited long, and now expected a decisive yes or no, whether or not they could be allowed to purchase powder and shot as formerly. The white men allowed that they were not authorized to grant them any relief, as to this matter, even though they waited ten years, which greatly offended the Indians; and the conference was ended.

But both parties desired peace; and, by agreement, the next day, many of the Indians accompanied the Pemaquid representatives down the river, with the expectation that they might meet with some of the western Indians, and persuade them to moderate and peaceful counsels. And some of these men were met as they expected — but strong drink was there too — and so, for the present, negotiation was at an end. And the white men, after some delay, returned to their homes.

"The next night save one," says Hubbard, "news came to Kennebec that the Indians had killed divers English in Casco," and, "upon this news, Capt. Davis sent out one sentinel the next night." "The rest (such was their security), went all else to bed, and in the morning were all, like Laish, surprised."

It was only a very reluctant peace that had been maintained between the parties, during the spring and early summer of this year, (1676), but it was not until the month of August, that the fight was actually renewed. As we have seen, it began by an attack of the Indians upon the settlers at Casco (Portland), just as the conference at Teconnet had closed; and, as might have been expected, was very soon extended to the banks of the Kennebec, and even farther east. Richard Hammond had early established himself, as a trader, at Stinson's Point (now Georgetown), and had given the natives great offence by cheating them in trade. They claimed also, that once, when a party of them were intoxicated, (probably by liquors furnished by himself) he had actually robbed them of their furs.¹ Two days after the attack on Casco, on a Sabbath morning (Aug. 13), a party appeared at the fort, during the time of worship, killed first Mr. Hammond, and then all the others, except one young woman, who made her escape to the Sheepscott settlement. The number killed was fifteen. The Indians had been prowling about the place Saturday evening; and, as we look

¹ Sullivan, (*Hist. Maine*, p. II, 171), appears to give full credit to the charge.

upon the affair now, it seems very strange, that a closer watch was not kept on their movements.

At night, the Indians divided themselves into two parties, one party going up the river a few miles, where Francis Card and family lived, and the other proceeding to the establishment of Clark and Lake, on Arowsic island. Card and family were taken prisoners, and carried into captivity, from which Card himself, and some of the others, were afterwards rescued.

At Clark and Lake's establishment about two miles distant, early in the morning of the 14th, another surprisescene occurred, which we can now scarcely look upon with patience. Before it was light, the Indians had concealed themselves in places, where they could see any important movements about the fort, without exposing themselves to view; and as the sentinel incautiously left his place, a little before the regular time for being relieved, the gate of the fort being open at the same time for some purpose, they rushed in almost before their presence was observed. In a few minutes, they were masters of the place, in spite of all resistance the inmates, taken thus by surprise, could make. Several of the inmates were killed, and a large amount of property seized and appropriated.

Among those in the fortification was Capt. Silvanus Davis,¹ who had just returned from the Indian conference at Teconnet, and he and Capt. Lake, one of the owners of the establishment, when they found themselves overpowered, undertook, with two others, to make their escape in a boat.

Four Indians speedily followed them in a canoe, and fired upon them, just as they reached the rocky shore of a neighboring island, wounding Davis badly, so that he was only able to crawl for concealment among some masses of rock lying the shore. Here he remained two days, but at length was able to find a canoe, and make his escape. Lake was killed by a musket shot; but the other two eluded their pursuers, and escaped unhurt.

Before leaving, the Indians destroyed every thing of value, including a mill, and some other buildings, not within the walls of the fortification. The loss of property to the proprietors was

¹ Davis lived many years afterward, part of the time in Falmouth, and afterwards in Boston, where he died in 1704. He held several important offices under the government, but was never in special favor with the people. See statement of his, page 115.

several thousand pounds, and the number of persons killed, or taken into captivity here, and at Hammond's, was fifty-three. About a dozen persons, made their way to the lower end of the islands, and found means to get off in safety. Of these, a few had been inmates of the fort, but others, occupied houses in the vicinity.

At the attack upon Hammond's fort, a young woman made her escape from the savages, and fled across the country to Sheepscott settlement, as just stated, thus giving timely warning to the English settlers of their great danger. Hubbard, the faithful chronicler of these Indian wars, unfortunately, does not give her name, and it probably will never be known. When the savages entered the house, she disliked their appearance, and stepped out of the door to avoid their presence; but one of their number, with pretended kindness, led her back, assuring her that there was no occasion for fear. Soon afterwards, another company of the natives arrived, and her fears became so excited, that she again left the house, and partly concealed herself in an adjacent cornfield; but at length, hearing much noise and confusion in the house, she concluded to make her way, as she best could, to Sheepscott, which was the nearest white settlement. The distance, Hubbard says, is ten or twelve miles, but probably it was more than this, as the path then ran. And it must also be remembered that the whole distance was through a dense forest, infested with bears and wolves and other ferocious animals, native to the region. If the journey was made in the night, as the original account of the matter implies, it would only increase the danger from the wild beasts, while that from the Indians would be diminished.

The people at Sheepscott, being thus timely warned, prepared at once to make their escape, first to Capenawagen (Southport), and then to one of the Damariscove islands, where nearly all the settlers of the whole region were soon collected. They also sent a messenger to Damariscotta and Pemaquid; and the people here also, collecting together such of their effects as they could, sought safety in flight. The people here thought first to go to Monhegan, but the wind was unfavorable, and they joined the other fugitives on Damariscove, where were now collected about 300 souls.¹ The people had but just made their

¹ *Giles Mem.*, p. 116. James Gyles was probably in the fort at Arrowsic, at the time of the attack, and was one of those that made their escape by running to the other end of the island.

escape when the Indians arrived, and in a very little time every thing was destroyed. Parties who were sent to Pemaquid, to save such of their property left behind as they could, "saw all the other islands, Widgin's, Corbin's sound, New Harbor and Pemaquid all on fire in two hours time."¹

As the whole white population of this region was now collected together on the island we have probably very nearly the true number, about 300. The number of able bodied men at Pemaquid, at this time, according to Hubbard, was eight or ten; and we may therefore conclude that of this 300 persons, about 50 belonged to Pemaquid. Probably the population had scarcely increased for the last thirty years, as it is known that at the fall of Charles I, and the accession of Cromwell (1640), immigration to this country, almost entirely ceased.

Their position on Damariscove not being secure against the Indians, except by the most untiring vigilance, and many of the people being restive under the temporary authority they were obliged to maintain for the safety of the whole, it was deemed best, after a week's stay to leave the island, a part going west to Boston, Salem, and Piscataqua, but most of them to Monhegan. They found boats enough to take all away at one time, so that none were left unprotected to the tender mercies of the savages.

Among those that went west, were Wisewall and James Gyles of Sagadahoc, and Collicot of Sheepscott, who engaged to send timely aid from Massachusetts, if the thing was possible. As a result of their efforts, probably, a petition was presented to the General court, for aid to the eastern settlers (as before stated), but nothing came of it, at least, nothing to these people.

Nothing is said here of our good friend, John Eathly of Pemaquid, who had but just returned from the Indian conference at Taconnet with Capt. Davis, but he was here without question, and in full sympathy with his neighbors, now in the same calamity as himself.

¹ *Hub. Ind. Wars*, Drake's ed., II, 165. Where were Widgin's island (if it be an island), and Corbin's sound? Gyles mentions Whidby (*Giles Memorial*, p. 114), which the author of that work considers the same as Whisgeag, a place on the Kennebec a little below Bath; but this is too far away from the scene of operations. May it not have been one of the small islands near the coast of Boothbay? Corbin's sound was probably the name of a small settlement on the coast, in the same vicinity. Corbin's sound is mentioned by Mather (*Magnalia*, II, p. 553 Hartford, edition).

The small force sent by the government to protect the eastern settlements made demonstrations at Casco, and other places farther west, but nothing was even attempted for the relief of the more eastern settlements.

The people, therefore, who had fled to Monhegan, after remaining their two weeks or more, took their departure for the west; and many of the men were enlisted in the forces to be sent against the Indians. On their passage to Boston, some of them landed at Damariscove, where they found two dead bodies, and the charred remains of the huts and other property they had so recently left there.

During the autumn of this year (1676), the Indian depredations upon the western settlements continued, and murderous surprises were the order of the day; but in the east, the strife ceased, for the English had all departed, and the settlements were desolate.

The government forces, under the command of Majors Waldron and Frost, and Captains Hathorne, Sill and Hunting, though very active, accomplished but little. Though always marching and countermarching with becoming zeal, the enemy with admirable skill managed always to be where the forces were not, except as occasion offered for a surprise, which the Indian always delighted in. Only two other events, that were more or less connected with our history, can be here noticed.

When a company of the government forces under Capt. Hathorne was at Casco, a number of his men insisted upon making an excursion to Munjoy's island, only a few miles distant, to recover any property they might find; and while a part of them were engaged in securing some sheep, they were set upon by some Indians, and slain, though not without making a desperate resistance. Another party in a ketch, commanded by Capt. Fryer, started from Piscataqua, for the recovery of property that might remain at the now desolate settlements, and came to Richmond island, in Casco bay, where they allowed themselves to be drawn into a contest with the Indians under such circumstances, that their vessel was taken, and the whole company made prisoners, Capt. Fryer being also badly wounded. Amid the many stories of Indian outrage and treachery, it is gratifying to be able to say, that, in this instance, the prisoners were treated kindly by their captors, and permitted to send two of their number to the west in order to obtain the articles de-

manded for their ransom. One of these messengers was Walter Gendall, who was chiefly instrumental in fitting out the ketch at Piscataqua. The articles agreed upon for the ransom of the whole party were obtained, and taken to Casco, but, in the absence of those for whom the goods were intended, they were violently seized by some other Indians who killed, accidentally it was said, one of the three men having custody of the goods, and dismissed the others; and this of course without releasing the prisoners.

This naturally excited great indignation in the minds of the English at Piscataqua, and the other settlements in the vicinity; and in the midst of it, Mugg,¹ a distinguished Penobscot chief, who was believed to have been the leader in the recent attacks at Casco Bay, made his appearance, bringing with him Capt. Fryer, who it was plain must soon die, in consequence of his wound. Thus things were becoming somewhat mixed, and the authorities were doubtful in what character to receive the distinguished savage. He however earnestly protested, that the seizing of the property sent down to Casco, was not approved by him, and gave assurances, that the men should be returned, at the same time offering, in the name of the eastern Indians, to negotiate a new treaty of peace and friendship.

Major General Denison, of Massachusetts, happened to be at Piscataqua; and, after full consultation, it was determined to send Mugg to Boston, to be dealt with as the governor and assistants saw fit. The Indians of the Penobscot ardently desired peace; and, after a few days negotiation, a treaty of peace between them and the English was duly signed, and was afterwards confirmed by Madockawando, the responsible chief of the tribe. By this treaty they agreed to return all English captives, then in their hands, and also to restore whatever property of the English they had taken, at any time during the war, to bring to justice, or hand over to the English, any Indians accused of murder, and to induce the Kennebec Indians, if they could, to unite with them in the same agreement. On the other part, the English were to furnish the Indians with needful ammunition, but they were to buy only of the government agents.

The treaty was signed by Mugg (of course by making his mark), with more than the usual protestations of honor and good

¹ The name is sometimes written Mogg.

faith. On the part of the settlers, it was signed by John Earthy, Richard Oliver and Isaac Addington.¹ The treaty was negotiated at Boston, and signed Nov. 6, 1676.²

Before going to Boston, Mugg demanded and received of Gov. Leveret letters of safe conduct; and in other respects, managed his cause with much dignity. Very evidently he made an impression upon the minds of the English negotiators, and others, more favorable to his honesty, and desire for fair dealing, than subsequent events justified.

Late in November, two vessels were despatched eastward, in command of Capt. Moore, to obtain the captives in the hands of the Indians; believed to number between 50 and 60, taking with them the diplomatist, Mugg. They reached the Penobscot, Dec. 2, and found Madockawando in an excellent mood, and entirely ready to ratify the treaty. He promised also to restore all the captives in his control, being only two; all the others being in the hands of the Kennebec Indians, over whom he had no control.

What now was to be done. Manifestly the wary diplomatist had seriously outwitted them in Boston; but he was still professedly desirous to carry out the treaty in good faith. They urged him to make a visit to the Kennebec Indians, to obtain if possible the release of some more of the English prisoners; but he was reluctant, professing to fear that he might not be well received by them. At length, however, he consented to make the journey; and when he departed he told Capt. Moore that if he did not return in four days they might conclude that he was either killed or made a prisoner.³

After waiting a week beyond the four days, fearing from the

¹ The reader has already been made acquainted with Earthy and Oliver, the two first named; the third, Isaac Addington, was a well known gentleman of Boston. He was born Jan. 22, 1644, admitted freeman, May 7, 1673, and became a member of the First church in Boston, in 1679. In subsequent years, he filled many important offices, both in the church and in the state. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, iv, 117.

² In the *Narrative of New England's Deliverances* by Rev. Thomas Cobbet, it is said to have been "signed" Dec. 9th; but probably this is rather the date of its confirmation at Castine, Me., by Madockawando. Williamson (*Hist. Maine*, i, 543), says this was done Dec. 2. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, vii, 216. *Sul. Hist. Maine* p. 409.

³ The narrative does not state just where it was expected that he would find these Indians; but if it was at any point on the Kennebec river, it is plain that the journey could not be made in four days; and this fact alone ought to have excited suspicion as to the man's honesty. Williamson supposes they were at Tacconnet. *Hist. Maine*, i, 543.

lateness of the season, that navigation might be obstructed by the ice, Capt. Moore, with three English captives, set sail again for the west, calling at Pemaquid where they arrived Christmas day. They stopped here to inquire whether any thing was known of their friend, Mugg, but heard nothing. It was said afterwards that Mugg boasted of his performances, and said they (the Indians) could drive all the country before them, and even burn Boston. To do this they must go to the islands, and seize all the white men's vessels.

The Indian chief had promised to deliver up only two captives, on Capt. Moore's arrival, all that he had in his control, but he now sailed for the west with three. This third man was Thomas Cobbet Jr., son of the Rev. T. Cobbet of Ipswich, who was taken with Capt. Fryer, in the affair at Richmond island. His story is not a little interesting, and connects itself directly with our history.

Young Cobbet, had been a clerk in the store of Mr. James Fryer at Piscataqua, father of Capt. Fryer, who commanded the ketch, previously mentioned. After this capture, the prisoners were divided among the victors; and it was Cobbet's misfortune to fall into the hands of a surly, morose savage, who, besides his other failings, was a habitual drunkard. His master first bound his hands, and then taking his knife, threatened to cut his throat, but finally concluded to spare him for the present. The ketch being in possession of the Indians, they started in her, first for Black point, and then for the Sheepscott river, compelling young Cobbet to sail her, they not daring to do it without aid. For this he was well fitted, having had considerable experience as a sailor. Leaving the ketch at Sheepscott, he was compelled to travel with his master to Damariscotta, and then to paddle his canoe down the river, and along the coast to the Penobscot. Resting there a little time, they proceeded in the same way to Mount Desert, where his Indian master proposed to spend the winter. Here he was required to go with the Indians in their hunting excursions, and once he became so exhausted by over exertion and want of food, and so overcome by the cold, as to fall down in the snow quite insensible. Here he must have perished but for some friendly Indians of the company, who, when they learned that he had been left behind, volunteered to go back and carry him on their shoulders to one of their wigwams. When he had been with the Indians about

two months, powder and shot were becoming scarce at Mount Desert; and, to procure a new supply, his master decided to send him to Castine's establishment at the mouth of the Penobscot. Winter, as it was, the young man started on his perilous journey, not without hope, that, in some way, he might turn it to his advantage, and arrived at the Penobscot, very nearly the same time as Capt. Moore with his Indian passenger, Mugg.¹ Cobbet was well known to Mugg, who immediately saluted him, calling him by name in a very friendly way, and saying that he had recently seen his father, and promised him that his son should be sent home according to the recent treaty. Madockawando heard the conversation, and gave a general assent, but thought that some ransom would be required, as his father was a great "preach-man." At length it was agreed to give him a good new coat, which Capt. Moore had among his stores on board; and the savage chief expressed himself as well satisfied, though he demanded actually to see the coat before giving full consent. Cobbet thus ended his captivity, and returned with Capt. Moore to his friends at Piscataqua.

The sailing master of Fryer's ketch, which, it will be recollected, we left at Sheepscott, was John Abbott, of whom little is known except what is connected with these transactions.

The ketch remained at Sheepscott until the month of February, when it was determined to fit her up for an excursion to the Penobscot, in order to procure powder and shot for daily use, their stores here, as well as at Mount Desert, having become exhausted. As these articles could not be procured of the English, they decided to send to Canada, which they thought could be reached best by the Penobscot route, using the ketch to sail up the river as far as the ice would permit.²

Abbott was ordered to make the necessary repairs on the ketch, and then to sail her; and in due time, with ten Indians, he was ready to take his departure down the Sheepscott. For some reason they also put on board three children, one of them English, and the other two Indians. Arriving at the mouth of the river, the wind was strong from the east or northeast, with

¹ It would seem that Cobbet's master had great confidence in his fidelity, or cared little for the risk of losing him, or he would not have consented to such an arrangement.

² Gun powder about this time is said to have been sold among the Indians in this region, as high as 32 shillings per pound.

a heavy sea; and Abbott, who was at the helm, so managed the vessel as to make the passage as unpleasant as possible; and before they got round Capenawagen (Southport), six of his passengers were so sick as to beg to be put on shore. This done, it was found that the ketch did not ride safely in the harbor where they were; and Abbott persuaded his remaining Indian friends, that it was very desirable to seek a more secure place. This being agreed to, they started for Damariscove, some five or six miles distant to the southeast. On the passage, Abbott contrived to ship a heavy sea, which considerably alarmed his passengers; and, as soon as they reached the harbor, taking the bodies of the two Indian children, who had died (probably from the severe exposure at this season), hastened on shore, urging him to go with them. But Abbott's care was for the ketch, which had done such excellent service, and he protested it was absolutely necessary for him to stay on board and keep watch. They left, but evidently not without some misgivings; and probably were more disgusted than disappointed to see the ketch, in a very little time, make all sail, and steer for the west. The next day, Abbott with the English child, arrived safely at Piscataqua.

The forces under Majors Waldron and Frost, on their way to the Penobscot, heard that many Indians with their English captives, were at Pemaquid, and put in there, to make further inquiry. Here, they found several Indian chiefs who appeared very friendly, and said they were willing to release the captives they had among them, though as they had received them from the Kennebec Indians, and had provided for them all winter, it was only proper that they should receive some compensation. After considerable negotiation, it was agreed that a ransom of twelve skins for each person should be paid; but only three persons could be produced.

Waldron was but an indifferent commander, and a very miserable negotiator; he demanded the immediate release of all captives, and also that they should afford them some assistance, in men and canoes, in the efforts they were making to subdue the Kennebec Indians, all which they claimed was required by the treaty recently made in Boston. But the canoes were all in use, as the Indians claimed, and only a few of the young men, whom they could not control, had any hand in the war.

On the second day, as Major W. with several men went on

shore, his suspicious eye being on the watch, he discovered a lance partly concealed under a board, and he immediately seized it charging his opponents with treachery, and an intention to fall upon them as soon as the goods were delivered. One of the Indians took hold of the weapon, with the intention of wrenching it from Waldron's hand, as he believed; but he bade them all to stand off at their peril! He then waved his cap over his head, as a signal for the soldiers to come ashore to his aid; and it was plain that a murderous fight was about to take place. A squaw seized a bundle of guns¹ that lay partly concealed near by, and ran with them into the woods. Confusion and consternation prevailed. As soon as the soldiers landed Capt. Frost seized hold of Megunaway, a noted leader in several of the late outrages upon the English plantations, and with the aid of others put him on board of one of the vessels. A charge was now made upon the natives, who fled in every direction, some to the woods, but others to their canoes. One canoe with five Indians was sunk, after leaving the shore, all being drowned. Besides these, it was found that several others were killed, and a few were taken prisoners, among whom was a sister of Madock-awando. The whole party of Indians was about twenty-five. As for *Megunaway*, who was taken a prisoner on board of one of the vessels, he was shot the same day, without even the form of a trial.

The enemy being put to flight so precipitately, of course had no opportunity to carry away his effects, all which fell into the hands of the victors. Among their plunder, thus obtained, was dried beef (venison), to the amount of a thousand pounds! It was a sore punishment to the Indians; "but the chastisement partook of a severity, which the provocation by no means justified; nor could it be dictated by motives of sound policy."²

The vessels, on their return west, called at Arowsic, and left a company of 40 men, to garrison the place, under the command of Capt. Silvanus Davis. They killed two Indian stragglers, and took some large guns, some wheat, and other property, that had escaped the flames, and also the body of Capt. Lake, which was found perfectly preserved by the frost.

All the settlements east of Casco were now completely broken

¹ It seems by this that the English too had been induced by their suspicions to introduce arms in a secret way, though they had not had occasion to use them.

² *Williamson, Hist. Maine*, i, 517.

up, but the fishermen from Massachusetts and Piscataqua still continued their operations on the coast, though not without danger, as many of them the next season proved to their cost. The suggestion of Mugg to seize upon the vessels of the English, was adopted in practice; and, in course of the summer, some eighteen or twenty fishing schooners, were captured by the Indians, though it is said, they never could learn to navigate one safely.

Another movement of Massachusetts, by which that government sought to strengthen its jurisdiction over this eastern settlement, a kind of civil *coup d'état*, though not directly affecting the settlements here, requires to be mentioned. This was the purchase by Massachusetts of the Gorges charter of the province of Maine.

This charter, granted by the crown, April 3, 1639, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs, and assignees, was by its plain language, to include all the territory lying between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, and extending to the northward one hundred and twenty miles; but by some means, a decision had been obtained in England, that the Kennebunk, and not the Kennebec, should be considered the eastern boundary of the province.

The province of Maine, therefore, at this time, included only the above well defined territory. The charter was now in the possession of Ferdinando Gorges, a grandson of Sir Ferdinando, to whom the grant was first made.

The Gorges — father, son and grandson — had long and earnestly contended for their rights under the charter, but at great cost, and with not a little vexation. Charles II, through his agents, had begun a negotiation with Gorges for the purchase of the charter; but money was not plenty with Charles just then, and the negotiation had been for some time suspended. It was a favorable opportunity for Massachusetts to step in, and make the purchase while the kings' agents delayed. This she did, having appointed for her agent, John Usher, a well known merchant of Boston, then in London, on business of his own. The price paid was £1250 or about \$6000. The business was transacted so privately, that Charles only heard of the sale about a year after it was effected; and it is not strange that his indignation should be greatly excited. He rather hastily determined to institute proceedings to oust Massachusetts from her possession of the terri-

tory, but failed to prosecute the action, and Massachusetts remained in peaceful possession.

Gorges was a loyal subject, and would gladly have obliged his sovereign; but he acted wisely in accepting the coin tendered by the almost rebellious colony.¹

The reader will observe that nothing is said of Abraham Shurte, after the giving of his deposition in 1662; and it is probable that, as he was then 80 years old, he did not much longer survive. Williamson in one place speaks of his death as having occurred in 1680, but in another place he supposes that he died in 1690. Probably he died at Pemaquid, but at what time is unknown.

Of John Earthy, who performed such efficient service at the beginning of the Indian wars, we hear absolutely nothing after the negotiation of the Boston Indian Treaty, in Nov. 1676. His name, as appended to this treaty (see copy in *Sullivan's History of Maine*, p. 410), is spelled Earthly, but probably it is a misprint. The name is very uncommon, and that fact suggests the question whether some great mistake has not been made in regard to it, so that we fail now to identify it.²

CHAPTER XV.

PEMAQUID UNDER THE DUKE OF YORK.

Sagadahoc neglected by the duke's government — Gov. Lovelace of New York, sends a communication to the inhabitants of Pemaquid — A sloop sent from New York for the relief of the sufferers by the Indian wars — The jurisdiction of the dukes' government extended over the territory of Sagadahoc, and a fort erected at Pemaquid — Regulations for the trade and business of the settlement — Anthony Brockholls appointed captain of the fort, who was succeeded by Caesar Knapten and Francis Sharpe — Petitions to the inhabitants to the Duke's government.

The grant to James, Duke of York, of the territories of New York and Sagadahoc, in 1664, and the subsequent visit of the royal commissioners, as previously detailed, was not followed by any events of importance to the English settlements in this region. Manhattan was soon wrested from the feeble hold of the Dutch, and then first took the name of New York, receiving as its first

¹ *Rec. Mass.*, v, p. 288. Poole's *Wonder Working Providence*, Introduction, p. lv. For Gorges's Charter see *Sullivan's Hist. Maine*, p. 397.

² *Hist. and Gen. Register*, xxv, p. 131.

English governor, Col. Richard Nicolls, one of the royal commissioners just alluded to.

From that time New York became a British province, and was ruled at first by governors appointed by the Duke of York, but afterwards by the crown.

But, excepting what was done by the royal commissioners in 1665, as already described, the duke seems to have utterly neglected his territory of Sagadahoc, for quite a number of years. No communications, so far as we know, passed between him and the people of the province, who were left to take care of themselves, as they might be able. At length the long silence was broken by Lovelace, then governor of New York, by sending the following letter "to y^e inhabitants of Pemaquid."

"Gents, It might seem strange to you that in soe long distance of time those parts under his Royal Highness Patronage and Protection, of which you are Membrs and Inhabitants have not been assumed in any particular care and Government, as Substitute to his Royal Highness, by whose Grace and Indulgence I am (under him), appointed Governor of all his Territories in America; And truly I migh^t justly have fallen under yo^r Censure of Remissness, were not I allwayes in Expectacōn that Affayres would have been perfected by my worthy Predecessor Coll: Nicholls, to whom the sole managery of that Busyness was committed; neither could I ever doubt of the perfecting of it, had it not been interrupted by an Active and furious warr, in w^{ch} Expedition hee most sadly, (yet as bravely) laid down his Life at his Masters fleet; ¹ All expectations from him being now wholly extinct, It is a Duty incumbent on mee to erect a superstruction on that foundation, which hee in his Lifetime worthily arrived at; To which end I shall desire you, first to give mee a true state of yo^r Affayres, as they now stand; next that you would transmitt to me a modell of such a Government as shall bee most conducing to the Happiness of that Colony, both to its safety, Traffick, and Increase of Inhabitants, promising upon the reception of that Scheme, not only to Invest you wth ample power to Exercise yo^r Authority both to Ecclesiastick as Civill Affayres, but will bee ready on all Occasions to bee assisting to you in the Preservation of all yo^r Rights and Interest against any sinister obstructions; Thus desiring to heare from you by the first Opportunity, I heartily recommend you to the Allmighty's Protection, and remain
Yo^r very Affectionate friend,
Fran: Lovelace ²

Fort James on ye Island Manhatans
in N. Yorke, Feb. 16th 1673.

¹ Coll. Nicolls, still in the service of the Duke of York, was killed in a naval engagement with the Dutch only a few months before the date of this letter.

² *Me. Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 6.

A copy of this letter is preserved in the state archives in Albany, but whether the original ever reached "y^e inhabitants of Pemaquid" cannot now be known. If the letter was actually sent to Pemaquid, being addressed to the people generally, and not to any particular officer or person, probably no specific reply or direct result was expected; but it served the purpose of a notice to the parties, that, notwithstanding the present neglect, the duke's claim was still to be maintained.

It is true the letter very kindly suggests to the people, that the governor would be pleased to confer with them as to the *form of government* that would be agreeable to them, and in fact breathes a very liberal spirit; but considering the circumstances of the people, at the time, nothing more could have been expected by intelligent men, from such a proclamation, than to make a favorable exhibition of the duke's government before the people.

In fact, it would have been excellent policy at this time, for the duke's government to use all possible means to conciliate the people, in this part of his dominions. We have seen how steadily all the eastern settlements, for years before this, gravitated towards Massachusetts, and the reason is perfectly plain; Massachusetts was so wise as to make it for their interest to do so. Very many of the people of the Piscataqua settlement, and of the provinces of Maine and Lygonia, who where at first not a little prejudiced against the government of Massachusetts Bay, afterwards, gradually changed their views, and were ready, on invitation, to unite their destinies, for good or evil, with those of their western neighbors. Had the duke's government managed its affairs as wisely, as did the government of Massachusetts, very probably, a different and more favorable result would have been obtained.

Since the Duke of York had accepted the proprietary government of the territory of Sagadahoc, nearly nine years had elapsed, at the date of this letter, but this, so far as we can learn, was the first act of his representatives, in this country, acknowledging any claim of the people upon his fostering care and protection. First, Nicolls, and then Lovelace came over to New York, as governors under the duke, but the territory of Sagadahoc was too insignificant to receive their attention. Sir Edmund Andros succeeded Lovelace, as ducal governor, in 1674; but his course, in regard to these eastern possessions of the duke,

was the same as that of his predecessors. Even the extremely perilous condition of the defenseless inhabitants, at the beginning of the Indian war in 1675, called forth no effort for their protection; but at length, after the destruction of the settlements, the following action was taken:

"At a Councell Sept. 8, 1676,

Present the governor,

Capt. Brockhols, the Secretary,

Capt. Dyre."

"*Resolved* to send a sloop to Piscataway, Salem and Boston, to invite and bring as many of the Inhabitants particularly fisherman, as will come driven from the Dukes Territoryes, and parts Eastward, and to supply them with Land in any part of the Government they shall chuse."¹

This was, of course, at the governor's residence in New York.

The sloop was actually sent, as here indicated, but the people of Massachusetts did not favor the project; and she returned without success. The General Court of Massachusetts began its session in Boston, Oct. 11th, following, and the very next day took occasion to denounce the project of the governor of New York, considering it a mean attempt to take away from them a portion of their population, whom they could not afford to lose. They also determined to protect the eastern settlements against both the French and the Indians, and made provision for sending at once, a force of one hundred and fifty men to the eastward, for this purpose.²

Governor Andros was a Roman Catholic, as was also his master, the Duke of York, at least at heart; and, very naturally, all their movements were watched by the Puritan colonists with suspicion and distrust. This feeling was constantly showing itself on the most unimportant occasions. We have seen, that, immediately after the destruction of Pemaquid and the neighboring settlements, the Indians captured many fishing vessels, then called ketches, some of which they retained, though unable to navigate them. Some of those first captured soon came into the custody of Andros, and petitions were presented to him for their restoration to their former owners; and it is pleasant to

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. p. 9, 10. Information of the Indian depredations at Pemaquid and vicinity was received in New York, by a letter "from Mr. Abraham Corbets who lived to the eastward, on the duke's patent."

² *Rec. Mass.*, v. p. 123.

know that this was done, only, sufficient bonds were required for the payment of any salvage that might be found due. Among others who presented petitions of this kind, was Mr. Wm. Bowditch, merchant of Salem, Mass., who had the satisfaction to receive his property; and at the same time he was informed, that others who had lost ketches, might probably have received them sooner, "but for severall Reports coming, that some of these owners have said, they had rather the Indiyans had kept their Ketches, than that they should come into the hands of the New Yorke government."¹ This was in January, 1677; but more than a year afterwards, Mr. Bowditch recovered, in the same way, some fishing schooners which had been captured, but which he had purchased of the former owners.

The fact that several of the ketches had fallen into the hands of the New York government, so soon after the Indian war begun in those parts, indicates that Andros's emisaries or agents, were already prowling about here; but it was not until June 9, 1677, that the governor and council in New York, determined formally "to send and take Possession and assert the Duke's Interest at Pemaquid, and parts adjacent Eastward, according to his Roy^{al} H^{is} Pattent." When this was determined on, to their credit it must be said, they agreed if they made "Peace with the Indiyans then the Massachusetts to bee comprised if they Please."²

The thing being resolved on, no time was lost, and only four days afterward, June 13th, four good sloops, loaded with lumber and other material for "a strong framed Redoutt" were dispatched "to take possession and settle in his Roy^{al} Highnesse right at Pemaquid, and defend and secure the ffishery giving notice thereof to the Massachusetts, and our other neighbours." The expedition was commanded by Lieut. Anthony Brockles,³ ensign Cæsar Knapton, and Mr. M. Nicolls; and very full instructions were given to them, as to the course they were to pursue.⁴

They were to make their way eastward as speedily as possible, and "having made choice of the most convenient place upon Pemaquid, for shipping, Defence and good fresh water, if itt may

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 12.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 15.

³ Brockholls, Brockholes, Brockles.

⁴ See these in full, *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, iii, 248.

bee about halfe, and not exceeding musquett shot, from the shoare, convenient to command all thither." If for any cause they should be unable to land at Pemaquid, they were to make a temporary lodgment "upon Cape Anowagon [Capenawagen] Damarell's Cove, Monhigan or other adjacent islands" within the duke's patent. Having landed and made themselves secure against any foes that might make their appearance, they were to despatch one of the sloops to New York with full accounts of their transactions; and this they were prepared to do, as early as July 13th, thus showing a very commendable energy in their work. Aug. 2d, the governor and council were again in consultation on the affairs of Pemaquid, having received letters from Brockhols and others there, of the date just given, so it would appear that the sloop sent as express must have had rather a long passage, for the season of the year.¹

The fortifications erected at this time consisted of "a wooden Redoutt wth two guns aloft and an outworke with two Bastions in each of wth two greatt guns, and one att y^e Gate; fifty souldiers wth sufficient ammunicon, stores of warre, and spare arms, victualled for about eight months, and his Roy^l Highnesse sloop wth four guns to attend y^e Coast and fishery."² This wooden fort or redoubt occupied very nearly the same site as those erected subsequently, but was situated a little farther to the east, as will hereafter appear.

Capt. Anthony Brockhols and Ensign Cæsar Knapton were put in command of the fort and settlement, with a company of fifty soldiers. They called the place Jamestown, in honor of the king, James II. The fort they named Fort Charles.

The duke's government being established, orders were at once given for the regulation of trade and affairs generally, some of which, at this day, appear unnecessarily stringent.

They were not to form any treaty with other parties, or even enter into any negotiation for such a purpose, but to refer every thing of the kind to the governor at New York.

All questions of disagreement between the inhabitants and fishermen to be referred to a justice of the peace, an appeal being allowed in important cases to the governor at New York.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 16.

² *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, iii, p. 256, 265. The learned editor of these N. Y. Documents in his note on page 256, is evidently mistaken in supposing the fort then described was erected on the Sheepscott river. It evidently was the same fort as is referred to on pages 248-257 of the same volume. See also *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 5.

"The trading place to be at Pemaquid and no where else."

"All Entryes to bee made at New Yorke and no Coasters or Interlopers allowed, but if any found to be made prise."

"Liberty of Stages upon the fishing Islands but not upon the Maine, except at Pemaquid near the fort."

"The Indyans not to goe to ye fishing Islands."

"No rum to bee dranke on that side the ffort stands."

"No man to trust any Indyans."

Traders from New York were allowed to establish houses in the place, but only near the fort, and on a street of good breadth, leading "directly from the Fort to the narrowest part of the neck or point of land the Fort stands upon, going to the great neck towards New Harbour."

"All trade to be in the said Street, in or afore the houses, between sun and sun, for which the drum to beate, or bell ring every morning and evening, and neither Indyan nor Christian suffered to drinke any strong drinke, nor lye ashore in the night, &c."

"No Indyans nor Christians to be Admitted att any time within the Fort except some few upon occasion of businesse below, but none to goe up into the Redout, &c."

"Fishermen giving notice to the Fort, to have all Liberty of taking their fish on the fishing Islands, or neare and under the protection of the Fort."

"If Occasion one or more Constables to be appointed for the fishing Islands, and Indyans to have equall Justice and Dispatch."¹

"Fishermen to come to Pemaquid yearly to renew their Engagen^{ts} and not to splitt or fling out their Gurry on the fishing ground, or to trade with the Indyans to the prejudice of the fishery and hazard of these parts."

"Land to bee given out indifferently to those that shall come and settle, but no trade to bee at any other place than Pemaquid, and none at all with the Indyans as formerly ordered."

"It shall not be Lawful for any Vessels Crew that belongeth not to the Government to make a voyage in the Government, except he hath an house or stage within the Government on penalty of forfeiture of paying for makeing his voyage."

"It shall not be lawful for fishermen to keep any more dogges than one to a family on such penalty and forfeiture as shall be thought fitt by you [Capt. of the Fort]."

"No coasting vessels shall trade on the Coast as Bumboats tradeing from Harbor to Harbor, but as shall supply the Generall account for one boate or more, neither shall it be careful for him to trade in any other

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 18, 20, 21, 22.

Harbor, but where the boat or boats are, neither, shall it be lawful for him to trade with any other crew for liquors or wine, Rum, Beer, Sider, &c., on such penalty as you [Capt. of Port] think fitting."

"All vessels out of any Government if they come to trade or fish shall first enter at Pemaquid, or the places appointed, and they shall not go in any other Harbor except by stress of weather."¹

"No stragling farmes shall be erected, nor no houses built any where under the number of twenty."²

These extracts from orders issued at different times for the government of the place sufficiently indicate the general character of the whole. They were only military orders, but in the existing circumstances, had the force of law over the duke's territory of Sagadahoc, which was claimed to include the whole coast from the Kennebec to the St. Croix. The duke's government determined to secure to themselves an absolute monopoly of the business of the place, without regard to the interests of the settlers; but they meant also to punish the other New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, by excluding them from the trade with the Indians, or taking fish on the coast except by payment of tribute at the Pemaquid custom house.

The Indians, overawed by this show of military strength and determined purpose of the English, soon made their submission; and with some reluctance, according to Governor Andros's account, agreed to include Massachusetts in the treaty of peace to be formed, and to give up all captives in their hands, and also to restore any ketches that might still be in their possession. As a result of the treaty, thirty-five³ captives were soon brought in, and in due time restored to their friends. Most of the ketches before referred to were brought in by the Indians at this time.⁴

These stringent regulations of trade and business on the coast did not long remain a dead letter; Mr. John Alden of Boston, had sent his ketch on a trading excursion to the east; and unfortunately she was seized in the St. Georges river, and with her cargo taken to Pemaquid, in custody of the duke's officers. The case was taken to New York, where Mr. Alden appeared in person before the governor and council, June 12, 1678, pleading for a restoration of his property. Whether or not the ketch

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. p. 35, 36, 37, 75.

² *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, III, p. 253, 265.

³ One account says near forty. Hubbard says fifty.

⁴ *Ind. Wars*, Drake's ed., p. 238. *Rec. Mass.*, v, 163.

was condemned finally is not known, but she was now given up to the claimant upon his giving security for the payment of £120, (the estimated value of ketch and cargo), in case a decree of condemnation should be rendered.

The reasons given for this extraordinary clemency on the part of the government, were the good character of the applicant, and the fact that he had sustained great loss in the "late Dutch war." Some of the reasons given by the applicant in favor of his petition seem, at this day, a little contradictory. First, he was entirely ignorant of the existence of the order, under which the ketch had been seized; and second, he did not suppose the place where he was trading, was within the duke's patent.

For some reason, Andros, in the spring of the year 1678, felt it necessary to write out a formal justification of his governmental policy towards the New England colonies, and, in substance affirms, that when it was heard in Massachusetts that the duke's government had taken possession of Pemaquid "they [the government of Mass.] proclaimed a fast and day of prayer, levied or pressed about 120 men wth they alsoe sent East ward of wth $\frac{1}{2}$ being killed by Indians att black point the rest proceeded to ors at Pemaquid but finding them already posted they friendly questioned our comeing there and soe returned." ¹

But Andros was mistaken in part at least. The expedition "to prosecute the Quarrel against those Eastward Indians, around the Kennebec," was planned in Boston early in the season, before the order passed by the governor and council in New York, for taking possession of Pemaquid, which we have seen, was June 9th. It consisted of some 40 English and 200 Christian Indians, and was commanded by Capt. Benj. Swett and Lieut. Richardson. The vessels containing them arrived at Black Point, June 28th; and Capt. Swett, learning that Indians had recently been seen in the vicinity, the next day landed a part of his force, which was joined by some of the men of the place, making ninety in all. These, in two parties, immediately gave chase to a body of Indians that showed themselves, but at once fled on their approach, and were thus drawn into an ambush, about two miles from the fort; and two-thirds of their number, including both Swett and Richardson, were slain before they could regain the fort. Of the 60 slain, 40 were English and 20 Indians. The vessels, after this disaster, if Andros is to

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, III, 265.

be believed, continued their course as far east as Pemaquid, and probably made the Duke's colony the first visit with which they were honored by the men of Massachusetts.¹

Capt. Anthony Brockholls, who conducted the expedition from New York, to Pemaquid, and superintended the erection of the fort, was appointed first commander of the place; but Ensign Cæsar Knapton, succeeded him as captain in a few months, and appears to have held the place until Dec., 1680. At this date Ensigne Thomas Sharpe was appointed to the place, and to him succeeded Capt. Francis Skinner, Aug. 30, 1681, who, it is believed, retained the position until 1686, when, by royal order "the fort and County of Pemaquid" was "annexed to, and Continued under the Govern^t of our territory and dominion of New England."²

Other officers, civil and military, were appointed by the governor from time to time as occasion might require. Henry Jocelyn came to Pemaquid from Black point very soon, probably, after the establishment of the Duke's government in 1677; and by general consent, seems to have acted as justice of peace, for a time, without formal appointment, which, however, he subsequently received. His commission declares him "to bee Justice of the Peace in Corum" [Quorum] and he appears to have been the only one at Pemaquid who enjoyed this distinction.³ Other justices were, John Dollin, Lawrence Dennis, John Jourdain, Richard Redding, John Allen, Thomas Giles (or Gyles) Alexander Waldrop, Thomas Sharpe, Richard Pattishall, Nicholas Manning, Giles Goddard, Cæsar Knapton, John West and Elihu Gunnison.⁴ These did not all reside at Pemaquid, but some belonged to neighboring settlements, as Damariscotta and Sheepscott. Gov. Andros, in 1680, addressed a letter to "Mr. Justice Jourdain att Richmond Island nere Caskobay."

Other civil officers appointed were, sheriffs, constables, collectors, etc., but the names were not generally preserved. Com-

¹ *Hub. Ind. Wars*, Drake's ed., II, 234; *Maine Hist. Coll.*, III, 113; *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, I, 551; *Rec. Mass.*, V, p. 134.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, V, 130, 131.

³ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, V, p. 33, 36-39, 69, 102, 113.

⁴ This distinction of certain justices seems not to be continued in this country, though common at a very late period. "John Joslyne," page 33, vol. V, of the *Maine Hist. Collections*, is believed to be a mistake for Henry Jocelyn. *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XI, p. 32.

missions for justices of peace were generally given for one year only, but sometimes they were to continue until otherwise ordered by the governor.

As to the collectors their duties do not appear to have been burdensome; and Governor Dongan in June, 1686, "for the augmenting his Majestyes Reuenue," proposed to "Sell and Lett to farme" "the Excise and Customes" in hope of better results, remarking that "very Little Reuenue" thus far had "accrued to his Majesty from Pemaquid by the Dutyes of Excise and Customes."¹

Facts recorded at the time show that at Pemaquid, as elsewhere, justices of the peace were not unnecessary officers. In the autumn of the year 1679, a quarrel occurred on board the ketch, Cumberland, Capt. Israel Dumont, then lying at Pemaquid or vicinity, during which one Samuel Collins was thrown overboard and drowned; and the captain and John Rashly (probably a sailor with Collins on board of the Cumberland) were charged with his murder. By authority of Governor Andros, a special court was ordered for their trial, to be held at Pemaquid, in the summer or autumn of the year 1680; but we are not informed of the result.

The condition of the place, as to morals, at a period a little later was not above reproach. May 10, 1683, Lieut. Governor Brockholls wrote to Capt. Skinner, then in command of the fort, as follows, viz: "Am Sorry the Loosnesse and Carelesnesse of your Command gives Opportunity for Strangers to take notice of your Extravagancies and Debaucheries and that Complaints must come to me thereof being what your Office and Place ought to prevent and punish * * * * * Expect a better observance and Comporte [to previous instructions] for the future, and that Sweareing Drinking and Prophanesse to much practiced and and Suffered with you will be wholly Suppressed * * *."²

But if stringent laws favoring good morals did not produce a satisfactory result, the same was found to be true of the still more stringent rules for regulating trade. Col. Thomas Dongan, appointed governor of "New York and Sagadahoc" in 1682, arrived in this country in the month of August, 1683, and finding the people much dissatisfied with the previous administration of the government, immediately after entering upon his

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, 112.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 33, 40.

duties proposed with other reforms the election by the "freeholders" of a legislative assembly — a thing until this time entirely unknown in the colony. Writs for the election were soon issued by the sheriffs; and to Pemaquid, or rather to the county of Cornwall, including Pemaquid and the neighboring settlements, was assigned a single member. The people both of New York, and of Sagadahoc, received the announcement with joy; and from this part of the Duke's dominions Gyles Godard Esq., of Sheepscott, was unanimously chosen representative to the assembly. He actually attended the assembly as a member one session and perhaps more. Some language used in a "Petition of Inhabitants of New Dartmouth" [Newcastle] to the governor and council in New York, may be understood to imply that he attended more than one session, but the date April, 1684, does not favor this view. They say, "and allso when our Representative, Mr. Gyles Godward went Last, etc."¹

Two petitions from the people of Pemaquid about this time, that are fortunately preserved among the New York archives indicate something of the character of the people, and the ground of their complaint against the government. They are addressed to Coll. Thomas Dongan.

"The Humble Peticōn of the poor Inhabitants of the toune of Pemaquid etc., Humbly Sheweth. That when the most part of the Inhabitants of this place did come from New York, at the subdueing of this Countrie here to Serue his Royall High^s; Therefore and for Seuerall other good reasons (and Secureatie of the People) moueing your honor predecessor St. Edmund Andros, and Confirmed by Capt. Brockholls; did giue grant and Confirme to this Toune of Pemaquid the whole trade of the Indians; directly and indirectly forbidding all other Persons to trade with the Indians within this Colony Except at Pemaquid vnder very great Penalties as the Records here make appear. * * * * * Therefore your humble poor peticōners doth humbly beg and Desire your honor that our former Liberties granted to us Concerning tradeing with the Indians may be confirmed and strict Charge giuen that noe other Person nor Inhabitant Shall trade Except they doe come and build here which will be a strenghening to the garrison of this place."² * *

* * * "Likewayes to grant your poor Peticōners an order how wee shall behaue towards the french in your Jurisdiction to the Eastw^d for the trade that way is Considerable and will promote your honors interest."

This petition is not dated, but was received by Gov. Dongan Sept. 6, 1683, only a few days after his arrival in the country.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

In anticipation of this event, it had evidently been prepared earlier in the season, and forwarded to New York.

The other petition evidently prepared by another hand is also without date, but probably was sent at a period a little later than the preceding. It is addressed to the Honre^{ble} Coll. Thomas Dongan, Left. Govern^r etc."

"The humble Petition of the inhabytance of the Extreme partes of his Riall Hiness Territory Betwene the Riuer Kenybeke and St^e Croix Humbly Showeth,

Ware as y^{or} Petinors Came to vnderstand by Seuerall Commition and instruction for the Settillment of the afforesaid partes that y^{or} Hon^r Hath intended Good for these partes and all ways will wee Belieue Conferme the same which Giues vs Greate bouldnes to seeck y^{or} Hon^{rs} protection and Reedres from many burthen, and oppretions that are Layed vpone vs by the wonte of Laues being Lefte to the will and plesuer of the Military order by which menes the Gouernment bee Comes to vs allto Gether Arbytery which soe to bee is Repugnant to the Laues of England and his Maj^{ties} Regall authority as also a great Reflexction one y^{or} Hon^{rs} authority Being fully ashored of our Deliuere^r from the same By y^{or} Hon^{rs}, After seuerill yeares suffering By ouer Great Distant from New Yorke whare we ar all ways to have oure Releefe in such and the Licke Cases.

P^rmis the Boody of Lawes of New Yorke and the adjasent partes of his Ryall Hines territory hath not these partes in it Tharefore humbly Request that wee may bee At mimber of that Boody.

2^{ly}. Thare has ben but one appointed for these partes which all Cases Com beffore and if Injustis Don any man under correccation bee it spooken to the Loos of his Estate or Dammige to his parson this Law Appointes noe Appeall for vs which priuileges is a Lowed of By y^{or} Hon^r and Counsell at New Yorke and thare flore hope y^{or} Hon^{rs} will provide some way for ouer Releefe.

3^{ly}. It hath Binne the practis of the Commander of Pemaquid to apprehend by forse of armes the kings Justis of the pease and threten other Justis of the Pease with Putting in Irons and keping in the ffort a prisnor seuerall dayes with other Grand abusses and uillifing Lange and flor-noe Reson only following thare Commition Granted to the Said Justis^e of the pease as also thretnige the Desolfing of Coarts att plessuer By which meanes the Kings Justices and Subjects haue bine turned beesides that busnis; Humbly Beging Y^{or} Hon^{rs} Releefe in the same.

4^{thly}. Whare as you Honer haue Sent formerly Artickels in tittled Instruction for the settillment of Pemaquid which signyfes to y^{or} petition-eor that y^{or} Hon^{rs} haue thoughts of Good for the Inhabitants of these partes if a Right vnderstanding whare as the ffurste Instrucktion Declarith

that noe vessell shall trad one the Coste as bumboates from Harbber to Harber but such as shall supplye the Gincerall account ffor one Boate or more nether shall it bee Lawfull to trad in any other harber which or Instrucktion is much to the dammige of the inhabytance and a great Discoragement of others that wold Come to inhabytte ffor answer to the affore said Instrucktion the persons that haue supplied the fishery haue allways sate such Grate prises one thare Goods that it hath ffor many years Impoverished yor poore petitiones butt of Late hath by the Resons of Supplyes att a Cheaper Rate and not Consarned with the Supply of boates made vs to make a more comfortable Liuing than heare to fore.

Likeways we tacke bouldnes to acquainte yor Honors with a Considerable quantidy of planters Settled and are a Coming to Settill in his Riiall highnes teritory in the Estern partes if in corrigment from yor honer which wee Disspare not of Desirring yor honer to take into yor pieous Consideration how these affore said planters shall bee supplied Being absolutely Commanded that the supplyes shall Dispose of noe goods but in the harbors whare fishery is and to now other but the boates even which affore said instrucktion we humbly Conseue were Given in to yor Honor by him that had to much sellfe in it and wee ffeare a Combination wth other suppliers to the Impourishing of Your poore petisiners as heretoffore which infringment of trade hath neuer Been as wee humbly Conceue to his Majesty subiack humbly Desiring Yor honer to Reliue vs in the same.

5^{thly}. Whare as the ninth ¹ Instrucktion that the fishermen of Sacady-hocke Iland shall not Builde any'more howeses one that parte of the Iland whare the Stages bee, but shall Remoue all thare Houses within the Spase of three yeares which will bee the Runing of the proprietors of ye same but wee humbly Conseue and sartingly knowe that his Majesty by act of parlyment haue mad proclaymation that all Ilands and plases conuenient ffor fishery all tho any person or persons propriety shall Bee Improved ffor that End; as allso S^r Edmond Androus Conferming of the same; wee ffeare yor Honers information haue been from a person formerly Claiming a Right thare vnto all tho pretended which parson can bee noe other parson than Mr Richard Pattishall which we haue Grounds to fear Doth not Desighne Good to their partes we Humbly Request yor honer to Reliue yor poore petyseors in this matter.

6^{thly}. Ware as in the thirteenth ¹ artickell that all vessels shall enter at Pemaquid, and att noe other place, which wee humbly Conseiue, will bee Very Detrimentall to a Considerabell quantity of fisher men and planters by Reson of the Great Distanse of Pemaquid, and the Depenes and Difficulty of the bay of Pemaquid, has Detained seuerall vessills many Days, som times Weeekes, which has exposed the fishery and planters to Great Wontes as also a Great Dammige to thare Impleye, ouer Humble Request

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 77.

to yor Honer is that you wold grante vs two places more of Entrys and Clering, the one at Nu Dartmouth in Ships Gutt riuer where ar Considerable in habbitance and meny more Coming, and prouising a Considerable trad of shiping ffor waste and Lumber and all see an office, or some parson at Sacadyhocke in Kenybee Riuer, appointed ffor Enteing and Clearing.

7^{thly}. War as the Eighteenth ¹ in Trucktion Doth Require noe settillment in those partes under the number of Twenty famelyes which wee acknolige a very great prudence of yor Honner wee humbly Conseeue if yor Honner Doth but parser tenn famelyes it may much more Conduce to the Settelling of those partes ffor tenn famelyes can be found to Settill at the firste a town ship, when twenty Cannot be procured, but when tenn settled som small town it hath all times by Expperience incurrid more to Come wee humbly Request your honner to Grante the same.

8^{thly}. Wee farther take Boulldues to acquainte yor honnor of a uery Considerable Charge, that the towne of Nu Dartmouth is [by mistake for in] Ships Gutt Riuer and Sacadyhocke in Kenybee Riuer, in Erickting of a fort at Each place ffor Security of the in habbitance against the Hethin, by Reson of thretting Languge proseding ffrom them and to bee found consultation ffor ware as allsee thay Declaring that if thay did not Cutt of the English now they came to in habitt before that thay wold bee to manny ffor them and to strong, wee humbly Requeste yor honer to prouide some better security ffor affter time.

All those florementioned artickells wee are fully perswaded yor honner has a better vnderstanding of then, wee ar Capable to informe; not Douting as yor honer has already Desighend Good ffor these partes will Grant vnto yor pore petistnors all the affore said artickells wee shall Euer pray.

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Jno. Allyen, | Elihu Gunnison, |
| Larry Denny, | Christopher Ryer, |
| Justes — | Thomas Gent, |
| Nich. Manning, | William Lowering, |
| Thomas Gyles, | Robert Cook, |
| Phi. Parson, | Efrancis Johnsonn, |
| | Afte Nele, |
| | Tho Sergeant, |
| | Goury Gray, |
| | John Lange, |
| | Elias Trucke, |
| | John Sellman, ¹ |

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 81-88. No student of New England history will regret the insertion of this petition entire (except only the official address) because of the space it occupies. Fortunately the names of the signers are preserved. The orthography is bad, as is also the construction of many of the sentences, but at that time much less was thought of those points than now. The best scholars

A petition to Gov. Dongan from the "Inhabitants of y^e Towne of New Dartmouth" (Sheepscott Plantations), not dated but received April 21, 1684, has been preserved. It has only eight signers, and four of them are the same as on the preceding, viz. Thomas Gent, Wm. Lowring [Lowering] Thomas Gyles, and Elihu Gunnison.

The chief object was to secure the confirmation of a grant of land previously made to them by Henry Jocelyn Esq., in the name of Gov. Andros; but they took occasion also to protest again the conduct and character of "one Capt. Nicholas Manning," who was very "Troublesome" and produced "divisions" and disturbances among them.¹

Both this and the last mentioned petitions were sent to New York by Mr. Goddard probably when he went on to attend a session of the assembly in the spring of 1684, and both were "referred" [deferred?] "untill the Governor go to Pemaquid."² The petition previously mentioned had suffered the same fate. As Gov. Dongan never came to Pemaquid, it is not probable that the petitions ever received any further attention.

"At a Council at Fort James [N.Y.] July the 9th, 1684," mention was made of a "petition of the Inhabitants of Pemaquid" which was also "referred untill the Governor go thither."³ This may have been the same as one of the preceding, but probably it was a new one of more recent date.

The Civil government of "Pemaquid and its dependencies" was conducted with some energy and a fair appearance of justice during the whole of Dongan's administration; but the absurd determination of the government to make the young and distressed colony a source of revenue to themselves rendered necessary very oppressive taxation in every possible form. Even transient fishermen on the coast, were obliged to pay tribute to "the Duke's government," "a decked vessell four Kentalls Merchantable fish and an open boate two Kentalls." Collectors and subcollectors were not wanting; but the "Quitt Rents" notwithstanding were often greatly "in arrears."

often spelled the same word in different ways even in the same document. But notwithstanding the violation of some of our rules for good writing, it is a document of great ability. It is in excellent temper, and its points are well put; and it could not have failed of producing a good effect if anything of the kind was allowed to have influence.

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, 95-100.

² *Idem*, p. 94.

³ *Idem*, I, 104.

The feelings of the *tax-payers* in view of those facts are unmistakably expressed in the following petition.

"To the Right honorable Governor and Councill of Assembly at New Yorke.

The humble Petition of the inhabitants of New Harbour humbly sheweth :

That, whereas y^r petitioners have beene at great charge in building their habitations, and as yett have noe assurance of either house lots or the bounds of our place, which is a hindrance to our conveniencies of planting or making an improvement etc. We humbly [pray] that there may be surveyors appointed for that purpose to lay out lands; likewise the * * * of these customs may be taken off, because it never used to be paid by any fisherman in this world as we know of, and it hinders the coasters coming to us to bring our supplies, and when they do come, the very name of these customs makes them sell their goods almost as dear again as formerly they used, so that we finde it to be to all the country a greivous burden and to all the people called fishermen an utter ruin. And that Pemaquid may still remain the metropolitan of these parts, because it ever have been so before Boston was settled.

Wherefore your honors poore petitioners humbly desire that the honorable Governor and Councill would please to take the premises in to your pious consideration, to order and confirm the lots, bounds and limits of this place to be laid out, and that we may enjoy the labors of our hands and have it for our children after us, and also that the customs may be taken off, and raised some other way, and that Pemaquid may be the metropolitan place, and your honors petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Per order of the inhabitants

WM. STURT, Town Clerk,
at Pemaquid.¹

Ownership of the soil being claimed by the government of the Duke, by right of his grant from the king, and this without regard to previous patents as that of Aldsworth, and Elbridge grants of land were premised "indifferently to those who should settle" but it does not appear that any deeds were given for a num-

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 137-138. The original of this petition is preserved in the State Archives at Albany N. Y., and was found among the papers of the year 1692; but as the editor of these Pemaquid Papers suggests, it must have had an earlier origin. The order for the transfer of Pemaquid from the jurisdiction of New York to that of New England was given Sep. 19, 1686, and of course a petition could not have been addressed to the authorities of New York at a date later than this. We may, indeed, reasonably presume it was presented some time previous to Oct. 23d, 1684, for at this date Gyles Godard was appointed surveyor of Pemaquid. — *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 106.

ber of years. In 1684 Alexander Wardrop [Waldrop, Woldrop, Woodrop] was appointed to "aske, demand and Receive all such quitt Rents as were due," "and to give Receipts for the same"; but it was not until two years later (June 1686) that John Palmer, with John West as his deputy, was sent to those parts "with full power and authority to treat with the Inhabitants for Takeing out Pattents and Paying the quitt rents."

The people had earnestly petitioned that their claims to their lots might be properly confirmed by the government, and proper surveys made, and the work was now about to commence, but with attendant circumstances not anticipated. The lots were generally intended to contain 100 acres of woodland and 20 of marsh, if it could be found; and for this, an annual "quit rent of 5s. in money, or a bushel of good wheat was demanded, and a fee of £2 10s. for executing the leasehold. Some favorites received 800 or 1000 acres, but others only 3 or 4 acres; "they were in haste and gott what they could." As might have been expected, "this bred a great mischiefe amongst the people," who justly considered themselves as oppressed beyond measure; but as the only alternative was to give up their houses and lots, all that could raise so much money hastened to pay. In New Dartmouth [Sheepscott Farms] alone, we are told, about 140 leases were take out.¹

Sullivan says that many deeds given by Palmer and West in the name of the governor of New York "have been exhibited in the contests in that country within the last thirty years," but the titles thus conferred "never prevailed against the grant of Elbridge and Aldsworth, nor against the Indian deeds."² One of these deeds he gives in full. It is a *lease* rather than a *deed*, and conveys to John Dalling of Monhegan an indefinite "parcel of land" on that island, "not exceeding six acres, "with a full third part of a certain marsh or meadow," upon condition of his paying "yearly and every year," "one bushel of merchantable wheat or the value thereof in money."

Copies of several grants of land are given in the fifth volume of the collections of the Maine Historical Society, which has so often been referred to. They are nearly all in favor of gentlemen said to be of New York city, and give no metes or bounds. One of

¹ *Hutch. Coll.*, p. 563.

² *Hist. Maine*, p. 162.

them gives "Liberty and Lycence" to John Spragge"¹ "of this City of New Yorke" to take up and Enjoy a Certaine Island called and Knowne by the name of Summersett Island [Loud's Island] and the small Island thereunto adjacent [Marsh Island].

To "James Graham of the city of New Yorke Merchant" a grant was made of one thousand acres of land at Pemaquid in the county of Cornwall, "provided that not above one hundred acres of the said land be fronting on the sea or water side, also provided the same be not appropriated or legally disposed of to any others." This Graham was for a time associated with Palmer and West in the management of affairs at Pemaquid and, subsequently, was appointed attorney general of Massachusetts under Andros, and resided in Boston.

John West, at the same time, received a grant of Arowsic Island, in the Kennebec, or rather all of it except a small tract at the south end, which had previously been granted by Andros to "Mr. Lawrence Dennis and others," "and called New Towne."

Thus were the government agents well provided for, whatever might be said of the poor settlers.

Palmer and West appear to have spent the Summer of 1686 at Pemaquid and vicinity, where they, as we have seen, succeeded in making themselves sufficiently odious. They had exercised the almost unlimited powers entrusted to them in the most arbitrary manner; but it is not to be forgotten, that the people collected here at this time, were not the most orderly or intelligent. Mention is made several times, in the records, of the governor and council in New York, of information received there, of "disorders and confusion amongst the Inhabitants of Pemaquid."² Considering the position of the place so completely isolated on the very borders of civilization, and the fact that the present population had but recently come together, some from New York, brought there by the agents of the government, such as they could readily gather together from the streets and wharfs of the city, and the rest, returned old residents, who, since the destruction of the place, had been wandering from place to place, it is not strange, perhaps, that they did not sustain an elevated moral character.

¹ This Gentleman was long a member of the Governor's Council in New York, and at one time secretary.

² *Maine Hist. Col.*, v, p. 107, 111.

We have no means of knowing what proportion of the former inhabitants returned, after the war, to become citizens under the duke's government.

Palmer and West, in their greed for money, sometimes did not hesitate to resort to doubtful means to accomplish their purpose. During their stay at Pemaquid, a report came that a ship from Piscataqua, was landing some wine at Penobscott without having first entered it at the custom house, in Pemaquid; they therefore dispatched a sufficient force to seize the wine and bring it to Pemaquid. This was within the letter of their instructions, which authorized them to assert the duke's authority and claim all the land as far east as the river St. Croix; but the French were in possession of the place when the wine was landed, and both they and the people of Massachusetts took serious offence. The government of Massachusetts issued a circular warning the fishermen on the coast, and also the people of Maine and New Hampshire, to avoid the harbors on the eastern coasts, lest they should be seized, and held to answer for crimes not their own. After some time the English government, at the request of the French minister at that court, ordered a restoration of the property.¹

Nicholas Manning was appointed "Sub-Collectors Survey"

¹ *Hutch. Coll.*, 547. Was there a second case of this kind? Or does the following extract have reference to the same transaction. It is from a work, not often met with in American libraries, entitled "*Memoires des Commissaires du Roi et de Ceux de sa Majesté Britannique, sur les Possessions et les Droits Respectifs des Deux Couronnes en Amérique, avec les Artes publics et Pièces justificatives.*" 4 tomes, Paris, 1755-7.

Tome II, p. 328. Les soussignés, Ambassadeurs et Envoyés extraordinaires de France, etc. etc. représentent à Votre Majesté, que le nommé Philippe Syuret, maître d'un vaisseau, nommé *La Jeune*, étant parti de Malgue pour la Nouvelle France, chargé de marchandises pour le compte des Sieurs Nelson, Watkins et consorts, et les ayant délivrés, suivant ses connaissances, au Sieur Vincent de Castène, marchand établi à Pentagoet, situé dans la province de l'Acadie, le Juge de Péniquide, qui est sous l'obéissance de Votre Majesté, fit équiper une vaisseau qu'il envoya à Pentagoet, d'où il enleva les dites marchandises comme étant de contrabande et prétendant que Pentagoet appartient à Votre Majesté, mit en arrêt le vaisseau du dit Syuret, et refuse encore présentement de la restituer. * * *

Les dites soussignés, Ambassadeurs et Envoyés, espèrent de la justice de Votre Majesté, qu'après avoir pris connaissance de tous ces faits, elle désavouera le procede du Juge de Péniquide, défendra qu'il se committe de pareilles contraventions à l'avenir, et ordonnera que toutes les marchandises du dit Syuret lui seront restituées, ou le juste valeur; que son vaisseau lui sera rendue incessamment, et qu'il sera dedomagé de tous les frais que cette interruption dans son commerce lui a causés, 1687.

BARILLON & BONREPANS."

and Searcher of his Maties Customes and Excise" for the county of Cornwall, Sep. 7, 1686; and it is more than probable that he ought to share largely in the odium of these transactions. He had, two years before, been appointed Captain of a "Foot Company" at Pemaquid; and conducted himself in such a manner as to call out a petition from the people to the authorities at New York for his removal. The little regard the authorities had for the wishes of the people is seen in the fact that he now received the appointment just mentioned, and also a commission as justice of the peace. It is not known at what time he came to Pemaquid; but in 1680 he was living at Salem, Mass., where he was accused by female servants in his family of crimes too indecent to be mentioned.¹ His character seems to have been in every way despicable.

The commerce of the place at this time was becoming of some importance, and merchant vessels were constantly passing between Pemaquid and the other colonies, and especially New York.

CHAPTER XVI.

James Duke of York becomes King of England, as James II, and New York and Sagadahoc, in consequence, become Royal Provinces — The Sagadahoc territory, including Pemaquid, detached from New York and transferred to Massachusetts — Increased burdens of the people under their new rulers — Baron de St. Castine, becomes a resident at Biguyduce and marries a daughter of Madockawando — Gov. Andros makes an excursion to Biguyduce, with a small military force, and pillages the house of Castine — Returns to Pemaquid and proceeds to Boston — His efforts to conciliate the Indians unsuccessful — Disgusted, because they pay no respect to his proclamation, he resolves on a coercive policy, and with a military force marches to the eastward to chastise the disobedient natives — At Pemaquid he hears of the Revolution in England and hastily returns to Boston — Lieut. James Weems, commander of the Pemaquid fort, remains at his post, with a few men, and reports to the authorities at Boston — Capture and destruction of the fort and settlement at Pemaquid by the Indians.

The connection of the Sagadahoc territory with the government of New York was attended with many inconveniences,

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, vol. 8, p. 8.

both to the officers of government at New York and to the people of the distant territory, and was not likely to be continued longer than the extraneous reasons existed, for which the unnatural connection was first made.

The duke of York, by the death of his brother Charles II, in 1685, became king of great Britain, as James II, and the ducal province of New York and Sagadahoc became in consequence a royal province, and of course, attached to the crown.

The condition of the people of Massachusetts had also greatly changed within a few years, as their charter by a writ of *quo warranto* had been taken from them; and the government of the colony became dependant directly upon the crown, precisely as in New York, of which mention has just been made. As a natural consequence of this, the home government and its faithful adherants began to manifest less jealousy of Massachusetts than formerly; and a suggestion of governor Dongan "to draw off the men and arms" from Pemaquid "with the guns," and "to annex that place to Boston," was received with favor.¹ Accordingly, Sep. 19th, 1686, by a royal order the "fort and Country of Pemaquid in Regard of its distance from New Yorke" was detached from New York and placed under Sir Edmond Andross, "Captaine generall and governour in chiefe of the territory and dominion of New England."

This "territory and dominion of New England" consisted of Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and to these, the territories of New York and East and West Jersey were subsequently added. The jurisdiction of Gov. Andros, therefore, extended over all the English settlements north of Pennsylvania.

Gov. Dongan being thus superseded by Andros, quietly relinquished the government of New York; but the people there felt not a little degraded, in being made an appendage to another government not greatly respected by them. The authorities of New York were also very reluctant to yield their hold upon Pemaquid; and as late as March 28, 1688, at a "Council Held at ffort James," N. Y., they ordered a remonstrance to be drawn up against the proposed measure.² But it was of no avail; and the transfer was made, as just stated, and the great

¹ *Doc. Coll. Hist. N. Y.*, III, p. 391.

² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 132.

guns of the fort were removed first to Boston, and then, in the spring of 1691, to New York.¹

Andros, thus entrusted with the government of so large a territory now, 1686, entered upon the discharge of his duties with vigor; but by the people of all New England, he was watched with a jealous eye. And events soon proved that their fears were not without foundation, as is fully recorded in his subsequent history.

The people of Pemaquid and vicinity felt severely the increased burdens imposed upon them. Edward Randolph, who accompanied Gov. Andros to the place, in the spring of 1688, speaks thus of them.

"The poor have been very much oppressed here, the forte run all to ruin, and wants a great deale to repair it; the Governor has ordered it to be well repaired; it stands very well to command a very good bay and harbour about it, and will in time be a good place, being the only good porte for all vessels eastward to ride well and secure by the forte from danger. Capt. Palmer, and Mr. West laid out for themselves such large lotts, and Mr. Graham, though not there, had a child's portion. I think some have 8 or 10,000 acres; I hear not of one penny rent coming to the King from those who have their grants confirmed at Yorke, and this 5s. an hundred acres was only a sham upon the people."

"The addition of New York to this government does very much enlarge our bounds and may be of great service to the crowne, but they have been squeesed dry by Collnoll Dongan and his agents, West and Graham, that there is little good to be done. * * * It was well done of Palmer and West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pemmequid, by Sir Edmond, that was the scene when they placed and displaced at pleasure, and were as arbitrary as the great Turke; some of the first settlers of that eastern country were denyed grants of their own lands, whilst these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves."²

These remarks apply to the oppressions upon the people here during the preceding administration of Gov. Dongan, but we do not learn that any measures were adopted to lighten their burdens by the administration of Andros who succeeded him.

We have seen that Dongan, while Governor, at one time meditated a visit to these eastern parts of his dominions, but he never accomplished it. No doubt there was abundant need of such a visitation in Dongan's time, but there was even more

¹ *Idem.*, p. 131.

² *Hutch. Coll.*, p. 563, 565.

need now. Acadia had been ceded to France in 1668, by the treaty of Breda, but an earnest, not to say angry, dispute as to the proper western boundary of this territory had ever since been in progress, between the two governments. On the part of England, it was claimed that the river St. Croix must be considered the true western boundary of this territory, but the French insisted, that Acadia extended farther west, even to the Kennebec, or at least to Pemaquid, and actually were in possession of all the country east of the Penobscot.¹

Soon after the adoption of the treaty of Breda, just alluded to, an enterprising and unscrupulous Frenchman, Baron de St. Castine, had taken his residence at Bagaduce,² a place near the mouth of the Penobscot; and having married a daughter of the Indian chief, Madockawando, was gradually acquiring great influence among the natives, as well as considerable wealth. As a matter of course, his position there could but create some uneasiness in the minds of the English; but, as the two nations were at peace, though the dispute in regard to the jurisdiction was still in progress, it is not easy to see how the Frenchman could be rightfully disturbed.

Some apprehension of danger from the Dutch, was also felt at this time, as the Dutch fleet had previously made some demonstrations on the coast, and might possibly again seize upon some portion of the disputed territory, between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers.

Having, therefore, made suitable preparations, early in the spring of 1688, Gov. Andros, with a number of attendants started from Boston on his proposed eastern tour. They went as far as Piscataqua by land; but here took passage in the Governor's sloop which, with a commodious barge, awaited his arrival. Orders were sent to Col. Mason, a faithful friend, who had been sent some time previously on a tour of inspection among the provincial militia of Maine, to meet him at Casco bay; and from this place they proceeded leisurely to Pemaquid, visiting some of the settlements on their way and even passing some distance up the Kennebec. As had been previously arranged, the British frigate, *Rose*, Capt. George, lay at anchor in Pemaquid harbor, and was ready to sail with them for the Penobscot.

¹ *The Memorials of the English and French Commissioners concerning the Limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia*, vol. I, p. 9.

² Bagaduce, Biguyduce, Majorbiguyduce.

Arrived at Biguyduce, the frigate anchored in front of Castine's residence, and a lieutenant was sent ashore to acquaint the Frenchman of their presence; but he, on learning that Gov. Andros was on board, being incapable of successful resistance, and too suspicious of their designs to trust himself in their hands, immediately with his family made his escape to the woods, leaving all his effects to the mercy of the unwelcome visitors.

The Governor, with some attendants, then landed, and by some means gained access to the house which they pillaged of whatever they chose, but carefully respected an altar they found in one of the rooms, and other religious emblems.

They had carried with them some boards, nails and other materials, and also workmen, to repair the fort there; but he found that it would require a much greater outlay than had been expected, and the project was therefore abandoned. The expedition, with their booty, returned to Pemaquid, Andros taking care to say to an Indian sachem, neighbor to Castine, that all the goods would be restored to the former owner, if he would make application at Pemaquid, and promise to "come under obedience to the [British] King."¹

Immediately after returning to Pemaquid, Andros sent messengers to several Indian chiefs in the vicinity, inviting them to meet him at Pemaquid, where he treated them with presents and drink, and advised them not to fear the French, or follow them, but to call home their young men and live quietly under the protection of the English.

Andros at the time hoped for good results from his efforts to conciliate the Indians, whatever they may have thought of his treatment of their friend, Castine; but he was doomed to be disappointed. Ever since the peace agreed upon with the Indians at Pemaquid, in 1677, comparative quiet had prevailed, but causes of discontent were not of unfrequent occurrence, and only the influence of Castine was needed to bring on the war which followed, and which is sometimes called the second Indian war.

Andros returned to Boston very early in the summer, and proceeded to New York, not returning again to Boston until September. The Indians at the east had begun their depredations upon the settlements, and some preparations were making

¹ *Hutch. Coll.*, p. 562.

in Boston, for the contest which it was seen must soon take place; but Andros, still adhering to his conciliatory policy, utterly refused his assent to all proposed methods of coercion, and as late as Oct. 20th, even ordered all Indian prisoners to be unconditionally set at liberty. At the same time by a formal proclamation he commanded the Indians, at their peril, to set at liberty all English captives in their hands, by the 11th of November, and to surrender for trial and punishment all who had been concerned in the late outrages.

Considering all the circumstances of the case, the governor in Boston, with but a feeble force at his command, issuing his edicts to the ignorant savages, quite at ease in their native haunts two hundred miles distant from him, with the wily Frenchman, Castine, among them, smarting under a sense of the recent wrongs committed on him by Andros himself, one can hardly read these accounts without a smile of contempt at his weakness. Yet it would probably be wrong to accuse him of any want of sincerity, in pursuing this course. Soon, however, rapidly transpiring events convinced him that mere proclamations, even though accompanied by acts of kindness towards the savages, in their present temper, would avail absolutely nothing; and he, therefore, determined to change his policy, and by force compel them to a course of conduct so kindly recommended to them in his proclamation. In the language of the old fable, if "grass would not do, he would try what virtue there was in stones."

Without waiting for the full time to elapse (until Nov. 11th), which he had named in his proclamation, for the Indians to make their submission, he hastily began his preparations for sending an expedition eastward; and by the last of November, had collected together a force of about 800 men, most of whom were impressed into the service from the vicinity of Boston, but some were regular soldiers. The command of the expedition was first offered to "Major General Winthrop, one of the Council," but he declined, and Andros determined to march, himself, at the head of the troops. All considerate men saw the folly of the proposed enterprise, as clearly as did Winthrop; but the governor was in a rage, and was not to be dissuaded from his purpose.

Late in November the march commenced, the weather being unusually mild; but they were destitute of baggage trains or

tents, or other comforts, now deemed absolutely essential in such expeditions; and we are not surprised to be told that the men suffered incredibly by cold and fatigue, and that some even died from their exposures. Andros himself partook of the same fare as his soldiers, and freely submitted to the same hardships.

The expedition did not march always together, but parties were occasionally sent in different directions, where the Indians were supposed to be; and some damage was done them in the destruction of their canoes, which were laid by for winter, and the seizure of ammunition and goods, said to have been previously taken from the English; but not one Indian was killed, or taken captive. In one instance a company "of 160 men marched above 120 miles right up into the country, in a deep snow, and burnt two Indian forts," doing also other damage; but the Indians themselves, forewarned of their approach, made their escape.

The governor and some part of the force marched the whole distance to Pemaquid, but it is believed all did not come here. The number of men lost on the march probably exceeded the whole number of Indians at the time in hostility.¹

The fort at Pemaquid was immediately put in good repair, and new ones erected at Sheepscott and Pejepscot [Brunswick] and garrisons stationed at as many as eleven different places between Pemaquid and Piscataqua.

Two companies of 60 men each, and 36 regulars were stationed in the fort at Pemaquid, under the command of Capt. Anthony Brookholes and Lieut. James Weems.²

Here, or in this immediate vicinity, Andros was early in the Spring of 1689, when news was received of the abdication of James II, and the probable accession of William and Mary to the throne of England; and he hastened to return to Boston. Leaving Pemaquid March 16th, he arrived in Boston about a week afterwards; his subsequent deposition from office and imprisonment, April 18th, and return to England at a later period, are familiar to every student of American history.

¹ *Hutch. Hist.*, I., 331; *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, III., 581.

² *Williamson's Hist. of Maine*, I., 589, says "at Pemaquid, he stationed two companies of 60 men each under Col. E. Tyng and Capt. Minot, joinedly 36 regulars, and gave the command of the garrison to Capt. Anthony Brookholt and Lieut. Weems."

But in the midst of these momentous changes, what was to become of the garrison and settlement of Pemaquid. Randolph, secretary to Gov. Andros, who accompanied him in this eastern expedition, and was imprisoned with him on their return to Boston, says, "as soon as those souldiers had notice of the disturbance in Boston, some forsooke, others revolted, and seized upon their officers, and sent them bound prisoners heither; so that all the country, extending above forty leagues upon the sea shore, that was secured in their fishery and sawmills is now deserted and left to the ravage of the barbarous heathen."¹ Nothing is said in this connection of Brockholes whom Andros had placed in chief command in the fort, but very probably he "forsooke" at the same time with his master. We hear of him in New York near the close of the year, but he does not again appear in our history.

The history of the next few months will be best given in the following documents, which, fortunately, have been preserved in the Massachusetts Archives.

Before the summer had fairly arrived, of the 156 men who constituted the garrison at Pemaquid, all had left except about 30 who remained under the command of Lieut. James Weems; and the following letters which passed between him and the authorities at Boston, during the few months before the capture of the fort by the Indians, August 2d, will well illustrate the condition of things there at the time.

The first letter is dated Pemaquid, May 11, 1689, and is addressed to the authorities in Boston. He says;

"This Day Arrived a party from New Dartmouth [Newcastle] to take the fort and Seaze us, nott meeting wth any Resistance, I being willing to have Rendered itt up before had a positive order binn sent from your hands, or, line from Sr. Edmond Andros [here a part of the document is illegible, but the names of Mr. Gullison and Maj. Brocketts, can be made out] speaks of being "obliged to stay in the fort itt being my Post w^{ch} I shall Honorably maintain and Defend agst all Enimis in vindication of the true Protestant Religion, and maintains thereof in the mean time, Expecting to hear from "them" &c."²

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, III, 581. Randolph wrote May 29th, 1689, "from the Common Gaole in Boston."

² *Mass. Arch.*, vol. 1, 107, 33.

The men who came down from New Dartmouth [Newcastle] to take possession of the fort were evidently patriotic citizens, who, supposing that the regular garrison had deserted, or become entirely demoralized, proposed to hold the place against the Indians and other enemies until the government in Boston should have opportunity to send reinforcements and reestablish their authority; but, finding affairs in a better condition than they expected, and Weems the commander favorably disposed towards the new condition of public affairs, were content to leave things as they were.

The same day a petition for the continuance of Lieut. Weems in his command at the fort, was forwarded to Boston, by several of the inhabitants of the place. It contains eight names, but only six are now legible; these are Elihu Gunnison, Alex. Woodrop, George Jackson, John Bullock, Jonas Bogardus, and John Starkey. On the receipt of the petition a vote was passed by the Governor and Council, in accordance with the request.

But all things at the fort were not entirely satisfactory, as appears by the following.

"Pemaq^d June ye fst '89, [June 1, 1689].

I Receid^d yors, sent by Mr. Hescott who did not come heare but Left itt by the way wherein you Desire me to be carefull of this Garrison and Stores which care you need not be doubtfull of Dureing my Continuance here which I suppose will not be Longe unless you take further care of these parts neither have I Bin acustomed to Live upon Sault provisions and Drinking of Bad water however I Rest Satisfied for this place affordeth nothing but poverty, whereas formerly they ware well Suppleyed by ye Costers but now there comes none but passes by to supply the french and Indians, and informs you doe intend to Slight and Disowne these Easturne parts which news is like to Cause the people to leave their habitation and Desart the Country neither can I Oblidge the Souldiers to stay with me unless they know upon what tearms, they being in great wante of Seaverall necessities which would not have bin wanting had the Govern^r Contid^d his power, this is all att presant weighting yo^r Answer I Remaine.

Yours,

J. WEEMES.

This Garrison is in noe want of Ammunition nor of Provisions Seaverall months only Bread and pease and malaties [molasses?] for Bear of which they have had none this Long time."¹

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, vol. 107, 70.

From this it appears that Weems did not altogether sympathize with the Massachusetts people in deposing Governor Andros, but was willing, as a true patriot, to submit to the powers that be.

June 14th, 1689. At a meeting of the Governor and Council it was voted "That Lt. Weems be written to forthwith at penaquid to take care of that Garrison; And that promise be made him, and his Company of the Kings pay from this time forward, And further order that there be a supply of what provisions, etc. is necessary for sd Garrison."¹

But with this the Lieutenant was not altogether satisfied, and June 23d, in a moment of irritation wrote unwisely as follows:

Gent. Yors I have recd wherein you propose very fair in the respects of ye time to come, and till further order providing it might stand wth my Advantage and Honor I would imbrace, but I must tell you y^t my Dependance is els Whers Where I hope to be more Servisable to my King and Countrey yⁿ here, for since y^o haue seen cause to Displace the Govern^r and all those Gentlemen under his comand I am resolu'd to take my fortune wth them, therefore I advise you to hasten and send yor forces and take possession of this place for I cannot promise to secure it; my men being all resolu'd to leaue as some haue done already but haue prevailed wth them for a short time waiting yor speedy releaf and satisfaction from this time. The 20th of this Instant arriv'd two Captives, w^{ho} I thought convenient to hasten to you being desirous to know the state of the Countrey and Indians w^{ch} they can best relate, hauing no more to add only my Humble Servis and remains.

Yours, JAMES WEEMS.

I have ingaged you will satisfy these men for their Boate and time itt [being] for the kings seruic agreed for £3-0-0.

(The letter was addressed to Mr. Simon Bradstreet Esq. Govern^r of Boston, he having been appointed provisional governor in place of Andros deposed.)

Who these two captives were, whom he thought it so important to send to Boston by a special messenger, is not known; but the fact that the Governor and Council refused to pay the three pounds "agreed" on, indicates that they did not consider the matter of special consequence.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 107, 99, and 70, 499.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 107, 139.

To the above the Governor and Council replied as follows;

"Boston, 12th, July 1689.

Lt. Weems, yo^rs of ye 23th of June ult. came to hand being in a different Style from yo^r former, notwithstanding all Encouragement given yo^u by the Convention here to continue yo^r Post in that place, ordering that yo^r selfe and Souldiers should be continued in the Kings Pay, the Inhabitants haveing also desired yo^r stay there in yo^r Command which in yo^r former yo^u seemed to be contented with, though now [you] intimate that yo^r Expectations are raysed with hopes of some greater advantage and Hon^r and yt yo^r dependance is elsewhere resolving to take yo^r fortune with ye Gent^a now under confinement, the Reasons induceing thereto are with yo^r Selfe, yet you might do well to consider how honorable and safe it may be for you to leave yo^r Post and desert this Maties Garrison to be exposed to the Enemy, whereas yo^u have Encouragem^t for pay and supplies now sent by Mr. Hobby of Provisions and Clothing, the Convention haveing agreed to continue yo^r selfe [and] Souldiers there under yo^u in the Kings pay, and past ye some by their vote. Mr. James Cook informing that you did not so clearly understand what was formerly written to yo^u about yo^r pay, which you may please to understand is agreed to by an unanimous consent of the whole, and that care be taken for ye preservation of that place, and of their Maties Subjects and interests there, which if notwithstanding you do resolve to continue no Longer there, please to give yo^r Answer therein, that so much may be taken to comit that comand to some other meet person.

By order of the Governor and Council,
Isa. ADDINGTON Secry." ¹

This called out from Weems, the following apologetic response :

"Pemaquid, July ye. 23d, 1689.

Gent. Yo^rs. of ye. 12th Instant I recd. And Esteem Well of your Instant Reasonable offers, by which I haue preuailed with my men to stop and Defend this place assuring them their Pay for the time Past and to come. And that by the first occasion you will send them both money and more men as for myselfe I haue more than Ordenary occasion being Constrained to ye Inhabitants for severalls, both for my owne use and the garrisons, as firing and Candles, which Cannot be had without Ready money. Your Intimate of my altering my Style and Disarting my Post, for the which I had more Just Cause than some of your Countrey officers who Did Desert their Posts to their Great Disgrace and Ruine of the Countrey. I seeing my men wholly Resolved to leaue me,

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 107, 227.

and being almost without bread, and we not hereing from you in so long time. As for my Proposing of more honor And Advantage it is not Doubtable, now or Elsewhere. Neither is there any thing that Induceth me to be confined here, as ye hon^{or} I owe to the King and ye Interest of his People, what Else I haue to add I haue Communicated in a line to the Treasurer. And Subscribe myselfe Gent^l Yor Assurd Seruan.

JAMES WEEMS.

[In margin] Gent^l I Expect yor Speedy Supply of about 10 or twelve men to be in the garrison for we are but weake at Present. S^rs it is very hard that the Poor man that brought yon^e Captives has not been Satisfied for his Paines, as he Informs me."¹

The next day after the above was written an apologetic letter from the soldiers of the garrison was addressed to the Massachusetts authorities. They seem to have been in very good humor, but they had evidently felt that their honor had also been called in question.

"Pemaquid the 24 [July], 1689.

Honorable S^rs The Reson of our unwillingness to Stay heare was wee ware doubtfull that Care would not be taken of vs as formerly and the could winter aproching and our duty Exstrordenary hard and wee but a small number of men not able to hould out with our fatiek [fatigue] for to wach in the nights and part of the day which wee most doo to be Secure of our lines hauing bouth the french and heathen nere vs but as wee are Commanded by so good a Commander and officers and whose word of honner with your promise of present payment for the time past Sence the confinement of our gouinnor [governor] will now and for the time to come whareby wee doo willingly consent to continew and give our duty full Sarvices till furdur orders from England and Exspeeking heare more men and money for the time past by the ffirst oppertunity and so wee shall remain youre moust vmble Saruants according to youre promas."²

The anxiety of these men in regard to their pay was not without good reason. The officers of government by whom they had been appointed and stationed at this place had been deposed, and others, their opponents, now filled their places

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 107, 277.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 107; 228. See also *Gyles Memorial* by Rev. J. A. Vinton for several of these letters of Weems. The author of this work had procured them from the original sources before that book was published.

and administered the laws; — to whom should the soldiers look for their pay? Would or would not the newly appointed authorities of Massachusetts acknowledge their claims. This question being answered in the affirmative, they took occasion to express their good feelings and readiness to perform their accustomed duties.

But we shall still better understand the condition of affairs at Pemaquid fort the early part of this Summer (1689), by statements of Weems made eleven years afterward, in a letter to a friend, who seems to have had some special interest in the subject. As will be seen, it is dated at Albany, where Weems was then serving as Captain of a company of infantry.

"Since my last to you I am Informed it would have been Convenient [desirable] for me to be at Boston myselfe in case of any objection should be offered but it is too late neither can I Immagine that any such thing may happen if Rightly considered, for my case was thus Singular, and such perhaps as never or seldome hath happened for an officer to be Posted at a frontier Garrison by his Generall with a sufficient force to defend it, and afterwards have them privately commanded away from him and he left with a hand full Exposed to all danger, the which proceedings gave opportunity to some of my men to Leave me as the Rest did Inland, for they apprehended the dangor that followed and became disobedient and told me that I was no Longer their commander since their Capt. Gentl was out of all power and that they were not obliged to stay after the 3 Companies was gone to become a pray for a morsall of Salt-provision on which I was forced to come with capp in hand to them and used Severall arguments to persuade them to stay all would not do unlesse I would oblige myselfe to pay them the kings pay over and above their provissions which proposalls I was very Ready to Embrace which I then thought Reasonable and may appear to men of Seence on which they all promised to Stand by me as Indeed they did till their Enemy knocked them down and accordingly I payed them Every day in money or money worth and if Mr. Jackson who was then our doctor be a Live he can declare the truth of the matter so that if those Gentl of the Committee should demand any other proove or vouchers it is not in my power to produce it the major part of the men being killed on the spott (and some of the Post since in flanders) whom I was with never neither was it Ever Customary in any Regiment Troop or Companie that a Soldier should Every day give a Reccit for his pay, when payed Dayly or weekly for I am this day some hundred pounds out upon my Coup' [account] and no mans Receipt to show for it Except officers, this is all I can offer only my most humble

Service to those worthy Gent'men and Except ye same your Selfe from,
Sir your most humble Serv^t,

JAMES WEEMS" ¹

Albany ye 2 Feby, 1⁶⁹⁹/₇₀₀

More than ten years had passed since the discharge of the Lieutenant and his men, but their accounts were not yet settled;—what is the explanation. The authorities at Boston had very explicitly assumed the responsibility of supporting Weems and his men, and given them the fullest assurance of receiving "the king's pay;" that is the same pay in amount as was given in the regular service. Why was there this delay of ten years and more? We shall have occasion to return to this subject again hereafter.

The extremely perilous condition of all the eastern English settlements, at this juncture, was not unknown to the government and people of Massachusetts, or the people of the settlements; but they had become so exhausted by the long and bloody Indian wars that they hesitated to rush into another war, or even to provide the full means of defense within their power. The revolution in England, followed by a like revolution in the government of Massachusetts Bay, necessarily, for a time, unsettled all authority in the distant settlements; and if any of them had enemies in their neighborhoods, now was the time for them to strike. The Indians of Maine, though nominally at peace with the English, had lost nothing of their bitterness; but it is not probable that they would have recognized their present opportunity, had they not been advised by their pretended friends, the French. The latter were in full possession of Acadia, Biguyduce, their extreme western settlement on the coast being at the mouth of the Penobscot, though as we have seen they claimed the territory as far west as the Kennebec.

Here the authority of Castine was supreme, both with the Indians and the French; and associated with him, or at least living near and ready to give advice, was M. Thury, a Roman Catholic priest, who had charge of an Indian mission. Charlevoix² says of him, that he was a good worker, and a man of some ability.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 70, 503.

² *Hist. N. F.*, II, 415. "Un Ecclesiastique, nommé M. Thury, bon Ouvrier, et Homme de tête, gouvernoit une assez nombreuse Mission."

The French and English being at peace, at this time, neither Castine nor Thury dared to show his hand openly, but both were secretly urging on the Indians to deeds of violence and blood. In other parts of the state, the Indians, though somewhat under restraint, were occasionally committing their bloody depredations; and the preceding year occurred the disastrous fight at North Yarmouth, and the destruction of the fort and settlement on the Sheepscott. This year (1689), June 7th, occurred the destruction of Major Waldron's prosperous settlement at Dover, N. H., by some 400 Indians, and the outrage was soon followed by others similar, but not so disastrous in other places.

As Biguyduce (Castine) was the extreme western settlement of the French on the coast, so was Pemaquid the extreme eastern settlement of the English. The fort at the latter place was in fact only a wooden stockade, but was well constructed and mounted with seven¹ cannons which had been brought from Falmouth when Weems took command. Charlevoix says of it that it greatly incommoded all the neighboring Indian tribes, who had now openly declared for the French, and caused no little inquietude to the governor of Acadia, who greatly feared the intrigues of the English to withdraw these savages from their alliance with his own people.

Considering the very exposed position of Weems and his handful of men at this frontier post, and the murderous outrages of the Indians on other neighboring settlements, clearly indicating that Pemaquid could not long expect to escape an attack, it seems strange that the Massachusetts authorities did not either send on reinforcements and supplies, or else altogether withdraw the force from the place; but they probably considered the garrison sufficiently strong to repel any force that would be likely to be brought against it. All were hoping too, that in a very little time, when the governments of England and Massachusetts should be well settled, a favorable change in the aspect of their affairs might be looked for.

The expedition, by which Pemaquid was to be destroyed, was evidently planned at Biguyduce, by Castine and Thury; but the execution of the project was committed entirely to the Indians. The general plan of operations having been agreed upon, more than usual preparation was made to ensure success. The number of Indians who engaged in the expedition was pro-

¹ *Charlevoix* says 20 cannons; but probably there was only seven.

bably more than 100, and perhaps as many as 200, though Charlevoix says there were only 100. To secure the aid of the God of battles they, as good Christians, before starting, all confessed, and many partook of the sacrament; they also made arrangements with the priest for their wives and children to continue the same devotions during the whole time they should be absent, fighting against the heretics. All this, says the French historian, was done with so much piety, as to assure the missionary [Thury] of the success of the enterprise. They even established in the chapel a perpetual rosary, so that the service so edifying should be continued during the whole time the expedition might be absent, without interruption even during the hours usually allowed for sleep.

All things being in readiness, they sent forward three canoes to see that the way was clear, with orders to join the main body at the place where they were to land, two leagues from the fort; the other canoes followed keeping near the shore. This seems to indicate that the place of landing was Round Pond, and not New Harbor, as has generally been supposed. Having landed, they marched in a body towards the settlement with the utmost caution to avoid giving alarm. On their march, according to Charlevoix, they made three prisoners, from whom they learned that there were in the fort and village about 100 men, who were scattered about at their work and entirely unsuspecting of danger.¹

Mather's account says, "on Aug. 2d one *Starkey* going early in the morning from the fort at *Pemaquid* unto New Harbor, fell into the hands of the *Indians*, who to obtain his own liberty informed them that the fort had at that instant but few men in it, and that one *Mr. Giles* with fourteen men, was gone up to his farm, and the rest scattered abroad about their occasions. The *Indians* hereupon divided their little army; *part* going up to the *falls*, killed *Mr. Giles* and others; *part*, upon the advantage of the tide, snapt the rest before they could recover the fort."²

No attack by the *Indians* upon a civilized settlement was ever better planned than this, or more completely carried out.

The party sent to the fort, when the attack began, took their

¹ *Hist. N. F.*, II, 415, 416.

² *Mag.*, II, 512. The reader will notice further on that the name of *Starkey* does not appear in the list of his men given by Weems, for whom he drew pay, but it is found among those who, May 11th, petitioned for the continuance of Weems in his command.

position between the fort and the village so as to prevent any communication between them, and to cut off the men as they came in from the fields; while the party sent to the falls took care to intercept any that might attempt to escape in the direction of the fort. Besides this the attack seems to have been made at the time of low water, when the boats in which the men had gone up from the fort could not be made available. All the arrangements had been made with such profound secrecy that the surprise of the English was complete; until the moment the attack began, the English had no suspicion of their presence. The fight began by a furious rush of the Indians upon the fort and village; and the report of the guns there seems to have been the signal for the other parties at distance to perform the parts assigned them. A very few of the inhabitants were so fortunate as to get within the fort; and, by the terms of capitulation the next day, were allowed to depart with the soldiers to Boston, but nearly all were either killed or taken captive.

According to Charlevoix, immediately after the attack began, the commander of the fort opened fire upon the besiegers with his heavy cannon, but it had no effect to prevent the Indians from taking possession of ten or twelve stone houses, which were situated on a street leading from the village to the fort. They also took shelter behind a large rock, which stood near the fort on the side towards the sea, and in the cellar of a house near by, from both of which places they kept up such a fire of musketry upon the fort, that no one could show his head above the ramparts. This was continued from the time the fight began, about noon, until night; and when it ceased, on account of the darkness, they summoned the commander to surrender the fort into their hands, and received as a reply from some one within that "he was greatly fatigued, and must have some sleep."

During the night a close watch was kept to prevent any one from going in or out of the fort, and at day dawn, the firing on both sides was renewed, but in a little time the fire from the fort ceased and the commander proposed to capitulate it. Terms being agreed upon, the commander soon came out, at the head of fourteen men, these being all that remained of the garrison stationed there. With them came some women and children, all with packs upon their backs.¹

¹ Probably the only stone in these houses was that used in the cellar walls, some of which may have been raised a little above the surface of the ground. The

The terms of surrender were that the men of the garrison, and the few people of the village who had been so fortunate as to get into the fort, with three English captives who had previously escaped from the Indians, but were now in the fort. They were also to be allowed to take of their effects whatever they could carry in their hands, and to depart in a sloop taken by the Indians the day before, from Capt. Padeshall, who was killed as he was landing from his boat.

Two others, Capts. Skinner and Farnham, were, in like manner, shot down as they were stepping on shore from a boat, returning from one of the islands.

CHAPTER XVII.

Lieut. Weems and his men allowed to leave according to the terms of capitulation—Too hasty surrender of the fort—Relation of Grace Higiman—Weems and his men kindly received in Boston—Roll of the men in the fort when attacked—Weems petitions the British government to enforce on Massachusetts payment of his claim—Answer of the agents of Massachusetts—Order of the British government on the petition—Thomas Gyles and family—Projects discussed in Canada for the expulsion of the English from New England and New York—Gov. Phips's expedition to Port Royal.

In accordance with the terms of capitulation Weems and his men, with a few others who were with him in the fort, were permitted to depart for Boston; but all the people of the place, men, women and children, who were not in the fort, and had not been killed in the fight, were compelled to leave with the Indians for

rock that afforded them shelter was the large granite boulder forming now a conspicuous mark of the place of the old fort. When the stone fort was subsequently erected there by Phips in 1692, this rock was included within the part of the wall called "the greater flanker." The French officer, M. de la Mothe-Cadillac (same as De la Motte) to the French government, a little time after the construction of the new fort, mentions these facts. (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, iv, 282; *Doc. Col. Hist. N.Y.*, ix, 530, 577.) He says that when the fort was taken by the Indians "they put eighty men to death, but gave quarter to the governor and six of the people, at the request of Madockawando." He is evidently mistaken both as to the number that were killed, and the number that were spared.

The street leading from the village to the fort, on which the houses were situated, was evidently the same as that in which the remains of ancient pavements are now found, running northeasterly from the site of the old fort nearly to the present cemetery inclosure.

the Penobscot river, where little was expected but hardship and suffering, scarcely less to be dreaded than death itself. They made the passage, some in birch canoes, and the rest in two captured sloops. The whole number of captives thus taken away was about fifty; but how many were killed we have no means of knowing.

Mather, in his account of the fight, accuses the Indians of having violated the terms of capitulation, and butchered some in cold blood; but as no such charge was made by those on the spot, who saw the whole transaction, it must be considered improbable. Charlevoix expressly affirms that after the surrender the Indians allowed those within the fort to depart without being molested, and contented themselves by saying that "if they (the English) were wise they would not return again to the place, as the Abenaguises had had too much experience of their perfidy to allow them to remain in peace; that they were masters of the country, and would never suffer to live there a people so inquiet as they, and who gave them (the Indians) so much trouble in the exercise of their religion." In one of the cellars he says, they found a hogshead of brandy; but they carried their heroic self denial so far that they destroyed it without even tasting it!

That Weems acted hastily in surrendering the fort as he did, without further effort in self defense, is very plain; but we have reason to believe, the result would have been no less disastrous if the struggle had been prolonged. How many of his men were killed during the fight we may not certainly know; but he had with him at the beginning just thirty; and according to Charlevoix, there was only fourteen left besides himself at the time of the surrender. The number of soldiers killed therefore was sixteen;—but the same author says the English allowed only a loss of seven. He however intimates that the new-made graves inside the walls showed a greater number of burials. Weems himself was badly burned in the face by an accidental explosion of some gun-powder.

According to Charlevoix, some of the Indians after thoroughly destroying everything about the fort and settlement at Pemaquid, desired to proceed further and drive the English from an island three or four leagues distant, but the greater part were opposed to it. The island referred to very probably was either Monhegan, or one of the Damariscove group, where there may

have been a few settlers, or fishermen's huts, of which no record has been preserved.

The following "Relation of Grace Higiman," who was one of the captives taken at the time, is of sufficient importance to receive insertion here.

"Grace Higiman saith That on the second day of August, 1639, the day when Pemaquid was assaulted and taken by ye Indians I was there taken Prisoner and carried away by them, one Ekeu, a Canada Indian pretending to have a right in me, and to be my master, I apprehend that there were between two and three hundred Indians at that assault (and no French) who continued there for two days, and then carried away my selfe and other Captives (about fifty in number) unto the Fort at Penobscot. I continued there about three years, removing from place to place as the Indians occasionally went, and was very hardly treated by them both in respects of Provisions and clothing, having nothing but a torn blanket to cover me during the winter season, and oftentimes cruelly beaten. After I had been with the Indians three years, they carried me to Quebeck, and sold me for forty crowns unto the French there, who treated me well, gave me my liberty and I had the King's allowance of Provisions, as also a Room provided for me, and liberty to work for my selfe. I continued there two years and a halfe, During which time of my abode there, several of the Eastern Indians came, viz. Bomaseen, Moxis his son, and Madockawando's son and divers others, and brought in English Prisoners and Scalps, and received as the French told me for each scalp (being paid by the Intendent) Twenty French Crowns, according to a Declaration which the Governour there had emitted for their encouragem^t, and the Captives they sold for as much as they could agree with the purchasers. The Indians also had a Reward allowed them for bringing Intelligence from time to time. Soon after the Submission made by the Indians at Pemaquid in 1693, Bomaseen came to Quebeck and brought a paper containing the Substance of the articles of Submission which he showed unto me, and told me that the Governour of Canada said to him, That he should not have made Peace with the English and that he seemed to be much displeased for their having so done, however said they might carry it friendly to the English, till they should meet with a convenient opportunity to do mischief."¹

Weems and his men, with a few others that were in the fort, on their arrival at Boston, were kindly received by the people, but the hasty surrender of the fort was not approved of; and

¹ *Mss. Archives*, 8, 36. This affidavit, which, it is believed, has never before been printed, was sworn to in Boston before the Governor and Counsel, May 31st, 1692. A part of it is omitted, as not pertaining directly to our subject.

it was probably owing to this fact that a long time elapsed before he could procure a settlement of his accounts, and payment of his claims. As we have seen, he was obliged for several months to pay his men daily or weekly in order to secure their services; and his bill against the government was as follows, viz :

"Lieutenant Weems' Account of his Pay and Disbursements at the Garrison of Pemaquid, From the 13th day of April 1689 unto the 13th day of August Ensueing being 117 days.

| | |
|---|----------|
| To the Lieut. pay and his servants a 4 pence pr | } £27—6 |
| Diem, | |
| To ye Gunners pay a 18 dc pr day | 8—15—6 |
| To ye Sergeants pay a 18 dc pr Diem | 8—15—6 |
| To ye Corporals pay a 12 dc pr day | 5—17— |
| To ye Drums pay a 12 dc pr day | 5—17— |
| To the pay of 30 Private men at | 87—15— |
| 6 dc pr Diem | 7— 0— |
| To Cash Paid for fyre and Candles..... | } 6— 0 |
| To Boat hyre in Several Times to give Intelligence to Boston of ye Condition of the Garrison. | |
| | £ 157— 6 |

JAMES WEEMS"¹

"A List of ye men that was under ye Command of Lieut. James Weemes when ye Enemy did attack that Garrison at Pemmequid in August 1689.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Rodger Sparkes gunr. | William Jones, |
| Paul Mijkam Surgt, | Mat. Taylor, |
| Jones Marroday Copl, | Fred ^{ck} Burnet, |
| Robert Smith Drumer, | Rob ^t Baxter, |
| Ruland Clay, | John Bandles,? |
| John Pershon, | Thomas Shaffs, |
| William Gullington, | John Allen, |
| Brugan Org, | Rodger Heydon, |
| Richard Dicurows, | Joseph Mason, |
| Thomas Mapleton, | John Herdin, |
| Rich ^d Clifford, | Benj Stanton, |
| John Boirnes, | Rob ^t Lawrence, |
| Thomas Barber, | Thomas Baker, |
| Henry Walton, | Orrel James, |
| Rob ^t Jackson, | Ralph Praston. ² |

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 70, 500.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 70, 501. Several of the names are written very obscurely in the original document, and may not have been copied with perfect correctness.

These are to Certify that Capt. James Weems hath this day made affirmation before us that the above number of thirty men was actually with him in the Engagement when ye Enemy did assault the Towne and fort of Pemmequid and y^e said Thirty men was dayly paid ye Kings Pay in Money or Money worth by Said Weems according to his account, now in hands of Mr. Thomas Newtounne at Boston. Given at Albany this first day of June, 1700."

Sworn to before the Mayor and Recorder of Albany.

It is presumed that Weems's claims for services at Pemaquid were now (1700), settled and paid, though no express statement to this effect has been found; but it was not without the most earnest efforts on his part, and the bringing of his case twice before the king and council. Dissatisfaction with his conduct in surrendering the fort so hastily, was probably the first cause of delay; but after his appeal to the home government, the Massachusetts authorities were content to let it take its course.

Weems's first petition to the British government, has not been found, but probably it was forwarded very soon after it became evident that the authorities in Boston were not prepared to give his claims the prompt attention he desired. Of the precise character of the petition we are also ignorant, but we may presume it mainly consisted of a statement of the grounds of his claim, as given by him at a later period, and inserted on a preceding page.

Massachusetts was at the time represented in London by four commissioners, who, on the reception of the petition, were called upon to make answer before the privy council; this they did in writing as follows:

"To y^e Rt Honble the L^{ds} of their Majties most honble privy Councill.

The Answer of Sr Henry Ashurst Barronet, Increase Mather, Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, gentlemen [so far forth as they are concerned] to y^e petion of L^t James Weems.

Having received a Copy of y^e s^d pe'tion and your Lordships Order for the Agents of New England to put in their Respective Answers Doe with all humility lay before your L^{ds} That they are Only Employed and intrusted by the Governor, Councill and Representatives of y^e Colony of the Massachusetts Baye in New England and for no other part of New England. And the s^d Respondents Sr Henry Ashurst and Increase Mather doe humbly represent unto your L^{ds} that neither of them was in New England during the Transaction in the petition mentioned and know

nothing thereof. And the Other Respondents Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes doe most humbly acquaint your L^dpp's that they doe not know that y^e flort of *Pemaquid* was so distressed or taken by reason of such Defect or in such manner as the petition sets forth. And with submission your L^dpps doe apprehend that y^e governm^t of y^e s^d Colony can make it appeare that the petitioner hath not truly represented matters in his petition. And none of the Respondents know that y^e 172-06-10^d in the petition mentioned, or any part thereof is Due or unpaid to the petitioner. And if any thing appeares to be Due to him They humbly conceive that had he remained upon the place Or shall make application to y^e Governm^t; that he might or will there receive satisfaction for his Demands. However these respondents deny that they were or are any waies entrusted or had or have any Authority from or effects of the s^d government^t in their hands or power to pay the petitioner his Demands or any part thereof. But shall by the first opportunity represent to the Governm^t there w^t L^t Weems has Represented to your L^dpp's in his petition. And doe not question but they will enable us to returne your L^dpp's a very satisfactory Answer. All which is most humbly Said before your Lordships.

March 18, 1694

ELISHA COOKE, HENRY ASHURST,
THOMAS OAKES, INCREASE MATHER." ¹

What further transpired at this time we are not informed; but at length, October 22, 1694, an order was transmitted from the privy council to the government of New England for the payment of the claim, but so far as we can learn, nothing was done. But Weems was not to be easily turned aside, and again by petition called the attention of the home government to his claim which remained unsatisfied. This resulted in the issue of the following order; or perhaps we should rather call it a recommendation.

"Att the Council Chamber in Whitehall the 26th day of August 1697
Present

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, in Council upon reading this day att the Board the humble Petition of Captain James Weems, humbly praying, that his Maj^{ties} Order of the Two and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred ninety and Four may be Renewed to the Govern-

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 276. This document was first published by Mr. Thornton, by favor of Charles H. Morse, Esq., of Cambridge. Though making an important part of the history of the controversy with Weems, no copy of it has been found in the public archives. The amount here claimed to be due him, it will be noticed, is £5-0-10 more than his bill as presented for settlement three years afterwards.

ment of New England, for paying the Petitioner for his Services and Disbursements att Pemaquid against the French, out of the Publick Revenue of that Province.

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices in Councill, upon Consideration of the matter are pleased to Order that it be Recommended to the Right Honoble the Earle of Bellamont Governour of the Massachusetts Bay to take Effectual Care that the Petitioner be Satisfyed what shall appear due to him for his Services and Disbursements att Pemaquid in Course out of the Publick Revenue of that Province according to his Majesties Order.

Wm. Bridgeman." ¹

On the receipt of this order, Weems again addressed a petition to His Excellency Earle of Bellamont, then Governor of Massachusetts, reciting his services, sufferings and "disbursements" at Pemaquid as before given, and requesting payment out of the revenues of the province. This appears to have led to a settlement of the claim though not until three years more had elapsed. ²

French officials in Canada, in the year 1692, claimed that in the various Indian fights of the preceding years, they had destroyed for the New Englanders besides Pemaquid, no less than

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 70, 502. "Against the French". Other documents in the *Archives of Massachusetts* speaks of this fight as having been against the *French and Indians*; but there is reason to believe that not one Frenchman accompanied the expedition. Whatever aid the Indians received from the French, was supplied before the expedition left the Penobscot.

² Mr. Vinton (*Giles Memorial*, p. 106), has raised the question whether August 2d, as given by Gyles in his Narrative and by Mather a contemporaneous authority, correct, for the reason that Weems, in settling his accounts with the government, charged, and actually received pay for the services of himself and men until the 13th; but this probably was the date of their *discharge* from the service. They left Pemaquid in the sloop of Capt. Padeshall, the 3d or perhaps the 4th of the month; and sailing directly to Boston were ready for their discharge the 13th; and would of course receive pay to this time. We concluded therefore that Aug. 2d is the correct date. It is interesting to notice that the affidavit of *Grace Higiman* (p. 175), sworn to less than six years after the transaction, gives the same date.

Charlevoix (*Hist. N. F.* II, 415) says, the party of Indians was organized (*se mit en Campagne*) at the Penobscot Aug. 9th; and afterwards, in describing the attack upon the fort, he says it was continued from noon of the 14th until night, both dates, of course, being according to the New or Gregorian style, then in use by the French. These dates correspond to July 30th and Aug. 4th, O. S. used at that period by the English. The first date may be correct, but the latter is in error by two days. Aug. 14th, N. S., that year fell on *Sunday*, when a "strict sabbatarian," as the excellent Thomas Gyles was, would not with his men be at work upon his hay.

16 pallisadoed forts and settlements, in which were 20 cannon and about 200 men.¹

Thomas Gyles, above referred to, was one of three brothers who emigrated to this country from Kent, England, probably in 1668; the names of the others being James, and John. Mr. Vinton in his elaborate work the *Giles Memorial*, (p. 101), supposes they may have been sons of a Thomas Gyles formerly of Salem, but probably without sufficient reason. We shall have occasion further on to speak of the two brothers James and John, but at present we will follow the history of Thomas and his family.

He (Thomas), was one of the chief men of the place, and appears to have carried on a considerable business. On the morning of that memorable day when the fort was captured, with his three oldest sons, Thomas, James and John, and several hired men, he went up to the falls, to work in a field he had there, some at haying, and some in gathering grain. They labored until noon, and took their dinner together at the farm house, without suspicion of danger. Having finished their dinner the men went to their work; but Mr. Gyles and two of his sons, remained at the house, when suddenly firing was heard from the direction of the fort. Mr. Gyles was disposed to interpret the occurrence favorably, and so remarked to his sons; but their conversation was cut short by a volley of bullets from a party of Indians who had been hitherto concealed, awaiting the signal from the fort to begin their bloody work! The party of Indians numbered some thirty or forty, who now rising from their ambush, finished their work in a few minutes, killing or capturing all except Thomas Gyles, the oldest son, then about nineteen. Where the latter was when the attack began, we do not know, but he was so fortunate as to make his escape unhurt from the field, and passing down on the west side to Pemaquid harbor, was taken on board a fishing schooner which was just ready to sail.

Thomas Gyles, the father, was mortally wounded by the first volley from the Indians, and afterwards despatched with a hatchet.

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 433, 437, 440. Charlevoix's *Hist. N. F.*, ii, 419. This author says *fourteen* forts in the neighborhood of the Kennebec River; he says, further, that 200 persons were killed, and that the chief benefit of all this to the French was, that it effectually prevented any alliance of the Indians with the English.

His son John, who was taken captive, says that when the attack was made, "my brother ran one way and I another, and looking over my shoulder, I saw a stout fellow, painted, pursuing me with a gun, and a cutlass glittering in his hand, which I expected every moment in my brains." Falling down the Indian did him no injury, but tied his arms and bade him follow in the direction where the men had been at work about the hay. "As we went," he says, "we crossed where my father was, who looked very pale and bloody, and walked very slowly. When we came to the place, I saw two men shot down on the flats, and one or two knocked on the head with hatchets. Then the Indians brought two captives, one a man, and my brother James, who, with me had endeavored to escape by running from the house, when we were first attacked."

At length the savages were ready to start with their captives, and the narrative continues, "we marched about a quarter of a mile, and then made a halt. Here they brought my father to us. They made proposals to him by old Moxus, who told him that those were strange Indians who shot him, and that he was sorry for it. My father replied that he was a dying man, and wanted no favor of them, but to pray with his children. This being granted him, he recommended us to the protection and blessing of God Almighty; then gave us the best advice, and took his leave for this life, hoping in God that we should meet in a better land. He parted with a cheerful voice, but looked very pale, by reason of his great loss of blood, which now gushed out of his shoes. The Indians led him aside. I heard the blows of the hatchet, but neither shriek nor groan. I afterwards heard that he had five or seven shot holes through his waistcoat or jacket, and that he was covered with some boughs.

Thomas Gyles, whose useful and honorable life was thus brought to a close, was a remarkable man. At what time he came to this country is not certainly known, but May 8th, 1669, he purchased land on the north side of the Pejepscot, or Androscoggin river, a few miles below Topsham village, where he located his family and resided several years. His father who was a man of considerable wealth in England, having died, he with his family left for England probably in 1674, and returned soon after the first destruction of the English settlements in this region. To avoid trouble with the Indians, he removed his family to Long Island, New York, and lived there several

years; but fancying that the atmosphere there was not suited to his constitution, and learning that the agents of the duke of York were about establishing a regular government here, and erecting a fort, he returned to this place, and became a permanent resident. He derived an annual income from the estate of his father in England, and probably was the most wealthy citizen of the place; and being strictly methodical in his habits, he took care to purchase of the constituted authorities, what landed estate he needed, probably about the falls. He also purchased one or more lots near the fort, where the family lived.

He was a man of the most unbending integrity, and always exerted great influence in the community where he lived, but was not particularly popular. In his religious opinions he sympathized with the puritans; and was very particular in regard to the proper observance of the sabbath; and his earnest attempts to discharge every duty as an upright magistrate sometimes brought him in collision with his neighbors. In 1683, he united with many of the inhabitants in a petition and remonstrance to Governor Dongan against the ruinous restrictions imposed on trade by the rules (pp. 141, 143) adopted, showing among other things that the money the authorities supposed they were getting out of the traders, was really paid by the settlers in the increased price of the goods they were obliged to purchase.

The next year we find his name on a petition from the inhabitants of New Dartmouth to have their titles to their lands confirmed, as had been promised them, as other claimants were making their appearance, and causing much uneasiness. In the same document they also took occasion to remonstrate against the misdoings of "one Capt. Nicholas Manning, Capt. of a Company That is very Troublesome, and Doth much Obraide and Disturbe vs in our buisenesse &c." His son John, in his narrative, says that "when Pemmaquid was set off by the name of the county of Cornwall, in the province of New York, he was commissioned chief justice of the same" by Gov. Dongan; but probably he was only an associate justice.¹ But to him, a puritan, such an appointment from the royal governor was every way

¹ See the commission, — *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. p. 113. The original commission is preserved among the New York Archives, in the State Hall at Albany, where the writer, by favor of Dr. Hough, then superintendent of the Census, had the privilege of examining it, and also the other Pemmaquid papers, several years ago, and before their publication by the *Maine Hist. Society*.

honorable, as showing the confidence reposed in him by all parties.

His children were four sons, Thomas, James, John and Samuel, and two daughters, Mary and Margaret. The latter at the time of the attack of the Indians was about four years of age, the eldest, Thomas, being nineteen.

At the time of the attack by the Indians Mr. Gyles's house was about a quarter of a mile from the fort; but the onset was so sudden and unexpected that Mrs. Gyles and her two young daughters were seized before they could make their escape within the walls, and consequently, with the two sons captured at the falls, were taken captives to the Penobscot. Their youngest son, Samuel, then a little boy, was at play near the fort, and took refuge within the gates; and of course was included in the terms of capitulation, by which, as we have seen, all within the fort were allowed to depart in peace. The mother and daughters, after suffering much with the Indians for several years, were finally restored to their friends in Boston, where Mrs. G. soon died. Of the two sons, James and John, the former after being in captivity three years, and suffering great hardship, made his escape to New Harbor, with another boy who had been captured at Casco. Here unfortunately, they were both taken prisoners again by the Indians, and returned to the Penobscot, where they were tortured to death at the stake by a slow fire.

John, the other son, after being with the Indians about six years, was sold to a French gentleman, who lived somewhere on the Penobscot. By this man and his family he was treated with much kindness, being known among them as Little English. Finally, in the summer of 1698, a favorable opportunity occurring for him to secure a passage by a trader to Boston, his master voluntarily gave him his liberty, and he rejoined his two brothers and sisters in Boston, his mother having died several years previously.

As he was about eleven years old, when captured at the falls, he was of course now about twenty, with only the little education he had received before his capture. Having obtained a good knowledge of the Indian language, and also the Canadian French, he was often employed by the government, as well as the traders, to act as interpreter with the Indians. In 1700 he received a commission as Lieutenant, and was put under regular

pay by the government; and six years later, he was made captain. In 1715 he superintended the erection of the fort at Brunswick, which was named Fort George. Here he remained ten years, being in 1725 transferred to the command of the garrison on St. George's river. Subsequently in 1728 he was appointed a justice of peace, which in those days was considered a high honor.

Mr. Gyles in 1736 published a very interesting account of the capture of Fort Charles, and the attending circumstances, and a narrative of events during his residence with the savages. About the same time the garrison at the fort was considerably reduced, and Gyles retired from the service. The rest of his life was passed in Salisbury and Roxbury. He died in the latter place in 1755, at the age of 77.

He was twice married, 1st to Ruth True at Salisbury, Oct. 26th, 1703, and 2d to Hannah Heath at Roxbury, Nov. 6, 1721.

James Gyles before alluded to, was a brother of Thomas of Pemaquid, probably he was the elder of the two, though this is not certain. Nearly all that is known of him is contained in a manuscript narrative¹ of his, recently discovered in New Jersey, to which place he removed during the Indian troubles in this region. With his family he came to Boston, Nov. 1668, and passed the winter in Braintree, but, in the spring, removed to the Kennebec, and finally settled on a farm in the present town of Topsham, on Muddy river, a stream which empties into Mery-mating bay.

When the fort of Clark and Lake on Arrowsic island was captured by the Indians in August, 1676, he was one of the inmates, but escaped unhurt (ante, p. 125), to Damariscove island. Here he remained about a week, and with others, made some attempts to recover any of their property that remained among the ruins of the former settlement, but found their enemies, the Indians, were too watchful for them. Nothing is said of his family during this time, but probably they were with him.

In the autumn of the same year he with his family removed to Southold, Long Island, very probably at the same time with his brother Thomas, as before related. Governor Andros, having learned something of his history, took some notice of him while here, and even undertook to provide a place for him on Staten

¹ It is printed in full in *Giles Memorial*, p. 113.

Island; but being suddenly called away from his government, the thing was not accomplished, and Mr. Giles and family finally settled upon a farm at Round Brook, upon Raritan river, in New Jersey. The time of his death is not known. His family of four daughters subsequently married in New Jersey; and among their descendants were the late General Worth, of the United States army, and Charles S. Olden, recently governor of the state.

John Giles also a brother of Thomas, of Pemaquid, was born in 1653, and came to Pemaquid very probably soon after the settlement here of the duke's government. It is believed that he was here at the time of Gov. Andros's visit, late in the year 1688, but probably left the place before the attack by the Indians, August 2d, the next year, for the reason that his name is not mentioned in connection with the tragic events of the time. He was a man of good education, and after his removal from the place was employed in teaching in Salem, and perhaps also in Boston, where he died Aug. 29, 1730, aged 77.

Several years ago there was found in Bristol a curious old document, of which the following is a copy.

To his Excellency Sr. Edmond Andross Kn^t and Governor in Chiefe in,
and over his Maj^{ties} Territories and Dominions of New England, &c.
May it Please yor Excellency.

That your Humble Petition^r Desires a Certaine Tract of Upland lying upon y^e westwarde side of Pemaquid River betweene y^e Lotts of Henry Hedger and Denise Higaman, with Meadow to it Suffitient the highest that can be found not already taken up.

Yor Excellencyes Humble Petition^r hath by order from Captⁿ. Nicholson Ever Since June last Read Prayers at the Garrison on Wednesdayes and fridayes and hath not received any thing for itt. Yor Excellencyes Humble Petition^r Desires only one Man's Provision from said Garrison, and is willing to officiate still, if it so Please yor Excellency. And yor Excellencyes Humble Petition^r shall Ever Pray &c.

JOHN GYLES.

There was really no date to the document, but a more recent hand had written at the bottom, 1688, and Mr. Vinton, in Gyles Memorial, p. 119 has suggested November as the probable month, thus supplying for it the date, November, 1688. The idea, of course is, that Mr. Gyles had the petition in readiness to pre-

sent to the governor when he visited Pemaquid, about this time, or, probably, a little later. Whether or not it ever reached the hands of Andros we have no means of knowing but very probably it did not, as the fact that it was found in these parts would seem to indicate.¹

The complete destruction of the fort and settlement at Pemaquid was considered a great achievement by the Indians; and they assured M. Thury, on their return, that, with two hundred Frenchmen, a little acquainted with the country, and ready to follow their lead, they would not hesitate to march upon Boston.² The same feeling was shown by the French in Nova Scotia and Canada; and from this time hopes began to be entertained by them that they might be able utterly to exclude the English from the continent, at least as far south as New York and New Jersey. Indeed, even before the capture of Pemaquid, the Canadian authorities had, under consideration, a project for seizing upon the whole province of New York; and M. De Callieres, a French officer in Canada, who seems to have first suggested the enterprise, was sent home to France to press the matter upon the attention of the government. "It would" said he "furnish his Majesty with a beautiful harbor, that of Manhat, (New York), which is accessible at all seasons of the year in less than a month's voyage."³

Such being the circumstances of the time, nothing was to be looked for in all the English settlements of the region but war and carnage; and these, all that now remained being west of the Kennebec river, became the special object of savage vengeance. At the close of the next year (1690), only four English settlements remained on the territory of the present state of Maine, viz., Wells, York, Kittery and Appledore, the latter being situated on one or more of the Isles of Shoals.⁴ And all of these, except, perhaps, the latter, had suffered greatly by repeated attacks of the Indians, and frequent indiscriminate murders of the inhabitants whenever found unprotected.

¹ A part of the document is omitted in the copy as printed in the *Gyles Memorial*.

² *Charlevoix's Hist. N. F.*, p. 418.

³ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 370, 412, *et seq.* A fleet was actually sent to Nova Scotia, from France, which was designed to attack New York from the sea, while a land force was to invade the country by way of Lake Champlain. The further prosecution of the enterprise, was prevented by the destruction of Montreal by the Indians, a few days before the capture of Pemaquid. *McMullen, Hist. Canada*, p. 66; *Williamson, Hist. Maine*, i, p. 616.

⁴ *Hist. Maine*, i, 627.

Nor did the Indians, or their allies, the French, escape without severe punishment; very many Indians were slain in their constantly recurring fights with the English; and in the spring of 1690, a small force under the command of Sir. Wm. Phips, proceeding southward in eight vessels, destroyed the French settlement at Port Royal [Annapolis, N. S.]. A much more formidable expedition fitted out from Boston, later in the season, under the same commander, made an attack upon Quebec, but without success. The fleet of thirty-two vessels, on their return, was scattered by a storm, and several of them lost. Those that were so fortunate as to reach their homes in safety, found on their arrival, that no provision had been made to pay their demands: and the government was obliged to resort to the expedient of issuing *bills of credit*, in order to quiet the great discontent that prevailed.¹

The next month after the destruction of Pemaquid, Major Benjamin Church, who had greatly distinguished himself in the previous Indian wars, especially in that called King Philip's war, was commissioned with extraordinary powers, and placed at the head of a considerable force, to carry on the war against the eastern Indians. Church continued his operations against the savages several years, but met with no marked success, and added nothing to his laurels previously won!

¹ *Hutch. Hist. Mass.*, i, 353. This was the first issue of paper to circulate as money in any of the colonies; but other issues, of comparatively large amounts, were subsequently made by several of the colonies, producing deplorable confusion in all the fiscal affairs of the country. Gold and silver disappeared from the country; and for more than fifty years no other currency was known than this depreciated paper.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid by Gov. Phips, who names it Fort William Henry — Unsatisfactory description of the new fort by Mather — House of Representatives dissatisfied with such an appropriation from the public treasury, A French naval force designed to destroy the fort appears in the offing, but returns without making an attack — Treaty of peace signed at Pemaquid — The Indians, under the influence of French priests, begin hostilities in violation of the treaty — Bomazeen and other Indians who under a flag of truce are received into the fort, are immediately made prisoner — Pasco Chubb, appointed captain of the fort, makes an unjustifiable attack upon some Indians at or near Fort William Henry — Sharp reply of an Indian to a letter of Governor Stoughton.

The next important event at Pemaquid was the building of the first stone fort there by Gov. Phips in 1692. Ever since the old charter of the Massachusetts Bay was annulled, by a writ of *quo warranto*, (1684), the province had been governed directly by the crown; but after the accession of William and Mary to the English throne, by great effort on the part of Massachusetts, a new charter was obtained, and Sir. Wm. Phips, being then in England, was appointed governor. He arrived in Boston with the new charter, May 14th, 1692, and the same season, in obedience to the royal commands, proceeded to erect a strong fort at Pemaquid, such as had never before been seen in all the region! Though ordered by the home government, the expense was to be borne by the colony; and the people generally looked upon the project with coldness. Writs were issued for the election of a legislative assembly, which met June 8th; but it does not appear that the project for erecting the fort was definitely brought before that body. A bill was passed authorizing a tax to raise £30,000 for general purposes; and from this the governor felt himself authorized to draw, in order to execute the royal command as to the fort.

But if the assembly were not definitely asked for an appropriation to build the fort, they must have known of the preparation which the governor was making for the purpose; yet no official remonstrance was made. Having engaged some four hundred and fifty men, and procured such tools and implements as were needed, he set sail from Boston early in August, taking

with him Col. Benj. Church, commander of the province forces. On their way they stopped at Falmouth, and took on board the large guns which had lain there ever since the destruction of Fort Loyal, more than two years previously, and decently interred the bones of the slain, which still lay bleaching upon the surface.

Having anchored safely in the harbor of Pemaquid, by the aid of Major Church, a site for the new fort was selected, very nearly the same as that occupied by the old stockade, but extending a little further west, so as to include within the walls the large rock of which the Indians had taken advantage in the disastrous fight three years before. Only two companies were retained to work upon the fort, the rest being sent, under Major Church, on an expedition farther east, to look after the public enemies.

Mather gives us the following description of the fort which they erected.¹

"Captain *Wing*, assisted by Captain *Bancroft*, went through the former part of the work; and the latter part of it was finished by Captain *March*. His Excellency, attended in this matter, with these worthy Captains, did in a few months, despatch a service for the king, with a *prudence*, and *industry*, and *thriftiness*, greater than any *reward* they ever had for it. The fort, called *William Henry*, was built of stone, in a *quadrangular* figure, being about *seven hundred and thirty-seven* foot in compass, without the *outer walls*, and one *hundred and eight* foot square, within the *inner ones*; *twenty-eight* ports it had, and *fourteen* (if not *eighteen*) guns mounted, whereof six were *eighteen pounders*. The wall on the south line, fronting to the sea, was *twenty-two* foot high, and more than *six* foot *thick* at the ports, which were *eight* foot from the ground. The greater flanker or round tower at the *western* end of this line, was *twenty-nine* foot high. The wall on the *east* line was *twelve* foot high, on the *north* it was *ten*, on the *west* it was *eighteen*. It was computed that in the whole there were

¹ *Magnalia*, II., 536. Mather seems to be the only original authority on this subject, and later writers have implicitly followed him, yet his description of the fort is very obscure and unsatisfactory. His language seems to imply that the walls were double; but probably it was not intended to be so understood. If the fort was only 108 feet square inside the walls, supposing this to be the meaning, how could it be 737 feet in compass? The greater flanker, or round tower, of the next and last fort built there, the foundations of which still remain, was 130 feet in compass, but, including this we cannot make the distance around the walls as great as Mather gives. Perhaps a large bastion or lesser flanker at the opposite angle from the round tower, may have increased the distance around so as to make it as stated. See *Popham Memorial Volume*, p. 286, note.

laid above *two thousand cart loads* of stone. It stood a score of rods from *high water mark*; and it had generally at least *sixty men* posted in it for its defence, which if they were *men*, might easily have maintained it against more than *twice six hundred* assailants."

As this fort was destroyed four years afterward, and subsequently another erected upon its ruins, we have no means now to judge of the accuracy of this description; but most persons will probably hesitate to receive all the measurements with full confidence.

The stone used in its construction was evidently collected from the shores in the immediate vicinity, where an abundance could easily be found without the trouble of blasting. The stone, consisting of small fragments only, was well laid in lime mortar; but of course walls so constructed would have little strength, as compared with the walls of modern structures of the kind. We are not informed where the lime was obtained, but probably it was brought from Boston. There is no limestone in the region nearer than Rockland; and at this early period probably the existence of this was quite unknown.

The cost of erecting the fort is said to have been nearly £20,000, and was a heavy tax upon the impoverished people of the province; and to support a garrison there required a large annual expenditure. At length, the popular feeling in regard to these large expenditures, found vent in the following resolution of the lower house of the legislature:

"Resolve of the House of Representatives, in Boston, Xber [December] 6, 1693;—That the imployment of any money out of the publick treasury for the building and maintaining of the fort at Pemaquid was beside the intention of the act for Raising the thirty thousand pounds the Gen^l Assembly not being there about advised and consulted nor any direction or provision made for the same in the s^d act; and that their Majestyes bee humbly addressed to take the charge of the fort and Port Royal ¹ more immediately upon themselves. NATHANIEL BYFIELD, *Speaker*."²

This was a direct censure of the governor; but, at the present day, we should consider it wonderfully mild language to be used in regard to such an assumption of power by the executive.

¹ Port Royal [Annapolis] N. S., which, as we have seen, had been seized by Phips two years before.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 70: 217.

To hold this place was a matter of great importance to the English interests, in order to prevent the French from taking possession; and to this the people of Massachusetts were not insensible; but the burdensome taxation rendered necessary by the Indian wars, so long continued, admonished them of the necessity of economizing their resources.

It is remarkable that no official returns of the building of the fort are now to be found. Governor Phips appears to have taken the thing wholly into his own hands. He alone, except so far as he was pleased to ask advice, appears to have planned the work, then superintended its construction, and last of all, drawn the money from the treasury to pay the expenses! It was such experiences as this that trained the people of Massachusetts for their work the succeeding century.

The fort was finished late in the autumn (1692), and supplied with a permanent garrison of sixty men, under the command of Capt. March; and, so far as we are informed, for the first time furnished with a regular chaplain, Rev. John Pike. He was a son of Hon. Robert Pike, for many years a distinguished leader in public affairs in Massachusetts. The son graduated at Harvard College in 1675, and was first settled in the ministry, in 1681, at Dover, N. H., but removed to Portsmouth immediately after the destruction of that place by the Indians in 1689. From this place he was appointed to the chaplaincy of Pemaquid fort, Oct., 1692, where he remained until July, 1695. He died at Dover in 1710. He was an excellent man of more than ordinary ability.¹

The erection of this strong fortress at Pemaquid was a matter of disgust both to the Indians and the French; and the new structure was scarcely finished before plans were devised in Canada for its destruction. The plan adopted for the purpose was proposed by Chevelier Villebon, a French officer in Canada. It was to dispatch two ships of war to attack the fort from the sea, whilst he, with a land force of Indians should do the same from the land. Two ships, L'Envieux, and LePoli (the latter of which had been recently taken from the Dutch), were fitted up for the purpose, and put under the command of D'Iberville; but it was late in the season before they were in readiness to leave the Penobscot; and though they actually made their ap-

¹ *N. H., Hist., Coll.*, III, 40; *Mag.*, II, 512.

pearance in the offing at Pemaquid, they did not communicate with the fort, made no special demonstrations, and returned east, much to the disgust of the Indians, who, in large numbers, and with still larger expectations, had collected in the vicinity.

As an excuse for their retreat without a single effort at anything, the officers claimed that, at the time of their arrival, the weather was particularly unfavorable, and they were without a good pilot on board, or any who was acquainted with the shores and islands of the region; and, moreover, an English ship, lying at anchor under the guns of the fort, indicated that the authorities at Boston had probably learned of the proposed attack upon the place, and sent them reinforcements.

John Nelson, a distinguished citizen of Boston, who had been taken prisoner and was now at Quebec, by some means learned of the preparations in progress for an attack upon Pemaquid, and hired two French soldiers to desert and carry information of the fact to Boston. Their departure became known to the Quebec authorities in a little time, and a party of armed men was sent to overtake and arrest them if possible, but without avail. French writers of the time, affirm that, in consequence of information thus received, supplies and reinforcements had been sent to the fort before the arrival of the French ships; but Hutchinson pronounces it a mistake. The two deserters were afterwards taken by the French and shot; and Nelson, for his offence, was sent to prison in Paris, where he suffered an imprisonment of five years.¹

The utter failure of the expedition against Pemaquid greatly dispirited the Indians, and they began to lose their confidence in the promises of the French, which the latter did not fail to see. Increased effort on the part of the French officials in the

¹ *Charlevoix, Hist. N. F.*, iii, 177-179; *Hutch., Hist. Mass.*, ii, 68; *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 544, 555; *Will. Hist. Maine*, i, 637. Nelson was a relative of Sir Thos. Temple, a distinguished English gentleman of that day. He was one of the most active in effecting the arrest and imprisonment of Andros, in Boston, April 18, 1689, and in 1691, was taken prisoner by the French on his way to Port Royal, N. S. Two years of his imprisonment in France he passed in a small hole in the prison, and he saw only the servant who daily passed his food to him through the grate. At length, finding means to communicate with his relative, Sir Purbeck Temple, in England, a demand was made for his release or exchange, which had the effect to cause his removal to the more aristocratic prison, the celebrated Bastille, and finally to his release on parole to visit England, about the time of the peace of Ryswick. *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, iv, 211.

country was therefore essential in order to retain their hold upon the fickle natives. For a time the Indians were held in check by their fears, and a degree of quiet prevailed; but there was no assurance of continued peace, and the next spring (1693), Major Converse, as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, was prepared again to take the field. With several hundred men he visited Pemaquid, Sheepscot and other places; and at Saco erected a strong fort. The Indians were in great distress and despair, and began seriously to consider the necessity of making peace with the English on such terms as they could obtain. This feeling among the Indians the French missionaries did not fail to see and deplore; as a peace being once established and trade renewed with the English a transfer of their allegiance, in the same direction, might be expected very soon to follow. The missionaries, therefore, strenuously opposed all counsels of peace; and we shall see, further on, how they used their influence after a treaty of peace was formed.

The negotiations began on the part of the Indians with great caution, and a disposition to conceal from the French as much as possible everything connected with it. First a kind of informal conference between the parties was held at Pemaquid, July 21st, and a total cessation of hostilities by either party against the other for twenty days agreed upon. It was also agreed that twenty days from that time, or August 11th (1693), another conference should be held at Pemaquid, with a view to form a new treaty of perpetual peace and friendship.

This conference was held at the time appointed, all the Indian tribes being represented, from the Saco river quite down to the Passamaquoddy. The commissioners on the part of Massachusetts were John Wing, Nicholas Manning and Benjamin Jackson.

The following are the words of the treaty as given by Mather.¹

"Whereas a bloody war has for some years now past been made and carried on by the *Indians* within the eastern parts of the said province [Massachusetts] against their Majesties' subjects the English, through the instigations and influences of the *French*; and being sensible of the miseries which we and our people are reduced unto, by adhering to their ill

¹ *Magna.*, II, 542.

councils: We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being *Sagamores* and Chief Captains of all the Indians belonging to the several rivers of *Penobscot* and *Kennebeck*, *Amarascogia* and *Saco*, parts of the said province of *Massachusetts Bay* within their said Majesties' sovereignty, having made application unto his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over the said province, that the war may be put to an end, do lay down our arms, and cast ourselves upon their said Majesties' grace and favour. And each of us respectively for our selves, and in the name and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging unto the several rivers aforesaid, and of all other Indians within the said province, of and from *Merrimack* river, unto the most easterly bounds of the said province: hereby acknowledging our hearty subjection and obedience unto the crown of England; and do solemnly covenant, promise and agree, to and with the said Sir *William Phips*, and his successors in the place of Captain General and Governour in Chief of the aforesaid province or territory, on their said Majesties' behalf in manner following, viz:

"That at all times and for ever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards the subjects of the crown of England, and not offer the least hurt or violence to them, or any of them, in their persons or estate: But will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English.

"*Item.*—We abandon and forsake the *French* interest, and will not in any wise adhere to, join with, aid or assist them in their wars or designs against the English, nor countenance, succor or conceal any of the enemy *Indians* of Canada, or other places, that shall happen to come to any of our plantations within the English territory, but secure them, if in our power, and deliver them up unto the English.

"That all English captives in the hands or power of any of the Indians, within the limits aforesaid, shall with all possible speed be set at liberty, and returned home without any ransom or payment to be made or given for them, or any of them.

"That their Majesties' subjects the English shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve, and for ever enjoy all and singular their rights of lands, and former settlements and possessions within the eastern parts of the said province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, without any pretensions or claims by us, or any other Indians, and be in no wise molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

"That all trade and commerce, which may hereafter be allowed between the English and Indians, shall be under such management and regulation as may be stated by an act of the General Assembly, or as the governor of the said province, for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council, shall see cause to direct and limit.

"If any controversie or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the *English* and *Indians*, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on one side or the other, no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application be made to their Majesties' government upon the place, for remedy thereof, in a due course of justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by their Majesties' laws, and desire to have the benefit of the same.

"For the full manifestation of our sincerity and integrity in all that which we have herein before covenanted and promised, we do deliver unto Sir *William Phipps*, their Majesties' governour as aforesaid, *Ahassombmett*, brother to *Edgeremett*, *Wenongahewitt*, cousin to *Madockawando*, and *Edgeremett*, and *Bagatawawongon*, alias *Sheepscot John*, to abide and remain in the custody of the English, where the governour shall direct, as hostages or pledges for our fidelity, and the true performance of all and every the foregoing articles, reserving liberty to exchange them in some reasonable time for a like number, to the acceptance of the governour and council of the said province, so they be persons of as good account and esteem amongst the Indians as those which are to be exchanged. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our several marks and seals, the day and year first above-written.

"The above written instrument was deliberately read over, and the several articles and clauses thereof interpreted unto the Indians, who said they well understood and consented thereunto, and was then signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us,

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|
| EDGEREMETT, | JOHN WING, | |
| MADOCKAWANDO, | NICHOLAS MANNING, | |
| WASSAMBOMET of Norridgwock, | BENJAMIN JACKSON, | |
| WENOBSON of Tecomet, in behalf of Moxus. | | |
| KETTERRAMOGIS of Norridgwock, | MADAUMBIS, | |
| AHANQUIT of PENOESCOT, | PAQUAHARET, alias, NATHANIEL, | } Interpreters |
| BOMASEEN, | JOHN HORNYBROOK, | |
| NITAMEMET, | JOHN BAGATAWAWONGO, alias, | |
| WEBENES, | SHEEPScoat JOHN, | |
| AWANSOMECK, | PHILL. OUNSAKIS, Squaw. | |
| ROBIN DONEY, | | |

This "was a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, sanctioned by the most solemn asseverations of the parties;"—and we may believe that the Indians, as well as the English, were, at the time, sincere in their professions, and determined to observe its stipulations. In fact the peace thus inaugurated was maintained nearly a year; but the Indians had formed the treaty

without consulting the French, whose agents did not fail to censure them for their course. As we have seen (*ante*, p. 175), the governor of Canada [Frontenac] told Bomaseen that they should not have made the treaty, as they had done, but "they might carry it friendly to the English till they should meet with a convenient opportunity of having an advantage to do mischief."

The French missionaries before alluded to, Father *Thury*, and two brothers, *V. and J. Bigot*, used their utmost influence among the Indians to prevent a faithful fulfilment of the treaty; and therefore, though a general quiet prevailed, the war spirit was not laid, and the English captives still held among them were not brought in.

The evil influences at work were not unobserved by the English, whose feelings were becoming more and more exasperated, as they, by sore experience, learned more and more of the treachery and perfidy of the enemy they had to contend with.

Another important circumstance should also be noted here; for several years previous to this, beginning with the capture of Port Royal, and the attack upon Quebec by Phips, a project for seizing upon Canada, and expelling the French therefrom was more or less discussed in New England and New York; and, on the other side, the French were debating plans for sacking the cities of Boston and New York, and thus reducing to submission all the English settlements as far south at least as Pennsylvania.¹

About this time too the coasts of New England, and farther south were seriously annoyed by privateers and pirates, the famous Capt Kidd being one of the latter class.

Madockawando, chief of the Penobscots, was present at the Pemaquid conference, and signed the treaty there formed; but, assured by the priests, as is affirmed by writers of the time, "that to break faith with heretics was no sin," his virtue could not withstand their evil influence. He at length consented to lead a hostile band against the English settlements; — and soon some two or three hundred Indians, from the various tribes, were marching across the present state of Maine to fall upon the village at Oyster river in New Hampshire. This occurred July 18, 1694. The onset was terrible; the destruction of life and

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 411, *et seq.*, 574, *et seq.*

property enormous, the cruelties practiced upon the victims never before surpassed;—but further description is not required in these pages.¹

The Indians having thus taken up the hatchet without reserve, other outrages upon the neighboring settlements followed in quick succession; and a barbarous war, without any declaration of war, was inaugurated.

This statement is necessary in order to understand the true condition of affairs when (Nov. 19th, 1694), Bomaseen and two other Indians made their appearance at Pemaquid, pretending to have just come from Canada, and to know nothing of any of the outrageous violations of the Pemaquid treaty.

They came with a flag of truce, Mather says, "loving as bears and harmless as tigers," and hailed the fort from the west side, desiring to speak with Capt. March. After parleying with them some time, a white flag was raised on the fort, and the Indians received within, and immediately made prisoners. Subsequently, Bomaseen was sent a prisoner to Boston, where he was long confined in jail. His companions were also sent to Boston as prisoners, but it is believed they were soon liberated. Bomaseen was one of the signers of the treaty at Pemaquid, the year preceding; and now he had just come from the bloody attacks upon the Oyster river and other settlements in shameful violation of that treaty. Shall we justify Capt. March in the course he took with the savages? The unanimous answer would be in the negative;—no excuse can justify a violation of a flag of truce;—in all circumstances it is to be held sacred;—and yet the circumstances of this case deprived the offense of much of its enormity. And the authorities in Boston bestowed no censure upon March, but rather justified his action, by receiving the prisoner, and holding him as such for a number of years.

Capt. March and his men, though never receiving direct censure from the government, felt themselves in the wrong, as the following labored effort in justification of their conduct will show.²

¹ *Charlevoix's Hist. N. F.*, III, 212-215; *Will. Hist. Maine*, I, 640; *Belknap Hist. N. H.*, I, 215; *Magn.* II, 544.

² Letter of Rev. John Pike, chaplain of the fort, to governor and council, dated, Pemaquid, Jan'y 7, 1694 [should be 1693].

"November 19, Bomaseen, with ten or a dozen Indians, called over the Barbican, desiring to speak with Capt. March, and set up a flag, by which they did implicitly own themselves enemies and breakers of the peace. [If it was a time of peace between the parties, as it should have been according to the treaty of Pemaquid, what need was there of a flag of truce?] We did not put out ours until an hour or two after theirs; would have persuaded them there was no reason for it; that flags were used between enemies in time of war, not friends in time of peace; minding them of the late agreement at Pemaquid; but they called earnestly for it. We resolved to seize Bomaseen at any rate, except positive violation of promise. We made no other promise before he came over but that he should be welcome, we should be glad of his company, would treat him kindly, and do him no hurt. After he was seized, we told him the same, and observed it punctually, so long as he staid here; but withal told him we must know who did the mischief at Oyster River and Groton, &c., of which they made themselves ignorant; why the peace was so soon broken and by whom; that they must go to Boston and abide there till Sheeps-cote John was sent to fetch in the Sagamores, and then they should come again with some English to treat, &c. We thought it not unlawful, nor culpable to apprehend such perfidious villains and traitors (though under a white rag) that have so often falsified their promise to the English, viz: at Cocheco, at Casco fort, at Oyster River and other places; that make no conscience of breaking the peace whenever it serves their turn, although never so solemnly confirmed with subscriptions and oaths. They have no regard to the law of nations, and therefore deserve no human respect. Besides, we are credibly informed, they came with a certain design to betray their majesties' fort here, under pretence of trade, friendship, &c., and so they are fallen into a pit of their own digging. Neither did we aim at anything more than their detainment as prisoners, supposing some advantage might accrue to the poor captives, if not the country thereby. If your honors judge it not fairly done, they are now in your hands to dispose of and deal with them as may be for their majesties' honor, and as the circumstances of the case may require." ¹

Of the Indians there were now in prison in Boston the hostages given at Pemaquid at the adoption of the treaty, and Bomaseen, with such as may have been sent there at the same time with him. These the tribes greatly desired to see at liberty again, to which the English were willing to agree, provided only that sufficient security could be given against the repetition of

¹ *Hutch. Hist. Mass.*, II, 81.

future outrage. Early in the spring therefore (1695), it was arranged that Sheepscot John, should be sent on a tour among the various tribes, with the view of effecting some arrangement looking towards the restoration of peace. As the result, May 20th,¹ a flotilla of some fifty canoes, with many Indians, made their appearance at Pemaquid and encamped on an island—some say, Rutherford's Island—a league from the fort. Some officers from the fort met them there and received from them eight English captives whom they freely gave up; they also confessed the grievous wrongs of which the Indians had been guilty, and agreed to a truce of thirty days, until commissioners from Boston might arrive to negotiate further with them.

The conference met as agreed upon, the English commissioners being Col. Phillips, Lt. Col. Hawthorne, and Major Converse; but on the part of the English it was claimed, unwisely as many thought, that all other captives still held by the Indians must be given up, according to the former treaty, before any negotiations with reference to a new one could be even begun. The Sagamores had already freely restored eight captives, and were very angry that so hard a condition should be required of them; they complained bitterly that Bomaseen and other Indian prisoners in Boston were not restored, and abruptly departed to enact other scenes of carnage and blood.²

The Indians now were ready for the indiscriminate murder of English people wherever found, and too often the English, in their exasperation showed a disposition not less diabolical. Within a period of about six months not less than forty persons connected with the different settlements were either killed or taken captive by the savages.

September 9th (1695), as a number of men were rowing a gondola "around a high rocky point above the barbican," they were fired upon by some Indians, and four killed and six wounded. The killed were Serg. Hugh March, Ed. Sargeant, John Linkhorn, and Thos. Johnson.³

About this time Capt. March, at his own request, was relieved of his command at the fort, and Pascho Chubb appointed in his place. He proved to be a man with scarcely a single quali-

¹ May 22d, *Pike's Journal, Hist. Coll. N. H.*, III, 46.

² *Hutch. Hist. Mass.*, II, 84; *Magn.*, II, 548.

³ *Journal Rev. John Pike, Hist. Coll., N. H.*, III, 47; *Magn.*, II, 548. The gondola (usually pronounced *gundalow*), is still much used in the vicinity.

fication for so important a trust, as will shortly be shown. Almost at the very beginning of his administration, occurred a transaction that we cannot contemplate without shame. Sunday, Feb. 16 (1696), there appeared at the fort a company of Indians among whom were *Edgeremct*, a Machias¹ chief, *Abenquid*,² a Penobscot chief, and *Toxus*, chief of the Norridgewocks, with several others, having for their object professedly to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. The two first mentioned had signed the treaty at Pemaquid in 1693.

The English, it is believed, met the Indians a little distance outside of the fort;—and soon an altercation began between the parties, in a manner that cannot now be very well determined; but resulted in the death of the two chiefs first mentioned above, and two other Indians, and, perhaps, of one or two Englishmen. Some Indians were taken prisoners, but Toxus and a few others rescued themselves from their grasp and escaped.³

Some accounts of the transaction represent that Chubb and his men, having engaged in a free and friendly conversation with the Indians, without any provocation, fell suddenly upon them with their weapons, killing several and wounding some others, and that the Indians in the struggle acted only in self defence; but this is questionable. But it is certain that the people of New England, much as they were exasperated against the Indians at the time, considered the conduct of Chubb and his men very reprehensible, which clearly shows that they must have been entirely in the wrong.

The following account is from Drake's *Book of the Indians* (Book III, p. 122), which, however, he does not consider as worthy of implicit reliance. He suggests that it may be Chubb's own statement of the transaction.

"An Indian sagamore's son appeared with a flag of truce, and Capt. Chub went out to them without arms, man for man. An Indian asked for rum and tobacco: the captain said, '*No; it is sabbath day.*' They said, '*We will have rum, or we will have rum and you too.*' Two Indians laid hold on the captain. Then he called to his men, to fall on, for God's sake. Then he made signs to his men, to come from the fort. One of the English had a hatchet under his coat, took it out and killed an In-

¹ Others say, a *Kennebec* chief, though often residing at Machias.

² *Abenquid*, *Abenquid*, *Abenquid*, &c. *Toxus*, *Toxons*, *Toxons*, *Honqui*, &c.

³ The original letter, which was written only a month after the event, is preserved in the archives of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

dian ; and then ours killed two more Indians, and took another alive, and wounded another, supposed mortally. Then many of the enemy came near to the English, who retreated all safe to the fort."

The French officials in this country, in their correspondence with their own government, gave a very different representation of the affair. The Indians were very desirous at this time to effect the return of their friends, still held in Boston, and to this end sought to open a correspondence in regard to a general exchange of prisoners. To open the way a number of Indians were sent [probably from the Penobscot] to Pemaquid with a letter from English captives in the hands of the enemy ; but here they were debauched by the captain of the fort, and by fair promises induced to enter into trade, contrary to the entreaty of their friend, *M. Thury*, who accompanied them in the expedition, but withdrew into the woods, when he saw they were determined to reject his advice.

The parties traded together in good faith for several days ; but at length "the English, perceiving the principal chiefs grouped under the guns of the fort, began by killing *Ejgeremet* [*Edgeremet*] a famous chief and his son by pistol shots. *Taxous* [*Taxus*] was seized by three soldiers, and some others were laid hold of in like manner, one of whom was carried alive into the fort. Two more armed with knives liberated themselves from three of the enemy who had hold of them, and four Englishmen lost their lives. One of our Indians was killed by the shots which were fired from the fort ; another saved *Taxous* after having killed two more of the enemy with his knife. Thus we lost four, and the enemy six, men by their treachery. It is to be hoped that the Abenakis will not place any confidence hereafter in English promises."

The account goes on to say that "some Micmaes and other Kennebec Indians surprised a detachment belonging to the garrison of Pemkuit in some islands opposite the fort, and killed twenty-three of them."¹

¹*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 643. What transaction the last statement has reference to cannot now be determined. *M. Thury* was probably the real author of the whole statement. *Charlevoix* (*Hist. N. F.*, iii, 233) is exceeding confused in what he says of the matter.

A little time previous to these tragical events at Pemaquid, Gov. Stoughton, of Massachusetts (Jan'y 21st, 1695), addressed a short letter to the Indians, hoping in some measure to restrain their ferocity; and it called forth a reply remarkable for its malignity, from which we give some extracts below. The governor in his letter charged upon them "the late tragical outrages and barbarous murders," called them "enemies of the crown of England," and threatened them with severe punishment if they failed to restore the captives still in their hands, and also to arrest and bring in the guilty authors of the late atrocities.

The reply was signed by one of the Indians; but of course it was not written by him. The two brothers, Vincent and James Digot were at this time serving as missionaries among the Abenakis, and very probably to one or the other of these we may trace the real authorship of the letter.¹

"Lord who writest to me, listen and understand what I am about to say, and write, to you. Thou wilt easily recognize my words, and why wilt thou not recognize them. It is thou (so to express myself) that furnishest them to me. Writing with too much haughtiness, thou obligest me to reply to thee in the same style. Now, then, listen to the truths I am about to tell thee of thyself; of thee, who dost not speak the truth when thou sayest that I kill thee cruelly. I never exercise any cruelty in killing thee, [as I kill thee] only with hatchet blows and musket shots. Thy heart must have been ever addicted to wickedness and deceit. No other proof is necessary than the acts last autumn at Saco and Pemkuit, taking and detaining those who were going to obtain news from thee. Never in the universal world has it been seen, never has it been related of a man being taken prisoner who bears a flag [of truce] and goes to parley on public business. This, however, is what thou hast done; in truth, thou hast spoiled the subject of discussion. Thou hast covered it with blood; as for me, I could never resolve to act in that manner, for therein I have even an extreme horror of thy unparalleled treachery. How then dost thou expect that we would talk. * * *

What thou sayest I retort on thyself. There, repent and repair the grave fault thou hast committed; seize those who killed me at Saco, and made me prisoner at Pemkuit. I will do the like by thee. I will bring thee those who killed thee when I shall be able to find them. Fail not to do what I require of thee; of thee, I say, who killest me without cause; who takest me prisoner when I am off my guard. Here, again, is what

¹ *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 613-615.

I say to thee. Bring, or send me back my relatives whom thou detainest without cause. * * * As for me, thou canst not inflict much injury on me except by your treachery. My houses, my stores, my property are in inaccessible countries. If thou wilt confiscate them, they will cost thee a great deal of labor and fatigue." * * *

Several events of minor importance that occurred at Pemaquid while fort William Henry stood there in all its grandeur may be mentioned here.

Governor Phips made an excursion east as far as Pemaquid in 1693, but was not present at the negotiation of the treaty of that year, as has been sometimes said; the next year, 1694, he made another visit here. He went as far east as St. George's river, calling at several of the settlements. His object seems to have been, by personal inspection to acquaint himself with the general condition of affairs in those settlements. At Pemaquid he met the Penobscot chief, Madockawando, and purchased of him a large tract of land on the Penobscot and St. George's rivers, which like other transactions of this character afterwards became the subject of much controversy. Long after Phips's day the proprietors of the claim, and those holding under the grant of the council of Plymouth, March 30th, 1630, to Beauchamp and Leveret agreed to unite their interests; and the united claim came to be represented by Waldo, and finally by Gen. Henry Knox of revolutionary fame. The claim was for a tract thirty miles square.

March 28th, 1695, two men, Sergeant Tilton and Peter Dill ventured out into the sound in a birch canoe, and were overtaken by a sudden snow squall and both drowned. The caution of the natives in not venturing, as a general thing, to go around the point in their small craft seems to have been wise.

CHAPTER XIX.

Condition of affairs at Pemaquid in the spring of the year 1696 — Fort William Henry a great annoyance to the Indians — Plans for its reduction, and a naval and military force sent by the French for its capture — Strength of the force — Capture of an English ship, the *Newport*, by two French frigates — The French ships anchor at a respectful distance from the fort, and Castine with his Indians ready to make an attack from the land — Capture of the fort and surrender of the garrison — Chubb, the commander of the fort, severely censured — He petitions to be released from jail — Killed by the Indians — A military and naval expedition sent to the eastward from Boston — Plans of the French and Canadians to reduce all the northern English settlements to subjection — The people of Massachusetts not altogether inexcusable for the disastrous result at Pemaquid — John Palmer, John West, James Graham, Henry Jocelyn and Sir William Phips.

The year 1696 was ushered in with unusual quiet for these parts; but plans for the reduction of New England and New York continued to be earnestly discussed by the French officials in Canada and Acadia. The Indians early in the season committed several murders in New Hampshire and the western part of Maine; and the peace that prevailed in the region of Pemaquid was due to the fortress there, which was considered the "strongest fastness of the British in North America."¹ The French could expect to maintain their hold in Acadia and Nova Scotia only by retaining the Indians in their interest; and the friendship of the latter would be of little consequence unless they could be kept in active hostility against the English. Several times some of the Indians indicated a disposition to transfer their allegiance from the French to the English; but such a tendency was always promptly met by the French officers, and the French missionaries, by efforts to bind them more closely to themselves, or else to excite in their breasts a more deadly hatred of the English.

To the Indians the fort at Pemaquid was a source of much annoyance, as we have seen heretofore, being situated directly on their line of travel, along the coast in their canoes. This will be better

¹ *Hist. of Canada*, i, 349.

understood when it is known that the natives seldom ventured around the point in their canoes, but chose rather to carry them, and whatever effects they had, across the land from New Harbor to the outer Pemaquid Harbor. In their small light canoes of birch bark it was not safe, except in the very finest weather, to venture so far out to sea as to pass around the point. The fort, therefore, being exactly in their path, would almost preclude any communication between the eastern and western tribes by their canoes, at least in time of war. To obtain possession of it was, therefore, a matter of great importance, both to the Indians and the French; and to this end preparations now began to be made in good earnest.

Villebon, governor of the French settlements in Acadia was accustomed to receive his supplies from the home government early in the spring of the year, and a plan was devised in Boston to seize upon the vessels bringing them, on their passage. For this purpose an English armed ship was the year before sent down from Boston to cruise off the mouth of the St. John's river, but the Frenchmen were found too strong to be attacked, and nothing was accomplished. This year (1696) it was determined to send a stronger force; and two ships of war, the *Newport* and the *Sorlings*, with a small vessel to act as a tender, were put in readiness and ordered to cruise to the eastward, and if possible intercept the expected store ship.

These ships, however, instead of the expected rich store ship, fell in with two French ships of war, *l'Envieux* and *la Profonde*, under D'Iberville, both well provided and armed, and destined together to make an attack on fort William Henry, at Pemaquid. The French ships were superior to the English; and in the fight that ensued, the *Newport* soon lost her topmast, and was obliged to surrender; and the *Sorlings* and the tender only made their escape in a thick fog, which now very opportunely settled down upon them.

These French ships had been fitted out at Quebec¹ for the express purpose of reducing Pemaquid; but the English had failed to learn the fact, or had neglected to make any special preparation in self-defence.

With their prize, the *Newport*, the French ships made sail for St. Johns, where all needed repairs were made, and the

¹ In Garneau's *Hist. of Canada*, translated by Bell (vol. I, 318), it is said they sailed from Rochefort.

Indians conciliated by presents freely distributed among them. At Cape Breton one of the ships had taken on board some fifty Indians, and here fifty more were put on board the other. They then sailed for the Penobscot, where Castine, who had engaged in the service two hundred of the Penobscot tribe, was in readiness for them. Here also another French officer, Villieu, with twenty-five French soldiers, joined the expedition; and the three ships sailed together for Pemaquid, Castine and his two hundred Indian warriors having previously started in their canoes. Castine and his Indian allies reached the place August 13th, and D'Iberville with the men of war the next day — the ships taking their position a league from the fort, thus manifesting for it a very proper respect. At five o'clock, P. M., of the 14th, a summons was sent to the fort to surrender, to which Capt. Chubb, with no little bluster, replied, that he would not do so even "if the sea were covered with French vessels, and the land with Indians."¹

The French had already landed several field pieces; and with this, the attack was begun, the Indians also firing their muskets as occasion offered. The fort replied in like manner; but as the fort was provided with heavy cannon of long range it is difficult to understand how the beseigers could approach near enough to produce any effect with field pieces and muskets! Probably little was accomplished by these preliminary movements; but during the night heavier cannon and mortars were landed, and put in position in the early part of the next day, so that by three in the afternoon they were ready for more decisive operations.

Some gentleman, a few years ago, after personal examination of the place, came to the conclusion that the place selected by the French for landing their cannon and mortars — certainly the latter — was a little cove that makes up from the south on the west side, beyond the Barbican. The point probably was then well covered by a heavy growth of spruce, which, especially in the night, would perfectly conceal them from observa-

¹ Charlevoix, *Hist. N. F.*, iii, 262; *Hutch. Hist. Mass.*, ii, 89; *Will. Hist. Maine.*, i, 643; *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ix, 658. Hutchinson says the fort was captured July 14th; and Williamson and Dexter (*Church's Eastern Expeditions*, p. 88, note) follow him; but the date given in the text is probably the true one. Mather (*Magn.*, ii, 549) says the "fifth or sixth of August," which of course is to be understood as O. S., while the date given in the text, being taken from the French accounts, is according to the N. S. The 14th, N. S., would correspond to the 3d, O. S.

tion by those in the fort. Searching on the shore they thought they found some masses of rock so placed artificially that they may have been used as bases on which the heavy mortars were supported. The idea of course is that the bombs were thrown across the water a little outside the point of rock, called the Barbacan.¹

Another circumstance may perhaps favor this view. The place alluded to is almost exactly opposite the west angle of the fort, so that it would be extremely difficult to train upon it the heavy guns of the fort from either the southwest or northwest sides.

They began by throwing into the fort several bombs from their mortars, producing no little consternation in the minds of the besieged. Just at this time Castine found means to convey a letter into the fort, threatening that if they refused to surrender until the place should be carried by assault, they would have to deal with the Indians, and must expect no quarter, for such were the commander's instructions from the king.² This produced the desired effect. After a short parley between Chubb and the French officers a surrender was agreed to, and before night the French took possession.

The terms of surrender were that the officers and soldiers of the fort should be sent to Boston, and the same number of French and Indian prisoners returned; and that they should be specially protected from the malice of the Indians. Chubb and his men then marched out of the fort, and for security from the savages, were conveyed to an island (probably Rutherford's island) near which the ships were anchored; and Villieu with sixty French soldiers entered and took possession. On entering they found an Indian in irons, who had been held a prisoner since the fight in the month of February, as heretofore described. He was in a miserable condition, having suffered greatly from his long confinement; and when the other Indians became acquainted with his case, they were exceedingly enraged. But for the precaution which the French commander had taken to remove all the English from the place, they would have been in great danger from the fury of the savages.³

¹ R. K. Sewall, Esq.

² When Hutchinson wrote his History of Massachusetts he had before him the original note which Castine sent into the fort, and which led to the surrender.

³ Some writers — and among them Williamson (*Hist. of Maine*, i, 644) — affirm that the Indians, in their rage, did actually fall upon several of the soldiers and murder them; but the statement is not supported by the best authorities.

Unfortunately, Chubb left in the fort some of his private papers, and among them was found an order, recently received from the Massachusetts authorities, to hang the wretched Indian prisoner; but the French officer wisely kept the fact from the knowledge of the Indians.¹

The conduct of Chubb in thus surrendering the fort, without even a serious effort to hold it, was severely condemned by the government and people of Massachusetts. The fort was in good condition, with a well supplied bomb-proof magazine, situated, according to Charlevoix, partly under the large rock within the walls, and had fifteen mounted cannon. The garrison consisted of ninety-two men, with sufficient supplies for a long siege; and French writers admit that if the fort had been properly defended the result would have been doubtful. Certain it is that it could have been captured only by a long siege, and the shedding of much blood. No one in the fort was injured; and the French lost but one man, who died some time after the capture of the fort, of pleurisy, contracted, as was supposed, by his labors and exposure during the siege.

The cannon and other property of the fort were then removed on board the French ships, except the small arms, which, with much ammunition, were distributed among the Indians, much to their satisfaction. The fort, and everything about it were destroyed; the walls thrown down as far as possible; and, on the eighteenth of the month, they took their departure to the Penobscot.

Chubb, on his return to Boston, was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained several months; but it is believed he was never brought to trial. The following is a petition of his addressed to the general court, to be released from prison:

"To the Greate and Gen^l Court of his Majty^s Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Assembled att Boston by adjournment November 18th, 1696.

The Petition of Pasco Chubb Late Command^r of his Majty^s Fort at Pemaquid

Humbly Sheweth

That yo^r Petition^r Stands comited a Prison^r in the Boston Goale for his Late Surrendering & delivering up the aforesaid Fort and Stores thereto belonging unto his Majty^s Enemies, &c.

And Whereas Yo^r Petition^r is a very poore man, having a wife and

¹ Charlevoix, *Hist. N. F.*, III, 263.

children to Look after w^{ch} by reason of his confinement & poverty are reduced to a meane and necessitous condition, having not wherewith all either to defray his prison necessary charges or to relieve his Indigent family

Yor Petition^r Therefore humbly prays that this high and hon^{ble} Court will please to consid^r the premises Soe that he may either be Brought to his Tryall, or else upon giving Sufficent Bayle, be released from his present Confinement whereby he may be enabled to take some care of his poore family for their Subsistence in this hard and deare Winter Season.

And y^e Petition^r as in duty bound shall ever pray." ¹

The general court took action upon the petition, March 31st, 1697, and in consideration of his long imprisonment ordered payment to be made him for his services; but did nothing further. Not long afterwards he was discharged from prison, by what process has not been ascertained, and allowed to return to his family in Andover, where himself and wife were killed by the Indians, Feb. 22d, 1698. The Indians, about thirty in number, it is supposed, visited the place with the special design of seeking revenge upon Chubb for the wrongs they believed he had done them; but in the attack several others were slain, and some taken into captivity. ²

It has been suggested — and with much plausibility — that both Chubb and his men, in so cowardly surrendering the fort at Pemaquid, were influenced not a little by fear of the savage vengeance that would probably be executed upon them, should they fall into the Indians' hands. More than this, their own consciences accused them of wrong doing in regard to these vindictive people.

The first intelligence of the capture of the English ship Newport, and the fall of Pemaquid, was brought to Boston by the shallop sent there with the prisoners to be exchanged according to the terms of capitulation. The event was considered by the Indians and French as a matter of the greatest importance; and it was supposed that the same forces would proceed at once to attack other English settlements on the coast farther west, as Casco, York, or Piscataqua. There was

¹ *Mass. Archives*, 70, 307 and 335.

² *Journal of John Pike, N. H. Hist. Coll.*, III, 49.

need of prompt action on the part of Massachusetts, and a force of five hundred men under Col. Gedney was sent east to York, for the protection of that settlement, and Major Church with as many more men in three ships of war, and one or two tenders, was despatched to Pemaquid, to give battle to the French fleet if it could be found, and to punish the enemy, either French or Indians, as they might have opportunity. They landed at York, as they sailed east, called and inspected the ruins of Pemaquid, but found no enemy to fight, as the French fleet had left those waters, and the Indians were careful to be out of the way. To give the latter an opportunity to leave their hiding places Church anchored his ships in the harbor of Monhegan, and hoped to catch the Indians about the mouth of the Penobscot by sending his armed boats there in the night; but nothing of any importance was accomplished.

Thus passed away the autumn of 1696; and if the French did not follow up their advantage with becoming energy, it was for the reason that the next year, with better preparation, they proposed for themselves a magnificent enterprise, which had often been suggested, but never before undertaken. Immediately after the capture of fort William Henry, the French easily reduced whatever other impoverished English settlements there were to the east of Pemaquid; and by right of conquest, the whole country east of the Kennebec became subject to the crown of France.

This proposed enterprise was the reduction of all the English settlements on the coast as far south as, and including New York. A magnificent project truly, as it appears to us at the present day, and of doubtful execution; but the French government, intoxicated by their successes of the preceding year, were disposed to make the attempt. Therefore, early in the spring (of 1697) a formidable fleet of "ten men-of-war, a galliot, and two frigates," were put in readiness and ordered to sail for those shores.

The plan was for them to leave the port of Brest, not later than April 25th; but various delays occurred, and they did not reach Placentia Bay in Newfoundland until July 24th. Here they came to anchor, and had communication with the French officials residing in the place, and here the commander, the Marquis of Nesmond—an able and experienced officer—seemed first to have formed some adequate notion of the mag-

nitude of the enterprise in which he was engaged. His officers also shared the same feelings with him; and it began to be seen that the season was too far advanced to begin so extensive a plan as that proposed; therefore when a council of war was called to determine whether they should proceed immediately to make an attack upon Boston, every voice was given in the negative.

The Massachusetts people were not ignorant of these designs of the enemy against them, and such preparations were made for self-defense as they were able. An expedition under Major March — the same who had previously been commander of Penaquid fort — was sent to scour the coasts to the eastward; but nothing of any importance was accomplished. In attempting to land somewhere at the mouth of the Damariscotta river, he was fired upon by Indians lying near in ambush, and several killed. He, however, soon rallied his men that remained, and, charging upon the enemy with fixed bayonets, drove them in every direction, several on both sides being left dead upon the field. This occurred Sept. 9th, 1697.

The treaty of Ryswick, by which peace was restored between England and France, was signed Sept. 11th, but the fact was not officially made known in Boston until Dec. 10th. By this treaty a nominal peace was restored to the country; but the chief point in dispute — the true western boundary of Acadia, or, as we should now express it, the true boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick — remained just as before. All places, forts, &c., conquered by either party from the other during the war, were to be restored, and all questions as to the proper western boundary of Acadia remained still unsettled. Massachusetts, backed by the British government, still claimed jurisdiction as far east as the St. Croix river, while the French still asserted their rights as far west as the Kennebec.

Thus terminated, just at the close of the 17th century, this disastrous Indian war of New England, usually called the *second Indian war*, or *King William's war*.

No one can read the short and melancholy history of fort William Henry without interest. Though the people felt deeply the heavy burden imposed upon them without their consent, by the expense of its construction, and were greatly divided in opinion as to the propriety of the expenditure, there can now be no question of the great importance of the fortification in

the condition of affairs at the time. The excellent effect upon the Indians was plainly seen; and if it could have been maintained with the same spirit as Phips manifested in its construction, the subsequent enormous expenditure of blood and treasure would have been avoided.

The appointment of so incompetent a commander as Pasco Chubb, in so important a place, at such a critical juncture, was an official blunder, for which no excuse can be allowed; but still the fatal disaster, which terminated its existence so soon in its history, must be ascribed in no small degree to the coldness, not to say the hostility of the people of Massachusetts. Feats of self-sacrificing endurance and deeds of heroic daring ought not to be expected of even good soldiers, when they know that a spirit of repining and complaint is abroad among those who ought to be their supporters.

A few of the personages who had a hand in the transactions, heretofore described, require some further notice here. John Palmer and John West were two such characters. Palmer came to Pemaquid from New York in the summer of 1686, by appointment of Gov. Dongan, having received his commission June 19th. His chief business was to attend to the collection of the revenues, the chief part of which was to be derived from the quit-rents, or moneys received for leases of land to the settlers; for while government claimed to own all the land, it was not the policy to sell farms to settlers, giving deeds thereof, as is now done with us; only leases were given, the consideration being a certain amount per acre, or per hundred acres, to be paid annually as quit-rent. He and his associates seem to have been allowed to fix their own scale of prices, which of course were limited only by the supposed ability of the settlers to pay. He was also clothed with some civil authority, not very well defined. He had been a member of Gov. Dongan's council in New York, and was by natural disposition and habit a fit instrument to be sent here, as assessor and collector of an unjust and unwilling tribute from the poor settlers. He was here when Gov. Andros with his soldiers arrived, late in the autumn of 1688 or early in the year 1689, and probably left with him for Boston on hearing of the revolution in England. At Boston with Andros and others he was imprisoned several months, and afterwards took his departure for England.

John West, an Englishman, came to New York in 1678 in the same ship with Gov. Andros, James Graham, and others. He was appointed to several important offices by Andros, as secretary of the province, clerk of the court of assizes, and clerk of the city of New York. In old documents he is sometimes styled "Merchant of New York." In 1680, he was appointed by Andros "Justice of peace at Pemaquid and its dependencies:" but it is believed he did not remove there for several years. October, 1684, he was married to Anne Rudyard, daughter of Gov. Rudyard of New Jersey. We first hear of him at Pemaquid in 1686, when he was associated with John Palmer, as deputy secretary, for the collection of the revenue. He was a fit associate of Palmer, but, if possible, still more arbitrary, and greedy of money. It is believed that he was here at the time of Andros's visit, and probably returned with him and Palmer to Boston. He was one of those imprisoned in Boston with Andros, Palmer and others by the uprising of the people, and probably died not long afterwards.

James Graham, who came to this country with Andros and Palmer, as before mentioned, was by birth a Scotchman, but strong in the confidence of Andros. He first engaged in merchandise in New York city, and entered largely into the purchase of lands in New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere. But he soon found his way into office, as was of course the understanding. He was first made attorney general, though not bred to the law, and member of the council for New York, but when Andros was appointed governor of New England, Graham came with him, as his attorney general, and long resided in Boston. His fondness for holding real estate is seen in the fact that on very easy conditions, as previously mentioned (ante, p. 154), he obtained, apparently without rendering any consideration whatever, the large grant of one thousand acres of land at Pemaquid. He was never in the place; and his association with Palmer and West, as previously related, was only advisory, as law officer of the government. He was imprisoned in Boston, at the same time with Gov. Andros and others, and was not released until several months.

He removed from Boston to New York in 1691, and in the latter part of his life resided at Morrisania, where he died about 1702 or 1703.

Henry Joscelyn (Josselyn) came to this country in 1634, and settled at Black Point (Scarboro'). He was a man of strict integrity, and, at different times, was appointed to several important offices; but he always favored the views and interests of the royal government, and the proprietors holding grants under it, and opposed the schemes of Massachusetts. Becoming disgusted with the course the public affairs were taking in the western part of the present state of Maine, he with his family left it, and removed to Pemaquid, where he spent the rest of his life. He came to reside at Pemaquid very soon, probably, after the occupation of the place by the agents of the Duke of York, about 1677 or 1678. In 1680, he was appointed "Justice of the Peace in Quorum," by the governor of New York, and subsequently received other marks of confidence. In September of the same year, Gov. Andros wrote to Ensign Sharpe, then in command of Pemaquid, as to "Mr. Joslyne whom I would have you use with all fitting respect Considering what he hath been and his age. And if he Desire and shall build a house for himselfe to lett him Choose any lott and pay him ten pound towards it or if he shall Desire to hyre soe to live by himself then to Engage and pay the rent either of which shall be allowed you in yo^r account as alsoe sufficient provision for himselfe and wife as he shall Desire out of the stores." He died previous to May 10th, 1683; as Capt. Brockholls writing that day to Lawrence Dennis speaks of him as deceased. He was an honored and worthy man; and if the spot where his dust reposes could now be known, it would constitute an additional attraction for visitors to old Pemaquid.

Many writers mention Pemaquid as the probable birth-place of Sir Wm. Phips, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, under the Charter of William and Mary, but others say, probably more truly, that he was born at Woolwich, on the Kennebec. Others still, who allow that he was born at Woolwich, claim that he lived some time at Pemaquid. Mather says that "he was born Feb. 2, 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebec, and almost the furthest village of the eastern settlement of New England." This despicable village is believed to have been the ancient Nequasset, at or near which is the present village of Woolwich.

When about twenty-four or twenty-five years old he contracted to build a vessel at Sheepscott, and had just finished it

when the Indian war began here, which was in August, 1676. From this circumstance it is, probably, that it is sometimes said he was born at Sheepscott.

The remarkable history and career of Sir Wm. Phips are well known, and would not require mention here but for the fact that it is so often said that Pemaquid was his birth-place. Pemaquid, probably, would not refuse the honor implied, provided only that the "facts of history," as recorded by the most reliable historians would allow its acceptance.¹

CHAPTER XX.

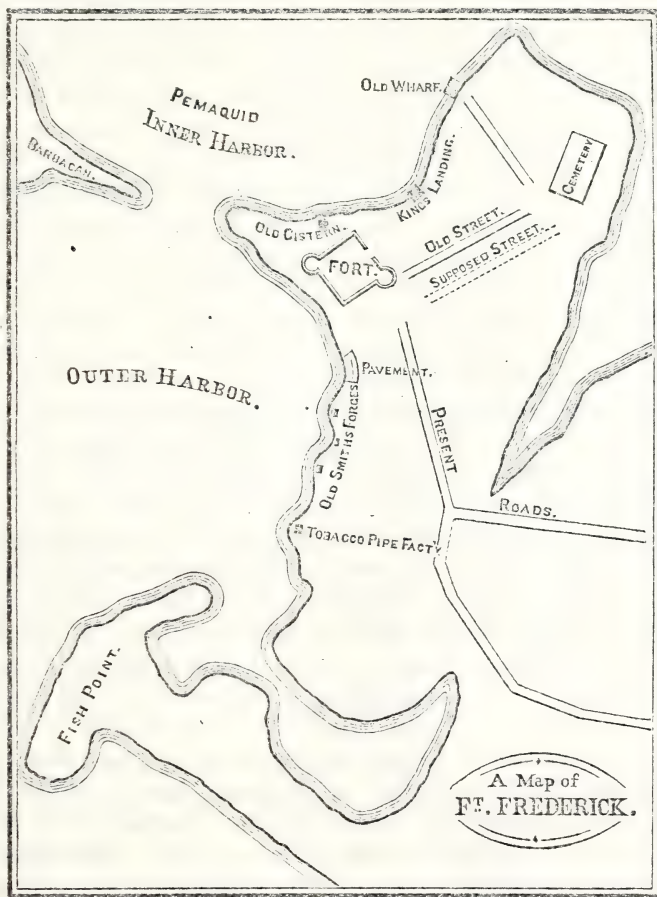
ANCIENT RUINS AT PEMAQUID.

Fort William Henry and Fort Frederic—Geology of Pemaquid Harbor—Ruins of the old forts—Pavements—May the relics found here pertain to a period more ancient than the occupancy of the place by the English?—Ancient streets—Lewis's field—Ancient canal at the Falls—Gyle's field—Population and business of the place—Vessels built at Pemaquid—Claims to land in this place entered in the book of "Eastern Claims."

The name Pemaquid has sometimes been used to designate the whole coast from the mouth of the Kennebec river, to the St. George, but it properly belongs only to the peninsula where the old fort stood and the adjacent harbor and river.

The accompanying map of fort Frederick, and the Pemaquid peninsula on which it stands, will be understood without any special description. This fort, erected by Col. David Dunbar, in 1729, under the direction and at the expense of the British government, has not yet been described in this work. Like fort William Henry, constructed by Phips in 1692, as previously described (ante, p. 168), it was built of stone, and probably occupied the same foundations, though of this there may be some doubt. But whether or not the foundations are the same

¹The anonymous writer of an article in vol. II, p. 238, of the *Maine Hist. Collections* says that "James Phips, father of Sir William Phips, settled here about 1633, but afterward removed to the banks of the Kennebec, in the town of Woolwich," but cites no authority for the statement; and the author of this work has been unable to find any support for it among the old writers.



as those laid by Phips, it is entirely certain that the two occupied substantially the same site. A further description will be given when the subject comes again before us in the regular order of events.

The peculiar formation of the harbor is especially interesting to the geologist, being separated as it is from the sea on the south by an immense dyke of trap or basalt, which like an artificial breakwater, protects it from the waves, but allows a sufficient space for the passage of ships.¹ The rocks of this whole region are of the kind called by geologists, *metamorphic*, with frequent masses and veins of granite and quartz, and occasional dykes of trap, passing into hornblende. The upheaval of the stratified gneiss and mica slate in all this region has been in lines nearly north and south, the axial lines being continued down into the promontories; and between these the tide flows up a greater or less distance, as in the Kennebec, Sheepscot, the Damariscotta, and the Pemaquid rivers. Pemaquid point is the extreme southern termination of one of these promontories, having the Muscongus bay on the east, and John's bay and the Damariscotta river on the west.

The projecting, basaltic sea wall at the harbor on the west side was often called the Barbacan by the early writers, probably because of its supposed resemblance to certain walls or watch towers, which in those days were often erected near the entrance of fortifications or walled cities, and called by this name. A particular locality in the city of London was long known as the Barbacan, and a place of worship was maintained there by some of the early puritans. It may be that the name is still retained. (Ante, p. 68).

Little more now remains of Dunbar's fort than the mere foundations or substructions, on which the walls formerly rested, but these enable us to fix precisely the location of the important structure. It was on the east side of the entrance to the harbor, nearly opposite the sea-wall, or barbacan, but a little south of it, as required by the peculiar conformation of the surface. This point of land is really a small promontory by itself, made so by an indentation from John's bay, or Pemaquid outer

¹ This dyke has been previously described, ante, p. 6. The appearance of the dyke near the head of Long cove was first pointed out to the writer by William Hackelton, Esq.

harbor on the south, and a small cove on the north, connected with the Pemaquid inner harbor. This was formerly called Cox's cove, from the circumstance that a descendant, probably a son of William Cox, one of the witnesses to Brown's Indian deed, long lived there.¹ The name is not often heard now, and is not found on the recent map of Lincoln county. Between this cove and the indentation from John's bay on the south, just alluded to, the land is low; and no very considerable rise in the adjacent waters would be required to change the peninsula into an island. But to claim that it probably has been an island within the period of human history, and perhaps connected with the main land by an artificial bridge, as has been done by the author of the *Ancient Dominion of Maine*, is to draw quite too largely on the imagination for the legitimate purposes of history.²

The remains of the fort show it to have been situated on the highest ground on the peninsula, which happens to be near the water's edge just at the entrance of the harbor. The fort was quadrangular in form but not perfectly square. The four sides faced towards the southwest, northwest, northeast and southeast, the four corners or angles being of course towards the four cardinal points. At the west angle is a huge boulder of granite, around which the wall was built, some of the stones still remaining in their places. The southwest and northwest walls were continued nearly up to this rock, having it exactly in the angle between them; then starting from these the wall was carried around the rock in a perfect circle, the distance around being 130 feet. This has sometimes been called the round tower, or the greater flanker. The southeast and northeast sides were each 148 feet in length, and the southwest and northwest sides each 130 feet. The entrance was on the northeast side; and at the east angle and diagonally opposite the round tower there was a regular bastion.³ Within the fort there is

¹ It may be that the cove formerly called by this name is the similar indentation from the same harbor further east.

² *Anc. Dominions of Maine*, p. 115.

³ Our artist in drawing the map has taken the liberty to represent a round tower at the eastern angle of the fort, but probably it was a regular bastion. The place of entrance was closed by massive gates of oak. The late Mrs. Sarah (Johnston) Burnet, who was born in the fort, and lived there in her childhood, in her old age used to describe the scene when after the close of the French war the big gates were thrown open, and the heavy cannon removed and put on a ship to be taken to Boston.

a small but well preserved cellar, and at one end of it the remains of a brick chimney.

The huge granite boulder, inclosed within the round tower, is partly buried in the soil, but if the rubbish were removed that has accumulated around it, would be probably on the west side at least twenty feet in height, and doubtless weighs many hundred tons. On the east side of the rock and partly under it, in an excavation made for the purpose, was the principal magazine of the fort. The entrance to it was by a trap door from above; a portion of the walls lining it on three sides may yet be seen. Probably another magazine was contained in the bastion in the east angle of the fort.

Northeast from the fort, about forty rods distant, is the ancient cemetery, now handsomely inclosed, but formerly making a part of the open field, and extending over a much larger surface than at present. Unfortunately for us no monuments were placed at the ancient graves, but only rough head and foot stones, obtained from the shore; and it is well known that many of those once standing here were long ago removed, and the ground leveled by the plow.

One rough stone which formerly stood alone, at some distance from the present inclosure, contains on it the letters H and M (but they are cut together, thus, HM), and beneath them the date of the year, which some read 1625, but probably it should be read 1695. Some suppose that this is only the foot stone of the grave, the more elaborate head stone having been removed; but there may be some doubt of this. Formerly the places of several graves were indicated by pieces of plank placed at the head and foot, the one at the head having a piece of lead inserted, with an inscription engraved upon it; but they have long since disappeared. On one of these the inscription was in a language that no one in the place could read but Parson McLean, a clergyman of the place.¹ The grave probably was that of a French lady, the wife of a French captain, whose remains were brought on shore there and buried, perhaps about the time of the Revolutionary war, or soon after its close.

From the eastern angle of the fort towards the cemetery, directly on the highest point of the ridge, and but little concealed beneath the soil, are the remains of an ancient pavement,

¹ Mrs. Dr. How, 1860. Some account of Rev. Mr. McLean will be given further on.

which probably formed the principal street of the village. The pavement probably was not laid regularly, but was made by throwing in loose stones, which in time became imbedded in the soil, as we now find them. They are so compacted together that it is found impossible to pass the plow through them.¹ Some large flat stones, formerly covered a part of the street, appearing as if laid for flagging; and only a few years ago an old lady (Mrs. Robinson) remembered to have seen the weeds growing up between them when she once visited the place in her childhood. The pavement extends several rods from the fort, but not as far as the cemetery, which is about forty rods distant. On both sides of the supposed main street are the remains of former cellars more or less distinct.

From a point near the present cemetery fence, another street evidently connected with this principal street, making nearly a right angle with it, and extending to the shore, where are still to be found in position, a number of the timbers of a former wharf. One of these, perfectly sound, was removed from its old bed in the gravel only a few years ago. On both sides of these supposed streets, are many depressions indicating the existence of cellars. At present there are no walls to the cellars that can be seen, but it is known that formerly, in some of them at least, there were well laid walls; and persons are now living who twenty or thirty years ago aided in removing the stones which appeared at the surface, and in filling the cellars with earth.

It is believed that another street once existed, on the southeast side of the main street, just described, and running parallel with it, but the houses on it were mostly without walled cellars. Its supposed place is indicated on the map.

From the southeast wall of the fort the ground descends quite rapidly, and at the distance of several rods another pavement is found, even more interesting than the preceding, and the purpose for which it was laid not so easy to understand. It is situated on the very edge of the bank from which probably some considerable earth has been washed away, though probably it is not reached by the highest tides. The stones of the pavement until recently were entirely concealed by black earth and gravel to the depth of six to ten inches, and in it the couch-grass roots are thoroughly intertwined so as to form a very

¹ Mr. Partridge, the present owner of the field.

tough sod. Near the edge of the bank the covering of earth has been removed so as to expose to view a considerable area; and it is shown to be a pavement of rather small water-worn pebbles, as regularly laid as in a street of a city, and all of them in place except as they have been disturbed by very recent intruders. The appearance instantly suggests the idea of a street having a width of twelve or fourteen feet, one side of which is found to rest against a regular cellar wall, and on the other side is a row of larger stones, evidently designed for curb stones. Near the cellar wall a depression in the pavement was plainly intended to carry off the water.

Assuming this to be the pavement of a street leading north-easterly towards the present town road, search was made some years ago by a company of gentlemen, at which the writer was present, and the following facts were determined. The cellar though small has a well faced wall probably on all its four sides. The western wall is situated just at the edge of the bank, so that the washing away of a very little more earth would expose it to view. On the south side is the pavement just described, some twelve or fourteen feet in width, and might well be taken for the pavement of a narrow street, but when examined further, it is found to extend around the east and north sides of the cellar wall about the same width; though on the north side the stones have been somewhat displaced. All around on the south and east sides at the outer edge a row of larger stones is placed as if for a curbing; though the stones appear to have been only laid upon the surface, and are not fixed in the earth, as is done in modern times. The lines are perfectly straight, so far as exposed to view, and at the south-east angle every stone was found nicely adjusted to its place.

The conclusion arrived at from these facts must be that these pavements were designed for the courtyard of a gentleman's house or perhaps some public building, and not for a public street.

1. The stones of which it was made are too small and light, for a street pavement, and are simply laid upon the earth, which was carefully levelled for the purpose, but were not embedded in mortar, as must be done to resist the tread of horses and the pressure of heavy wheels.

2. The pavement is found only on the three sides of the cellar, and does not extend in any direction from the cellar wall

more than twelve or fourteen feet, which would not be the case if it formed a part of a street. Search was made in every direction, especially on a line towards the present country road but without finding any indications of a further continuance of the pavement. 3. In the early history of the place when these pavements were constructed there were no roads in all this region except on a very small scale in the village here at the fort, and no pleasure carriages whatever, and of course no need of paved streets. 4. The partial pavement or flagging of the main street leading northeasterly from the fort was probably designed to facilitate the passage of heavy teams between the fort and the wharf for which there would be constant need.

Traveling in those days in this region was entirely by boat or on horseback, even down to the time when Phips's fort was destroyed in 1696; and though there were probably at the latter period a few roads leading from the fort to other places, as New Harbor and Round Pond and Broad Cove, as also to the Falls and to Damariscotta even, they were prepared only for the use of ox teams, and were but barely passable for these.

The cellar connected with these pavements has long been completely filled, so that the plow has passed over it as over other parts of the field, yet the walls are easily found, and imbedded in the earth in the cellar fragments of charred and rotten wood, and nails, and the remains of articles of domestic use have been found.

May not this pavement and other ruins found here, belong to an earlier period than we have supposed, and indicate the presence of civilized people before the advent of either the English or French? This inquiry naturally suggests itself, and has constantly been kept in mind during the explorations here, and elsewhere in this vicinity; and the reply must be very decidedly in the negative. The fragments of many articles of domestic use which have been found, in the opinion of competent judges, are not older than the beginning of the seventeenth century. Some copper coins were found at different times, many years ago, but unfortunately they have not been preserved, and we have not their nationalities or dates. A large copper coin found more recently, and now in the possession of R. H. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset, though so much corroded that the inscription and various characters upon it can not all be made out satisfactorily, is believed to be a Portuguese coin of not ancient date.

The fact that the pavement is covered to the depth of six to twelve inches with soil may be thought to indicate a more ancient origin than we are disposed to allow it, but it is to be noted that it is on low ground, and so situated as to receive any loose material that might be washed upon it by the rains.¹

Leaving this pavement and following the shore in a southeasterly direction towards Fish point, we pass the remains of several blacksmith shops, which too plainly indicate their character to be mistaken, and at length, at only a little distance find other remains the character of which is not so evident. They are mostly covered with green turf, but in digging a little beneath it, for a space of several square yards, we find in abundance fragments of clay tobacco pipes, and occasionally a whole pipe. The soil also appears unlike that in the vicinity, as if mixed with proper pipe clay; and it has been suggested that probably a manufactory of clay pipes once stood here. Other appearances which can not here be given in detail decidedly favor the suggestion.

Returning again to the site of the old fort, we find under the banks, a little distance from the round tower, at the western angle, and down near the water's edge, a remarkable structure, the design of which has as yet baffled all explanatory attempts by the antiquarians. It has the appearance of a well about seven feet in diameter, and nine or ten feet deep, with a wall of coarse red brick, made of a trapezoidal form, and evidently struck in a mould made for this special purpose. Probably they were made here, but, so far as we know, no remains of an ancient brick-kiln has ever been found in the neighborhood. The wall is not perfectly circular but slightly elliptical, having its major axis of about seven feet, the other being about six inches less. The brick wall rests on a smooth surface of solid rock, which at very high tides, may probably be covered with water. The brick were probably laid in clay, instead of lime mortar, but much of it has been washed out by the water. There are no stairs or steps or other indications of any means for persons to descend into it.

The structure is imbedded in the bank of loose gravel and sand, and when discovered was quite concealed by the native

¹ Though much has been said of the ancient voyages of the Northmen, and many efforts made to discover some traces of their works on the coast and islands of New England, it has hitherto been without any other than a negative result.

shrubby growing there. It was also entirely filled with the same sand and gravel that form the bank. The top of the wall when discovered, corresponded all around with the slanting surface of the bank, and was of course higher on one side than on the other, several courses of the brick on the lower side having fallen down to the beach below. The discovery of these fallen brick on the shore by a neighbor of Mr. Partridge led him to search for their origin, and eventually brought the whole thing to light. It should be added that the top of the higher part of the wall inclines inward a little, and seems to indicate that it may once have been arched over.

It is difficult to imagine what could have been the design of such a structure, in such a place. It is outside of the fort, and not very readily accessible from it; and probably never was capable of holding water. The suggestion has been made that it was used as a place of punishment, by solitary confinement, of unruly or disobedient soldiers; but if we adopt this view several puzzling questions at once suggest themselves in regard to it; and we are obliged to leave the intelligent reader to form his own opinion.

Besides the streets described above, there were probably others—and some have thought they were able to indicate their locality—but the writer chooses to confine himself to facts that have been determined with reasonable certainty. Some one, a few years ago, found on the peninsula the remains of forty-seven cellars, and at least seven blacksmith's forges; and probably there were many houses without cellars. Near the remains of the old wharf there appears to have been a very large cellar, on which (some one has suggested) perhaps stood the public store-house. Perhaps the custom-house of the Duke of York, stood on this very spot, as all foreign vessels, arriving on the coast, anywhere between the Kennebec and the St. Croix rivers—and even fishing-boats—were required to enter and clear at this port, of course paying the required duties and fees.¹

Some old cellars, apparently of ancient date, are found on the west side of the harbor, nearly opposite the fort; but half or three quarters of a mile further north—at a place frequently called Lewis's field, from the name of the present owner—are ruins of a deeply interesting, because of their somewhat myste-

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. 80.

rious character. The presumption of course is that the works were designed by the early settlers as means of defense against their enemies, but it is not so clear how they were constructed, or used. Was there a small fort there, or only a tower for observing the enemy, and also serving to protect the guard for a time, until help could be sent from the fort?

The ruins alluded to here are on a point of land a little elevated above the adjacent field, which projects so much into the river as to give a clear view upward to the falls and downward to the fort. Towards the north, the ridge, which lies nearly east and west, falls off quite abruptly, and for several rods presents something of the appearance of an artificial work; but probably this has been produced in modern times by the repeated passing of the plow along the hill-side. Just at the highest point, which is a little back from the edge of the bank, there is concealed under the soil, a perpendicular wall of stone very well faced, having the appearance of a cellar wall, or perhaps the foundations of a tower; but the whole is so much concealed by the earth and overgrowing weeds that it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Among the ruins some pieces of a kind of freestone are found, that were evidently brought from abroad, as the like is not produced in this region.

Both north and south of these ruins, are pavements of small stones, like those previously described, and concealed from the direct view only by the grassy turf that has grown over them. These pavements evidently were not for streets, but what purpose they served we know not. In one or two places they have the appearance of paved water courses leading down to the edge of the bank. Some have thought they found down under the bank indications that there may have been a subterranean passage, leading from the water's edge at high tide to the fortifications, or whatever it was, upon the point of the ridge already described.

Near this spot are many old cellars, that appear not to have been disturbed in modern times. From one of these the earth and rubbish were partly removed a few years ago, disclosing very good cellar walls, and bringing to light the remains of articles of domestic use and quite a number of clay tobacco pipes.

Near this spot some pieces of fossiliferous limestone are found lying loosely upon the surface, which evidently have been brought from abroad, but for what purpose can not now be known. The few fragments found would probably be called *calcareous tufa*, by the mineralogists.

At a little distance from the fortification (if such it was) but in the same field, in a low wet place, are the remains of a tannery, which, it is believed, dates back to the early settlement of the place. One or two of the ancient vats can yet be traced, and by using a short stick, some of the planks that formed the vats can be felt. A few years ago some pieces of leather well preserved were removed from one of them.

Mr. R. K. Sewall has suggested that a Spanish military or naval establishment may have been located here, which is not improbable considering the many Spanish fishing vessels employed on the coast at a very early period, but we need more evidence before accepting the view. He has in his possession two coins found in the vicinity, one Russian and the other a Portuguese coin of the time of John IV of Portugal (1640-'55).

The tide flows about a mile northeast from this point to the falls, so called, because of the water-power that occurs here. It was a place of great importance to the early inhabitants, for the reason that it afforded a good place for the erection of mills, and also because of its excellent shad and alewives fisheries, at the proper season of the year.

An object of special interest here is the ancient canal, or water course on the east side of the stream, still tolerably well preserved. It begins near the present road, and extends downward about twenty rods, curving considerably at places so as to follow along the bank at about the same level. It was probably about ten feet in width and six or eight in depth, but is somewhat less now; evidently it was constructed for the purpose of carrying water to the mills situated below. On the side next to the stream were several sidecuts to draw off the water to the mills situated below on the edge of the stream. Only a short and inexpensive draw was required, exactly in the place occupied by the present bridge, for the purpose of turning the water — as much of it as was needed — into the canal. Tradition informs us that when the ancestors of the present inhabitants came here, nearly a century and a half ago, large forest trees were found growing in the bed of the canal, and on its

banks, but no information has come to us concerning its origin or use, except what is afforded by the ruins themselves.¹ Considering all the circumstances of the early settlers here — their great distance from other settlements, and the constant demand upon them for bread by the numerous fishermen and sailors continually resorting here — and especially the need of sawed lumber for the erection of buildings — it is altogether probable that mills were erected here very early, perhaps as early as at any place in New England.²

A faint tradition prevails in the place that the field of Thomas Gyles, where he and his men were at work on the fatal August 2d, 1689, and where he and several of his men perished, was a few rods below this canal, on the same side of the river; and the fact that in some accounts of the attack by the Indians it is said that Thomas Gyles, jr., in making his escape, *forded* the river, and made his way down on the west side to the barbican, favors the tradition. But we know that Mr. Gyles owned quite a large tract of land on the *west* side of the stream while there is no evidence that he possessed any at the place mentioned on the *east* side. August 5th, 1686, he purchased of John Palmer, who acted in the name of Governor Dongan, a tract of two hundred acres, which is thus described: "Also, that Tract or Parcel of Upland being Two hundred acres situate lying and being within the Bounds of James Town afore^d, at the Head of a Certain River there called and known by y^e name of Pemaquid River on the West Side of the Great Falls of y^e s^t. River, &c."³ It is probable therefore that here was the field where the attack was made. It is to be noted also that John Gyles, in his description of the attack, and the escape of his brother Thomas, does not say that he either *forded* or in any way *crossed* the stream, but only that he "wonderfully escaped by land to the Barbican, a point of land on the west side of the river opposite the fort."

It is singular that nothing is said in history of any fortification at New Harbor; but it is plain from the remains found there that such a structure once existed. All that is to be found now consists of large blocks of granite, which are regularly laid

¹ H. Nelson Fossett.

² Much of the above concerning the ancient ruins of Pemaquid, has been taken from a paper by the author, contained in the *Memorial Volume of the Pop- ham Celebration*, Aug. 29th, 1862.

³ *York Records*, vol. xx, p. 253.

upon the surface of the ground, as if to form the foundation for a wooden structure upon it. The stones are laid in the form of a rectangle, at a place on the north side of the Harbor, about half way from the head to its mouth.

It would be exceedingly interesting if we could find means to determine the population and business of the place, at different periods of its history over which we have passed. We have seen that at the time of the first Indian war, when the inhabitants of several of the settlements had collected together on Damariscove island, there were in all about three hundred persons, of whom perhaps one-sixth, or fifty, belonged to Pemaquid; but probably there were many others not included in the count. Some escaped from the Kennebec and Sheepscott to other islands, and we know that Sir Wm. Phips, then a young man, took his father's large family and many of his neighbors directly to Boston, on a new vessel then just launched.

Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we estimate the whole population of all these settlements at this time at double the number collected on the island, or six hundred. Of these we may suppose one hundred belonged to Pemaquid and Muscongus.

The following estimate of the population at an earlier date confirms this view.

In 1672, the people of the various settlements in this region petitioned to be taken under the care and protection of Massachusetts, and the petition was signed by ninety-six names, eleven being of persons belonging to Pemaquid, fifteen to Damariscove, and eighteen to Monhegan, the rest belonging to other places. If we consider these as constituting what would now be called legal voters, as seems proper, a total population of about five hundred would be indicated; but as we know very well that the names of all persons, in any community, entitled to a voice in such matters can never be obtained at the same time, we may safely add to the above estimate a considerable percentage.¹

But Gyles, in his narrative,² says there were at the time when the place was destroyed by the Indians (1676), at New Harbor alone, "about twelve houses;" which, if we allow for each house a family of five persons, would indicate a population of sixty. Therefore considering this settlement and that at Mus-

¹ See *Will. Hist. Maine*, i, p. 447, and *Willis's Hist. Portland*, 2d ed., p. 187.

² *Drake's Tragedies of the Wilderness*, p. 77.

congruous as making a part of Pemaquid, we may safely conclude that the population driven off by the Indians from the territory of the present towns of Bristol and Bremen was not less than one hundred and may have been more nearly two hundred.

We have seen that, immediately after the destruction of Pemaquid, the agents of the Duke of York made their appearance here, and took possession in his name. They came with a strong force, and immediately began the construction of a fort, which, however, we know was only an earth-work surmounted by a stockade. But it was so strong as to command decidedly the respect of the natives, and Pemaquid very soon was found to be a place of safety, where all parties could meet, without fear of molestation, or injury to person or property. As a natural result, a brisk trade soon sprang up, making the place a great business centre for several hundred miles of the coast.

All this was foreseen by the duke's government, and hence the very stringent rules of trade and general intercourse with the natives heretofore noticed (*ante* p. 141). To secure a good revenue for the government the general prosperity of the community must be promoted, and especially must collisions with the natives be avoided.

Absurd as some of their regulations of trade were several of them directly favored Pemaquid, especially that making it the only port of entry for the whole coast between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, even every fisherman on the coast being obliged, before throwing a line, to enter at the custom house here and pay a stipulated fee.

With the increase of business the village (or city) of Jamestown also rapidly increased; and very probably it was during this period of its history, while a royal province, that it attained its highest prosperity. A writer in vol. II, p. 240, of the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, supposes the population near the close of this period may have been eight hundred, but probably this is too high an estimate, unless we include some of the neighboring settlements. The same writer says that when the place was attacked by the French and Indians, all the people took refuge within the fort, and by the terms of the capitulation were again set at liberty. But if there were within the walls of the fort as many people as this (which is not probable) there was good reason why Chubb should surrender as he

did, and the odium cast upon him for that act was quite undeserved.

In a petition of the inhabitants to Governor Dongan in 1683, it is said (ante, p. 147) "the most part of the inhabitants of the place did come from New York at the subduing of this country," but we know also that many of the old settlers returned.

Much of the business of the settlements on the coast at this period was done by *bumboats*, as they were called, which were small sloops running from port to port on the coast, and carrying goods to be retailed both to the Indians and the English, as guns, ammunition, articles of clothing, &c. The people complained, that, when these traders were obliged to pay a duty to government, they made it a pretense for charging their customers a still larger percentage, as very probably was the fact.

But larger ships were not unfrequently seen in the harbor; between the years 1681 and 1685 inclusive, nine *passes*¹—clearances we should call them—were granted at the custom house in New York alone to vessels bound for this place; but these probably constituted only a small part of those actually entering here.

Two vessels, one of them a sloop of thirty-five tons burthen, were built at Pemaquid previous to the destruction of fort William Henry in 1696; and very probably there may have been others of which no record has been preserved. The one first to be mentioned was built by private parties but with the expectation apparently that she was to become the property of the government, but some misunderstanding occurred, and it is not known whether the transfer was ever actually made.

The other was a sloop of thirty-five tons, and was built here in 1695, as shown by the following entry found in the *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. VII, p. 136. "Sloop, James and Thomas, Capt. James Bevan, a quaker affirmed—sloop of thirty-five tons burthen, built at Pemaquid in 1695. Capt. John Reed of Antigua and himself owners. Registered at Boston, Nov. 19, 1698."

The particular location of only a very few of the early families can now be determined. For obvious reasons most or all of them had their residences directly on the harbors, and the majority of them probably near the fort, to which they could readily flee in case of special danger. We

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v, p. 135, 136.

learn from the petition of John Gyles (p. 185), that at the time of Governor Andros's visit in 1688, Henry Hedger and Dennis Higiman had their residences on the west bank of the Pemaquid river, and very probably Grace Higiman, previously mentioned (p. 175), belonged to the family of the latter.

When the fort was destroyed in 1696, it was evidently the general expectation that it would soon be rebuilt; but it was found in a few years that in this they were to be disappointed; and in 1700 the general court of Massachusetts appointed a committee to receive and register all claims to lands in this region from which the owners had been driven during the Indian wars. From this time to the year 1720, many entries were made; and the book containing them, entitled *Eastern Claims*, is still preserved in the secretary's office at Boston. From this book most of the following extracts and minutes have been made, pertaining to lands at Pemaquid and vicinity. They make known the names of many of the persons having possessions here, and in most cases probably we may believe the persons lived upon the lands they claimed.

We learn from them also that the place (or city, as sometimes called), was not limited to the small peninsula of Pemaquid, but included a much larger area.

As early as 1686, the part of Jamestown near the fort was sometimes called *Newtown*, while some other part which has not been determined was called *Oldtown*. This appears from the following extract from a deed contained in the old York records, vol. 20, p. 253. The deed is from John Palmer, Esq., in the name of Governor Dongan, to Thomas Gyles of Jamestown. It is for "all that Certain Messuage or Lott or Tufft of Ground situate and being on Pemaquid Point where the Fort Charles standeth in that part of Jamestown afore^{sd}. called by the name of *Newtown* where the s^d. Thomas Gyles now dwelleth in Breadth fronting on the Street Three Pole nine and a Half Feet and in the Rear the Like — in Length on both sides Seven Pole Thirteen Foot and Half and also one other Lot or Tufft of Ground situate and being at Pemaquid Point afore^{sd}. in that Part of Jamestown afore^{sd}. called by the Name of *Old Town* &c.¹

¹ In the same document mention is made of a meadow owned by Dennis Higiman, who lived on the west bank of Pemaquid harbor or river.

Cornelius Darling in right of Mary Frebruy his wife claims a house lot near Pemaquid fort, & a hundred acres of upland, & twenty acres meadow on the western side of Pemaquid River, & the 5th lot from the Falls by a deed J. Palmer Com. by Coll. Dungan Instr. dated 13th Sep. 1686, in James Town.

Thomas Warden, late of New Harbor, claims a certain Tract or Parcel. of upland lying and being on the westward side of a Cove called by the name of Long Cove, containing one hundred acres, being in Front sixty-four Poles, & in length two hundred & sixty Poles Northwest from a stake at the water side into the woods to an Oak Tree marked butted & bounded S. Southeasterly next to the Lott of Arthur Neale Northerly to the Land of William Case at the east end of the Cove, at the west end the Woods. And also a certain Tract or Parcels of Land lying and being within the bounds of Jamestown on the Land of New Harbor containing sixty acres and one hundred Poles, beginning at a certain stake by the highway and is the westward bounds of George Slater, from thence northerly three hundred Poles to a black Oak marked on four sides from thence South three hundred Poles to a stake along the highway, from thence east to the place where began. Also there is a highway left which is to run through along this lott from the head of the Cove called Long Cove. Also Twenty acres of meadow, one acre whereof laid out at Green Meadow, the other nineteen acres to be laid out where it can be found most convenient &c. conveyed to the said Thomas Warden his heirs &c. as per patent from under Coll. Dungan (Dongan) dated Sep. 13, 1686, & recorded the same day by J. West, Dept. Sec'y Item Recorded in the Records of the County of Pemaquid, July 4, 1687 pr. Jn^o. Giles, Clerk.

Tryall Newberry, in behalf of heirs of John Starkey, claims one hundred & four acres of Land within the bounds of James Town upon Pemaquid Neck, beginning at a certain run by the north of Murren's House, with twenty acres of Meadow, by patent under Gov. Dungan to Richard Murren dated 13, 7^{ber} 1686, to pay one bushel merchantable wheat on every 25 of March.

Further in like manner claims one hundred & four acres more of upland & 20 acres of meadow lying next to Richard Murren's said meadow, to be laid out where most convenient, by patent under Gov. Dungan to Nicholas Denning, dated 7^{ber} 17, 1686.

Jn^o. Butler claims land delivered by Execution, belonging to George Buckland, s^d. Land lying near Pemaquid, viz. 100 acres of Ball Island, Two Farms lying between Damariscotty and Pemaquid back River, fronting to a thoroughfair which runs between Damariscotty River & Pemaquid, & 5 acres marsh on the west side Damaris Cove, &c.

Mr. John Coleman, in behalf of himself & Charles Hobby, representing the heirs of Mr. William Hobby, dec^d. Thomas Hutchinson Esq for the heirs of Thos. Kelland claims the Residue of the Term of Lease of

one^{ne} parcell of Ground and Land situate lying and being near the River called by the name of Muscoukus, to the valuation of four hundred acres Land seat (situate) at a place commonly called Round Pond, limited within the bounds following, viz : on small River lying on the North or North East side thereof & extending to the edge or bounds of a parcell of Land in Possession of Thomas Coole of Pemaquid former [ly] sold by Thos. Eldridge [Elbridge ?] to John Dollen of Mount Hegon (Monhegon) as per an instrument under hand and seal of sd. Thomas Eldridge dated August 1699 and by sd. John Dollen sold and conveyed to Mr. Jno. Foster & Wm. Hobby of Boston.

Ruth Berry, formerly Sergeant, formerly of New Harbor, in behalf of herself & children, claims a certain Tract or Parcell of upland lying in the bounds of James Town, on the Land of New Harbor, at a certain Place called Long Cove, containing one hundred acres, whereof fifty acres lyeth along the gully by the said New Harbor Plains, beginning at the Black Oak Tree marked on four sides by said Gully, from thence North to John Hoskins bounds, from thence west to Robt. Lally's bounds, from thence South to a Black Oak marked on four sides, from thence East to place where began. Remainder fifty acres is lying at Long Cove, beginning at a certain Black Oak Tree marked on four sides, & is the North bounds of Thos. Warden, from thence North thirty-two Poles to Wm. Case's South bounds, from thence West two hundred & sixty Poles along sd. Case's line, from thence South Thirty-two Poles to Thos. Warden's bounds, from thence East two hundred and sixty Poles to place where began. Also twenty acres of Meadow to be laid out, Two whereof is laid out, which Barton by the said Wm. Case. The remainder eighteen acres to be laid out where most convenient &c. said Land & Premises granted & conveyed to the claimers former husband Thomas Sergeant of New Harbor decd. his heirs &c. by a Patent or Conveyance from & under Col. Dungan, dated Sept. 13, 1686. Recorded same Day by Jno. West D. Secy. It. ent. & recorded in the Records of Pemaquid, July 4, 1687, page 16, pr. Jno. Giles, Cler.

Same in behalf of herself & sister, Mary Warden's children, claims a certain Tract or Parcell of Land, containing one hundred acres lying & being in the bounds of James Town in the county of Cornwall, on the East side of Long Cove, being the point running from said Cove over to the sea-side up North-East to a marked Tree, at the head of the Swamp near the Path which leads from said Cove head into Brown Cove adjoining to the upland of John Haskins on the Southerly side of the same. Also fifty acres more of upland at New Harbor in abovesaid County, & one hundred Poles beginning at a certain Stake by the Highway, & is the Westward bound of Thos. Warden, from thence Northerly three hundred Poles to an Oak Tree marked on four sides, from thence West twenty-

seven Poles to a black Oak marked on four sides, from thence South three hundred Pole to a Stake by the highway, from thence east to the place where began. Also fifty acres of upland more lying and being the South side of New Harbor Cove in abovesaid County, bounded by Richard Murrin's East line, being thirty-two Pole in front and Rear, & Two hundred & sixty Poles deep which is North & South with twenty acres of Meadow, Two acres & a half thereof being laid out already the one in a Meadow known by the name of Long Cove Meadow, being the seventh Lott bounded on the Northerly side with Wm. Case & on the Southerly side Arthur Neale, & to the West end the upland on the South side of Anis Smith staking place, the other acre & a half at witch Barton on the Westward side on the left hand.¹ The remainder of the said Twenty acres of Meadow being seventeen acres & a half is to be laid out where most convenient not already laid out, s^d. Tract & Parcell of Land & Meadow granted & conveyed to the claimer's father, Francis Johnson of s^d. New Harbor Dec^d., by Patent under & from Coll. Dungan dated Sept. 13, 1686 Signed by J. Palmer J. West D. Secy.

Jn^o. Leverett Esq., claims as heir to Tho^s. Leverett, dec^d. all the Lands within and between Muscongus Towards the South or South West a Straight Line ten Leagues to the main land & Continent towards the great sea called the South Sea, & the utmost Limits of the space of Ten Leagues on the North & North East of a River called Penobscott towards the North & North East & the Great Sea called the Western Ocean towards the East and a direct Line extending from the most westward part & Point of the s^d. Straight Line which extends from Muscongus aforesaid toward the South Sea to the uttermost Limits of the s^d. Ten Leagues on the North side of the River of Penobscott towards the West with all Islands within the space of three miles & premises granted by Patent from the Earl of Warwick, To Jn^o. Beauchamp & Tho^s. Leverett, bearing date 13 March, 1629. [Claim afterwards called the Waldo Claim or Patent, and at a later period was represented by Gen. Henry Knox.]

Richard Pearse of Marblehead, son of Richard Pearce of Remobscose, carpenter, alias, Misconcus, claims several lands near adjoining unto Round Pond falls, by the name of Remobscous (purchased of Capt. John Somerset) Trenched away five miles Eastward, four miles Northwest so back to Pemaquid River, uplands & meadows, Islands & Isletts containing to Twelve miles.

Deed from John Sumersett, Sagamore, Easy Gale, Sagamore, & Dick Swacht, Sagamore. Possession given in formall manner by turf & twig in presence of John Brown & Richard Shoote. Deed dated 9th January 1641. "Strengthened by oaths of Morrice Champrise & John Curtiss, Sr. Nov. 26, 1717, before John Legg, Just. Peace. Recorded in Records of Pemaquid.

¹ This is not very intelligible.

Morrice Chamles now of Marblehead formerly of Sumersett Island at the eastward. Taylor, claims uplands & meadows lying on the westward side of Musconcos River butted and bounded viz, beginning on the North-east side of a marsh in the Broad Bay called by the name of Humphrey Farrell's marsh two miles into the woods upon a west Line this being the Southeast bounds, and from the foresaid marsh or Farrell's marsh round the great Bay & so up along Musconcos River side to a falls or fresh River commonly called & known by the name of Madahomack Falls from said Falls two miles upon a west Line into the Woods, this being the Northward bounds, Musconcos River & the Broad Bay being the East Bounds, with all meadows &c &c. Deed by Indian Sagamore Arrowagone-tt dated 9th Jan'y, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$. Possession given in presence of Silvanus Davis & John Pearse.

Mr. James Pitts of Boston claims a piece of Land at the eastern Parts of New England, situate lying & being in a Place called by the Indians Remobseus, but by the English, Greenland, near unto the Ponds called Round Pond's Falls, viz one thousand acres, butted and bounded easterly by the River called Remobseus or Musconcos River, westerly keeping the breadth of three quarters of a mile till it makes sd. one thousand acres, also Two hundred acres more, viz, one lot equal with those who are going to settle a new Township in sd. Remobseus Falls &c &c &c. purchased of Richard Pearse of Marblehead, Mariner. Deed dated April 17, 1718, & acknowledged same day before Sam'l Checkley, Jus. Peace.

Richard Pearse of Remobseus, alias, Misconcos in the Eastern Parts of New England, Fisherman, claims a tract of land at Greenland, beginning at the Gripes, from thence to a Pine Tree being the Northernmost bounds in the Broad Bay & from Musconcos River four miles back — which tract was given to him the sd. Richard Pearse by one Wm. England of Remobseus by deed dated May 13, 1663.

Richard Pearse Sen^r. of Marblehead, "Fisherman or Coaster" gives power of attorney to his wife Mary Pearse, Nov. 26th 1717, being the 4th year of the Reign of George, King of Great Britain, France, & Ireland. Entered June 19, 1719 by "Sam^l. Phipps, Clk. of Com. of Eastern Claims."

Richard Patishall claims a Stage bought of Charles Harris on Monhegan, with Privilege of Flakes, and the Swamp on said Island. Deed dated, August 3, 1688.

Also Damariscove Island granted to him by Patent from Col. Dungan, about 200 acres, and also Wood Island.

George Jeffrey of Portsmouth, merchant, claims Hippocras Island lying on the Eastern side of Kennebec River, near Damaris Cove, which Island was granted by Henry Joslin (Joscelyn) Esq. to Wm. Phillips dece^d, and by George Snell and wife, relict and administrator of s^d Wm. Phillips, March 20, 1691. Recorded July 24th, 1699.

Robert Patishall, in behalf of himself and heirs of Richard Patishall claims a certain Island called Seguin, etc. purchased by Richard Patishall of certain (unnamable) Indians, Aug. 2d, 1685.

Margaret Hilton, formerly Stilson, wife of Wm. Hilton, now living at Remobseus, alias Misconcus, in the Eastern Parts of New England, in behalf of himself and brother, James Stilson, living in New Hampshire * * being the only children of Margaret Pittman, now of Marblehead, claim lands at New Harbor and Muscongus.

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY RESIDENTS OF PEMAQUID AND THEIR FAMILIES.

John Brown and his Family — Richard Pearce and his Family — Alexander Gould and his Family — James Stilson and his Family — Thomas and Margaret (Gould) [Stilson] Pittman — William Hilton and his Family.

Many interesting facts in the history of the very early inhabitants of Pemaquid have already been given; but some more detailed account of them may be expected. Only a few of the many that became residents here previous to the first Indian war have even left their names in history, and of those who acted more prominent parts, and became better known, as a general thing, only a few facts can now be ascertained. Nearly all were men of humble origin, and only moderate pretentions, but some of them in times of great danger and difficulty conducted themselves, and the public interests committed to them with a courage and skill worthy of statesmen and heroes.

John Brown, (son of Richard B.) was born in Barton Regis, Gloucester, England, about....., married Margaret Hayward, daughter of Francis Hayward of Bristol, England, came to this country with his family probably one or two years previous to July, 1625. As to the circumstances of his leaving the old country, and taking up his residence here we know absolutely nothing. In the affidavit on a preceeding page (54) he is styled "mason," but at that time men of this useful occupation were not much in demand in this region. He was a man of much

enterprise, and of a kindly, generous spirit, but of little education or culture.

July 15th 1625, he purchased a large tract of land at Pemaquid of two Indian sagamores for "fifty skins" (*ante* p. 54). He had his residence at New Harbor, and is therefore frequently spoken of as "of New Harbor."

In 1639, he purchased lands of the Indians at Nequassett, (Woolwich) and removed there with his family. In 1646, he sold this land to Edward Bateman, styling himself as "late of Nequassett, now of Pemaquid." In 1641, he witnessed a deed of land, apparently lying between Round Pond and the Pemaquid river and Ponds, from the Indian chief, *Samoset*¹ and two others, *Easey Gale* and *Dick Swalks*, to Richard Pearce, his son-in-law, the tract being part of the same included within the boundaries described in his own deed from *Samoset* and *Unongoit*, dated July 15th, 1625, as before mentioned.

In 1654, he lived at Damariscotta, on the east side of the river, a little below the "salt water falls," or the present bridge, there being there at the time only three other families. Brown's cove a little further south (so called in the act incorporating the town of Bristol), is believed to have received this name from him.

Aug. 8th, 1660, by deed of gift he conveyed to Sander (or Alexander) Gould, his son-in-law, and his wife and their heirs forever a tract of land eight miles square at Broad cove, and extending northward and westward. Its location is easily understood by considering that it had its southeast corner at a pine tree on Broad cove. It is often designated as the "eight-mile-square tract." He probably died about 1671.² The pine tree (supposed to be the same) is still remembered by some of the old people of the place. It was blown down early in the present century. After Brown's death his widow returned to New Harbor, and built a house there. Nothing more is known of her.

John Brown¹ and wife Margaret had several children, whose

¹ The name in this deed is written Summersett. This is the deed of which the curious explanation was afterwards given, as described on page 51. Many of the facts of Brown's history are there also given, but are repeated for the purpose of bringing them together.—*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* XIII, p. 365.

² According to a deposition of Benj. Prescott Esq. of Danvers, he lived the last year or two of his life with his son, John Brown jr., in Boston, but it is doubtful. *Lincoln Report of 1811.*—*Files Maine Hist. Society.*

names have come down to us, as given below, and perhaps others. Nothing is known of their relative ages. I. John,¹ born in 1636, probably at Pemaquid, or New Harbor, lived with his father until he was 30 years of age. He married Elizabeth — and settled at Damariscotta, and it is believed lived there until driven off, with all the other inhabitants, at the beginning of the first Indian war in 1676. In 1674, two years before the war, he witnessed the Indian deed¹ of lands in that region to Walter Phillips, one of his neighbors. After the war it is believed that he returned either to Pemaquid or Damariscotta and resided there some time, but was obliged to flee again by the continued Indian wars.

He seems to have lived sometimes in Gloucester, and at others in Framingham, and is therefore often spoken of as "of Framingham," but sometimes "of Gloucester."

The old records of York county [vol. x, p. 264] contain a deed of his to Nathaniel Winslow, "Physitian," of land at Falmouth. It is dated April 9th, 1719, and he is said to be "of Gloucester." In this deed both himself and wife sign by mark.

December 7th, 1720, by deed of gift he conveyed to his son, "John Brown of Saco, alias of Biddeford," all his right, title and interest whatever, which he might have to lands at New Harbor, Damariscotta, etc. He signed the deed by mark B., and his wife also by mark. In this deed he is styled "of Framingham." The deed appears to convey the whole tract purchased of the Indians, no reference being made to the claims of his sisters, mentioned above, or their heirs. Had he purchased these claims? We have no evidence of any such conveyance.

Feb. 9th, 1729, he gave a deposition concerning affairs at Pemaquid and New Harbor in his youth, styling himself "of Framingham," and giving his age as "about 85 years." This fixes the date of his birth at about 1636, as given above. He died before 1734, leaving an only son, John Brown,³ of whom we shall have occasion to speak very soon.

Margaret,² born probably at Pemaquid or New Harbor, but at what date is not known. She married Alexander (called also Sander) Gould, and lived on Museongus (or Lond's) Island, which was given to herself and husband by her father, as they

¹ The original deed, with Brown's mark, B. and the scrawl of the old Indian, is still preserved in the secretary's office in Boston. It is in a very dilapidated condition, but most of it perfectly legible.

always claimed; but no deed of the kind has been found. Nothing is known of Gould's origin and very little of his history. He was living in 1667, when he witnessed a deed of lands at Muscongus from Richard Fulford to Humphrey Horrel or Harrel.¹ The family lived mostly upon Muscongus island, though one of their children is said to have been born at New Harbor. It is incidentally mentioned in an old document that his widow lived on the island many years after his death, which may imply that he died at a comparatively early age.

3. Elizabeth,² born at....., married Richard Pearce (Peirce, Pierce, Pearse) and lived at Muscongus. It is not known when or where she died.

4. Mary,² (or Emma?¹) b. at..... and died..... She married Nicholas Deming (Demming) and removed from the place, probably to Falmouth or Saco. (Another account says that she married John Coats.)

John Brown² and wife Elizabeth had but one child also named John.³

John³ who was born in 1666, probably at Damariscotta. He married Sarah.....? as we learn by a deed recorded in the *York Records*, vol. xv, page 239. In this document he is said to be "of Biddeford" where it is known he long resided. His

John Brown

[Autograph copied from a deed to land at New Harbor, given to Joseph Mors of Muscongus, July 12, 1735.]

wife signed the deed by mark.² It is believed they never had any children.

The deed was for "one thousand acres of land situated near Pemaquid Fort and is part of that Tract of Land which my grandfather bought of Capt. John Somerset and Unongoit Indian Sagamores Anno 1625, * * * and is Bounded at the lower End upon Lots that is laid [out] for a Township at New Harbor belonging to the s^d Tract in my Westerly Division Tutching the whole of the lower End of the Lots laid out for a Township as before s^d, and so moving Back into the Country the

¹ Files of Maine Hist. Society.

² This is the only evidence we have of his having been married, but it is conclusive. Not another allusion to her has been found by the writer in all his researches.

whole Breadth of the s^d Westerly Division until the Thousand acres be fully made up, and Completed." The deed was given to Epes Sergeant of Gloucester, and is dated Aug. 22d, 1729.

Probably he is the individual by this name who participated in 1728, in the "allotment of town lands" in Biddeford, as described by Folsom.¹

Immediately after receiving this from his father, February 172₁, he caused an entry of the claim to be recorded in the book of Eastern Claims. Subsequently, in 1729, he caused a survey to be made of the whole Brown tract, as described in the Indian deed of 1625, by one Bachelder. Probably also a division of the property was at the same time agreed to by himself and the other heirs, as this is implied occasionally in the language used in the conveyances executed by several of the heirs.

July 1734, he gave to several of the heirs of Richard Pearce a quit-claim deed of lands at Round Pond, and subsequently (Dec. 7th, 1735) another deed to Wm. Vaughan of the whole Brown claim without exception or reservation. Other deeds of his are on record, but do not require to be further noticed. He was living at Biddeford in 1734, but subsequently removed to Muscongus, and died in the year 1746, as appears by the following deposition of Sarah Elwell.

Deposition of Sarah Elwell of Cape Elizabeth, widow, aged about 57 years, formerly lived at New Harbor, and knew John Brown, grandson of the first of the name. He lived to be near 70 years of age, and was drowned at Broadbay, about 17 or 18 miles from New Harbor, about 20 years ago. Understood that s^d Brown had [sold] the interest he had in the purchase of his grandfather to one Wm. Vaughan. Signed by mark.

Falmouth, June 27th, 1766.²

There is some difficulty here. In an affidavit on record in the *York County Record of Deeds*, given Oct. 21st, 1730, he stated that his age was 64, by which it would appear that he was born in 1666; but if this is correct, his age in 1746, would be 80. There is a discrepancy of 10 years.

Richard Pearce (Pearse, Peirce,) son of John Peirce of Lon-

¹ *Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, p., 207. John Brown's garrison at Saco falls is mentioned in this work (pages 218 and 219) but it is not known whether the same man is meant.

² Files Maine Hist. Society.

don, Eng., came early to this place, perhaps at the same time with John Brown, whose daughter, Elizabeth, he married. It has been conjectured that the marriage was at least contracted before they came to this country, but it is only conjecture.

Not much is known of Pearce except that he resided at Muscongus,¹ and had a large family. The names of nine children of his have been preserved, as given below.

1. Richard² of whom nothing further is known.
2. William² do do
3. Joseph² do do
4. Elizabeth², who married Richard Fulworth (or Fulford :)
5. George².
6. Margaret², who married Nathaniel Ward.
7. Francis² (or Frances²) who m.? They had an only child, a daughter, named Elizabeth. This d. married Edward Clarke at Gloucester, Nov. 24th, 1718. Oct. 17th, 1729, Clarke and wife gave a quit-claim deed of one half of their "right, title and interest" in the John Brown Tract, as sole heirs to Frances (or Francis) Pearce late of Muscongus, the claim of the latter being for "one ninth part of one quarter."

John Brown¹ left four children, each of whom would inherit one quarter of his estate, and Francis (or Frances) Pearce, one of the nine children of Elizabeth (Brown) Pearce, would of course, if all were living, be entitled to just the part mentioned, "one ninth of one quarter."— *York Rec.* vol. 17, p. 220.

8. Sarah² who m. Eleaser Stockwell.

9. Mary² who m. Nathaniel Hamlin.²

Many isolated facts connected with one or another of Richard Pearce's descendants are known, and may hereafter serve a good purpose, if a history of the family should be attempted.

¹ Under this name the whole territory from Round Pond up to Medomac falls (Waldoboro') was often included.

² This account of the children of Richard Pearce¹ is derived chiefly from a statement of Joseph Pearce, of Boston, dated Dec. 16th, 1812, and addressed to Messrs. Smith, Woodward and Howell, Commissioners for settling the disputes as to land titles in this region. The author was a descendant of Richard Pearce¹, but we know not in what line. The order in which the names appear is not to be understood as necessarily indicating their relative ages. Some circumstances indicate considerable doubt whether it is entirely reliable. The statement of Joseph Pearce referred to, is contained in the Files of the Maine Hist. Society.

John Pearce of Manchester gave a deposition in 1734, being then ninety years. Was born at Pemaquid about 1644:—when about ten years of age was at the house of John Brown¹, who then lived at Damariscotta. In another deposition given in 1735, calls himself ninety-one years of age. Knew Wm. Cox, who lived at Cox's cove, and owned a farm bounded southwesterly on land of one Cole, northerly on land of John Brown, easterly on land of one Philips, westerly by a brook.

As no one of Richard Pearce's sons was named John, it is clear that this must have been his grandson; thus, supposing the father of the latter to have been only 20 years old when his son was born, we are carried back to the year 1624 as the time of his birth. This was one year at least before they are known to have been at Pemaquid or Muscongus, and indicates that Richard Pearce and Elizabeth Brown were married before their emigration to this country, as heretofore intimated.

Richard Pearce of Marblehead, mariner, in 1718, gave a deed to Philip Damuresque of Boston, of 1000 acres of land "at a place called by the Indians Remobseus, but by the English, Greenland, near to the pond called Round pond falls." Himself and wife, Mary, signed by mark.

Two years later, Mary, wife of "Richard Pearce, of Muscongus, alias Marytown," acting as his attorney, gave deed to same of a very large tract of land "lying on the back or in the Rear of Greenland, containing by estimation six miles, more or less," describing boundaries at considerable length.

At the same time she gave to the same man a deed of "all that stream of water, called the Mill Stream in Smelt Cove, which empties itself into the middle of Misconkus, alias Marytown," one condition being that he should erect there a saw-mill.

Soon after the building of the fort, by Dunbar, and a feeling of security began to prevail, sales of land here were frequent, and the same Richard Pearce, styling himself now "of Marblehead," gave deeds of many lots here and in the vicinity, which need not be noticed further.

Was this Richard Pearce a son or grandson of the first Richard? No means have been found to determine this question; but it seems altogether probable that he was a grandson.

Others of the family, as Joseph Pearce of Plymouth, and John Pearce of Rochester, gave deeds about this time (1731—

1735) of all their right and title "to lands in this region, as heirs of Richard Pearce and John Brown. In some of them reference is made to a former division of the original claim among the heirs, probably that made under John Brown³ in 1729, before referred to. In some of them also reference is made to "Lots laid out for a Township," of which we have no other knowledge.

The claim made for Richard Pearce and his descendants, in the statement of Mr. Wells, (*ante* p. 49, 50) of the special friendship of the Indians, etc., and that they were actually in possession of the property here, "more than a hundred years," and by one member of the Pearce family, that they remained in peaceful possession of the property for a period of 109 years, appears to be without foundation. Whatever may have been the relation between Richard Pearce¹ himself and the Indians, there is no evidence that his descendants were treated by them differently from others.

Alexander (often familiarly called Sander) Gould and Margaret (Brown) Gould lived on Muscongus island, or occasionally for limited periods, at New Harbor. Of Gould's origin we have no information whatever, or of the time of his death. Some circumstances indicate that he died comparatively young. Alexander Gould and wife had three daughters, Margaret, born about 1660, Mary and Elizabeth.

Margaret married, 1st James Stilson of New Harbor, and, 2d Thomas Pittman of Marblehead. Nothing is known of Stilson's history previous to his marriage; after his marriage he settled with his family at Muscongus (or Broad Cove) and three children were born to them, James jr., Margaret, and ——?

Before proceeding further it will be important to have before us the two following affidavits, from which most of our information of this and several other families is derived. They are believed to be entirely reliable.

The first is from Mrs. Margaret (Gould) [Stilson] Pittman, just named. The second is by Hannah Teuxbury, a great granddaughter of the preceding.

"The deponent, Margaret Pittman of Marblehead, aged about 73 years, says that she was born at New Harbor, and lived there until they, with others, were driven off by the Indians. She well remembers her grandfather, John Brown, and she has often heard that her grandfather Brown gave her father, Alexander Gould, Muscongus island by a written deed as a part of

his estate and her portion; her mother often told her that s^d island was given by her father, John Brown to her husband, Alexander Gould and to his heirs, and to her, the s^d Margaret. And the s^d Gould lived on s^d island, as his own estate, and his wife after his decease many years. Taken at Salem, Oct. 24, 1733." (Signed by mark.)

Deposition of Hannah Tenabury of Manchester [Mass.] aged 71 years, taken Sept. 9, 1807.

Wm. Hilton, the elder and Margaret his wife, who lived at Muscongus, had nine children, whose names were Elizabeth, Stilson, Joshua, William, Benjamin, Samuel, Amos, Molly, and Margaret, who were all born before they were driven off by the Indians. Deponent's mother was 63 years old when she died, and she has been dead now (1807) 40 years, and she was 14 years old when the Hiltons aforesaid were driven off by the Indians, and came to Manchester. Wm. Hilton, the elder d. in 1723, aged 44 years.

Stilson Hilton, the eldest son, had 6 children, viz., Stilson 2d, Betty, Thomas, Hannah, the deponent, Amos and Samuel. Elizabeth Hilton, daughter of Wm. H., the elder, m. John Knowlton, and afterwards a man named Farnham. Joshua II., son of Wm. the elder, had only one child, Wm., who d. without issue. Wm. H., the son who was killed by the Indians, son of Wm. the elder (some years after the old man's death) moved down into the eastern parts, to reside there on his father's lands, and had several children. Richard, who was shot by the Indians at the same time John and his father were killed, she has been acquainted with and understands he is still alive. Benjamin Hilton, son of William the elder, was killed in the service of government; he had 4 children. Amos Hilton, son of William the elder, was killed by the Indians; he had 2 children. * * *

Old Margaret Hilton, deponent's grandmother, died at Manchester, in the fall, 44 years ago, aged 84 years. Has often heard her tell that when about 8 or 9 years old she was with her father, James Stilson, in a Canoe, going across some waters at Muscongus, when the Indians fired upon them, and killed her father, then took a younger sister, a sucking baby, from her mother's breast and burnt it on the fire, and carried s^d. Margaret, the daughter, and her mother into captivity, and sold them to the French in Canada, where Margaret, the daughter, was detained 12 years, and then being released she returned home and married Wm. Hilton, the deponent's grandfather. Old Margaret, her mother, got away some years before her and returned home. She had married one Thomas Pittman, and the depo-

neat also remembers their great grandmother Pittman, who lived to a very great age.¹

HANNAH TEEXBURY.

Taking the dates and ages as given in these affidavits, and making the proper calculations we find that Margaret (Gould) [Stilson] Pittman (grand-daughter of John Brown¹) was born in 1660, being 73 years old in 1733. The attack of the Indians when her husband (James Stilson¹) and the infant daughter were killed, was in 1688 or 1689; the latter, it will be recollected, being the year in which the fort and settlement of Pemaquid, were destroyed. Mrs. Stilson (afterward Pittman) and daughter Margaret, were taken to Canada and sold to the French, but the name of James Stilson jr., then a boy, is not mentioned in the same connection, though it is very certain that he was taken to Canada at the same time.

Mrs. Stilson, with twenty-one others, was ransomed at Quebec, October, 1695, by Matthew Cary, having been in captivity about 6 years, but her daughter and probably her son were detained 6 years longer. By what means they obtained their freedom is not known. At the time when Mrs. Stilson was ransomed there remained in captivity 42 persons, and among them James Stilson and John Stephens, two boys from Pemaquid, and one girl, Mary (Margaret?) Stilson of the same place.²

The boy, John Stephens, is said to have belonged to Pemaquid, but we know nothing more of him. Margaret Stilson², (for evidently this is the person meant, the name Mary, having been used by mistake) remained in Canada 12 years, by which, it appears she was restored to her friends in 1700 or 1701. Very probably her brother, James Stilson², returned from his long captivity at the same time.

Margaret (Gould) Stilson, widow of James Stilson¹, after her return from Canada, married Thomas Pittman, as we have seen; and besides this deposition of hers, several others are known, all of them pertaining to the early history of Pemaquid and vicinity, and persons living there. In one of them she speaks

¹ These documents are contained in the valuable files of the Maine Hist. Society. They have never before been printed. It was Wm. (son of Wm.) that was killed by the Indians and not John, as Mrs. T. supposes. See further on.

² *New Eng. Gen. and Hist. Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 87. For lists of these names we are indebted to the research of that careful and industrious Antiquarian, Frederick Kidder, Esq., of Boston. The name of James Stilson, is erroneously printed Stilton.

of having often attended public worship at Pennaquid fort, coming there for the purpose from Muscoungus Island, where the family lived.

It is not known where Pittman was born, nor at what time he died, but he was living in 1720. Nor is it known when Mrs. Pittman died; but she lived to a very great age. Her great granddaughter, Mrs. Teuxbury, who was born in 1736, remembered to have seen her. It is believed that she never had her residence here after her return from Canada, and marriage with Pittman.

Nothing is known of the two other daughters of Gould, sisters of Mrs. Pittman.

James Stilson² settled at Newcastle, New Hampshire, where he was living in 1733. Little more is known of him.

The above depositions have afforded very essential aid, in preparing some of the preceding statements; but we shall be still more dependant upon them for information concerning another of the families early settled here, that of Wm. Hilton.

Wm. Hilton was born probably at Dover, New Hampshire, in 1679, as he was 44 years old when he died in 1723.

He was a son (or perhaps grandson) of Edward Hilton¹ who came to this country from London, where he had been employed in the fish business, and was therefore styled Fishmonger. He was one of the company of emigrants who, under Gorges and Mason, came over in 1623, and established on the banks of the Piscataqua, the first English settlement in New Hampshire. He took a lively interest in the new colony, and was a man of considerable influence.

We cannot now determine at what time Wm. Hilton first came to this place; whether it was before his marriage or not until afterwards; but the probability seems to be that it was immediately after his marriage. The name is still honored in the community by his numerous posterity.²

¹ Charles V. Hilton of Bremen. A writer in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 50, gives a different account of Wm. Hilton, son of Edward. It is possible that Wm. Hilton, who came to Round Pond, may have been a grandson of the first Edward.

² See page 53 *ante*. The descendants of Wm. Cox will be spoken of hereafter. Many of the present inhabitants of Bristol will remember Francis Peirce Esq., who many years ago resided in Bristol. A part of the time his father and a sister lived with him. They were from Ipswich, Mass., and claimed to be descended from Richard Peirce. They were the only representatives of the Peirce family that have resided here in modern times.

We have already learned something of the history of Margaret Stilson whom he married. We do not know whether they first met in this, the place of her nativity, or in Massachusetts, where she found her mother was living on her (the daughter's) return from Canada. From Mrs. Teuxbury's deposition we learn that she was born in 1679, the same year as Wm. Hilton, and that she returned from her enforced absence among the Indians and the French of Canada in 1700, or 1701, being then 21 or 22 years of age. Her marriage with Wm. Hilton took place soon after this date, probably in Massachusetts; but they immediately removed to this place, locating themselves first at Round Pond, but afterwards at Broad Cove.

William and Margaret (Stilson) Hilton had nine children, all of whom, according to Mrs. Teuxbury, were born here before they were driven off by the Indians, and this last event she shows, by a recital of several circumstances connected with the life and death of her mother (a daughter of Stilson Hilton, and granddaughter of Wm.), to have been in 1718.

The 9 children of Wm. and Margaret Hilton were

1. Elizabeth, who m. 1st John Knowlton, and 2d, Farnham.
2. Stilson, who married and had 6 children, among whom was Hannah, who married Teuxbury and left this very valuable and reliable deposition.
3. Joshua, who married and had 1 child named William.
4. William, who married Lee and had several children (four sons, James, Richard, John and William,¹) several years after his father's death (which we have seen occurred in 1723) he removed to this place, and occupied the old homestead of his father.

It is very probable that this may have been about the time the English rule was reestablished in this region by the rebuilding of Pemaquid fort under Dunbar, in 1729; but no positive evidence of the kind has been found.²

Wm. Hilton and family appear to have lived here, without serious molestation by the Indians, until the time of the French

¹ Charles V. Hilton.

² According to a tradition in the family, he had come into possession of a claim to a large tract of land in the present town of Bremen and towns adjacent. Very probably the claim may have been to the eight miles square tract, the history of which will be given further on in this work. (Ante, p. 227.)

and Indian war, which, as we know, terminated with the capture of Quebec, in 1759.

He carried on his farming operations chiefly at Broad Cove, but his family, at least a part of the time during this war, resided at Muscongus Harbor, the communication between the places being mostly by water. He had given his sons (or some of them) farms here, and they had made some progress in clearing them, and had built a small house.

When going up to the farm, if danger was apprehended, they usually took their dogs with them, and made them swim ashore before landing themselves; so that if any Indians were about the place they would be likely to be discovered. Going up at one time with three of his sons, William, Richard and John, the usual precaution was neglected, and they were fired upon just as they landed, by an Indian previously concealed from view. The son William was shot dead; and subsequently his father was badly wounded in the knee by another Indian, who had rushed forward and seized the loaded gun the young man had dropped as he fell. One account says that Richard was wounded, but John escaped unhurt. Richard discharged his fowling piece at one of the Indians, wounding him badly in one knee, so that he was a cripple for life. Many years afterwards, in one of the early years of the present century, the same Indian, then an old man and very lame, visited the place, and affirmed that his lameness was occasioned by a shot from a white man, at the very spot where this fight occurred. He related other circumstances which showed conclusively that he was the man that was wounded by the shot from Richard Hilton, and probably the man that fired the first gun, killing William Hilton jr.

The two sons with their father, badly wounded in one knee, made their way back to their home at Muscongus Harbor, where he died of the wound a few days afterwards. Some persons on Dutch Neck, hearing the firing, came over to the place, but the Indians had gone. Finding the body of William jr., in the place where he fell, they wrapped it in some bed clothing obtained from the house, and buried it without a coffin on the bank near by.

Richard Hilton (brother of William, who was thus buried), died here, early in the present century; and about the same time it was observed that the grave of William was in danger

of being carried away by the falling of the bank; so the bones were taken up and reinterred in the same coffin with the remains of Richard.¹

This party of Indians had come here from Walpole, where they committed other depredations, and we shall have occasion to refer to them again in another connection.

5. Benjamin, who died in the service of the government, but when or in what capacity is not known. He left four children.

6. Samuel.

7. Amos, who married, and was killed by an Indian, but under what circumstances is not known. He had two children.

8. Molly.

9. Margaret.

From this family, it is believed, all of the name of Hilton, now in the place and the immediate vicinity, as well as many others that have removed to other places, have descended; but the limits prescribed for this work will not permit a further continuance of the family pedigree.

¹ Charles V. Hilton, Esq., of Bremen, grandson of James Hilton, above mentioned, who was born and has always resided on, or near by, the old Hilton homestead. Richard Hilton in his old age showed him, then a boy, all the localities connected with the transaction. He remembers the visit of the lame old Indian, and was present at the funeral of Richard and reinterment of the bones of William Hilton.

CHAPTER XXII.

Condition of affairs east of the Kennebec, immediately after the destruction of Fort William Henry — Disagreement between the British government and that of Massachusetts, in regard to the rebuilding of the fort — Report of the lords of trade on the condition of affairs in these parts — Conference between Indian chiefs and agents of Government — Capture of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, and reduction of that province by the English — Close of the third Indian war, sometimes called Queen Anne's war — Rebuilding of the fort on George's river, and also Fort Richmond, on the Kennebec — The Kennebec Indians begin the fourth Indian war — Indian Conference at Arrowsic, in 1717 — Fishing schooners seized by the Indians — The Penobscot tribe peaceably disposed — Indian Conference at Falmouth, in 1727 — Truck houses to be established.

The destruction of the fort at Pemaquid, in 1696, put an end for the time being to any English influence in all this region; and every English settlement east of the Kennebec was broken up and abandoned. Patrick Rodgers, who was for a time lieutenant of the fort, testified in 1773, that about 1720 or 1721, he lived in Georgetown, and there was not then a house that he knew of between Georgetown and Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia,¹ except a single fish house on Damariscove island. West of the Kennebec, the settlements had suffered badly, but they were not, like those east of this river, so utterly devastated; and very soon, most or all of them began to recover; but for Pemaquid, and its dependencies, there seemed to be no hope.

Many of the old settlers who had fled to the westward, as the phrase then was, were still living and anxious to return to their old possessions, but a new obstacle was now interposed in the disagreement that sprung up between the British government and that of Massachusetts, in regard to the rebuilding of the fort. Both governments earnestly desired to see the fort rebuilt, but each preferred that it should be done at the expense of the other.

¹ *Lincoln Rep.*, 1811, p. 60. At the time mentioned (1720 or 21), it may have been literally true that there were no families living on these shores, or islands, as testified by Rodgers, but at a little earlier period, Wm. Hilton and family, resided at Broad Cove, as we have seen.

Massachusetts, as we have seen, had for many years embraced every favorable opportunity to extend her jurisdiction eastward; but her people in doing it preferred not to incur too great expense. Moreover all the settlements in the region having been abandoned by the English, their restoration was a matter for the consideration and effort of the British nation rather than the people of the single colony of Massachusetts Bay. The French, ever since the treaty of Breda, in 1668, had held undisputed possession of Acadia, as the undefined territory east of Sagadahock, was called; but the two governments of England and France had never been able to agree upon the true dividing line between these provinces. The English claimed for the territory of Sagadahoc, all the country from the Kennebec as far east as the St. Croix, and were actually in possession as far east as the Penobscot; while the French claimed for Acadia, all the country as far west as the Kennebec, but were in actual possession as far west as the Penobscot. The bitter enmity between the English and French was probably never more decided, than in this age of which we are speaking; and in their respective colonies this feeling was rather intensified than otherwise. Among the people of the French colonies plans were every year discussed for extending their own jurisdiction over not Maine only, but the whole of New England; while the people of the English colonies, on the other hand, were talking of schemes for the utter expulsion of the French from the whole eastern country.

The progress of events in that age was comparatively slow, but no one could fail to see that a crisis was approaching, when the British nation would find it necessary by its mighty arm to defend this territory, or else to relinquish their claim to it altogether. The people of Massachusetts, being well assured that the latter alternative would never be submitted to, were content to adopt for themselves a course of "masterly inactivity," so judiciously recommended by a renowned statesman, in regard to another matter at a later period in our country's history.

By the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 a quasi peace was established between England and France, but it lasted only a few years, and its benefits were scarcely felt in these colonies of the two nations. On the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, war again broke out; and in the western part of Maine, and in New

Hampshire, the Indians failed not to murder any straggling Englishmen they might meet with, or to fall upon and destroy any unprotected English settlement.

The last fort at Pemaquid having been erected at the expense of the colony, it might be expected that it would be rebuilt in the same manner; but no movement being made for this purpose, the home government soon began to see the need of some action. January 10th, 1700, in obedience to an order from the king, the lords of trade made a report upon the condition of the several forts in his Majesty's Plantations, in which is the following recommendation for Pemaquid.

"About five leagues to the Westward of St. Georges lyes *Pemaquid* a Spacious River of great Consequence as covering three other Rivers, Damariscot, Sheepscot, and Kennebec, and therefor deserves to be well Guarded. At the Entrance of this River within two Leagues of the main Sea, formerly stood a Fort which at the approach of two men of war with 100 French & 500 Indians was Shamefully Surrendered in August, 1696, and demolished.

For the Security of this Fort¹ & Harbour and all that Country, and to encourage people to settle there as formerly, a good Fort ought to be built in the same place, or thereabout, and for its better defense in Case of an attack from the Sea a Battery may be raised on the next point of Land & a redoubt or Round Tower on John's Island.²

Towards the mouth of the *Kennebec River* (seven Leagues from Pemaquid) are many little Islands. On that of Damaras Cove there was before the war a Pallisadoed Fort for the defense of ye fishermen, and another on Cape Nawagen where they used to cure their Fish. But to Guard the Entrance of the River a Redoubt ought to be raised on the Island Sagadahock, and a little Fort at New Town in Rowseck (Arrowsic) Island two Leagues up the River where there was formerly a small square one Pallisadoed."³

It was wise in the ministers to begin operations in this general way, but the object chiefly aimed at was the erection of the two forts, the one at Pemaquid, and the other at Piscataqua. Joseph Dudley, appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay, arrived in Boston early in the summer of 1702, and immediately entered

¹ "Port" in the *New York Col. Documents*.

² This name, applied also to the bay as well as this island, is derived very probably from the name "St. John's Tower," given to the place in Smith's map.—*Ms. Hist. Col.* [3] Vol. III.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, 70; 486-493, *Doc. Col. Hist.*, N. Y., iv, 831.

upon the duties² of his office. At the first session of the general court,¹ in obedience to his instructions from the ministry, he urged with much earnestness the rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid, as a means of retaining possession of the eastern country, the loss of which was seriously threatened. But the representatives of the people could not be persuaded, and nothing was done.

The next spring Dudley invited a conference with the Indian chiefs at Casco, and took occasion, with several of his council, to make a visit to the ruins of Pemaquid. Several years before this Governor Bellomont had sent Col. Romar [Romer,] a distinguished engineer, to the place; and elaborate maps of the locality, and accurate drawings of the ruins, were prepared by him for the government.²

At the meeting of the general court, the committee of the council, who had accompanied the governor to Pemaquid, presented a report in which they say: "we are humbly of Opinion, that the Stones being already in place, the ground already trenched, and the foundation probably still good, and lime to be had near and easy, the General Assembly may, in obedience to Her Ma^{ty}s pleasure and direction therein," make the necessary appropriations "for the raising of the walls," etc.

This actually passed the council, but was rejected by the house, upon whom all argument was utterly lost. To the urgency and chidings of the governor, they, by their committee replied: "For the Building a Fort at *Pemaquid*, we humbly conceive Her Majesty has received Misrepresentations concerning that Affair; At least our Apprehensions of it do not Concur with what hath been represented to Her Majesty; But was there no other Impediment than the present War, we are of opinion that would be Argument enough for the not Erecting a Fort at Pemaquid."³

¹ At this time, it will be remembered, the General Court, consisted of a house of representatives, chosen by the people, and a council, chosen by the house of representatives, but subject to be vetoed by the governor.

² Very probably these might now be found in the British Archives by sufficient research.

³ A collection of the proceedings of the Great and General Court or Assembly of Her Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, etc., printed by order of the house of Representatives, 1729, pages 10, 12, 13, 26. This very rare volume is a collection of all the doings of the house on those two subjects of dispute, the granting a fixed salary to the governor and the rebuilding of the Pemaquid fort. See also *Hutch. History*, II, 138. Where was the lime obtained that was needed for the work?

Thus the matter rested until the close of Dudley's administration, but was resumed again in 1706, by his successor, Governor Shute. But all produced no effect, neither the arguments of the governor, nor the repeated commands from the throne could persuade the representatives of the people to vote away the public money, contrary to their convictions of duty. "The low Circumstances of the Province," they say, "and the heavy Debts upon it are such that His Majesty's subjects here are not able to come into so great a charge, as the Rebuilding the Fort at *Pemaquid* would be; and that in case of a Rupture a Fortification there would be no security to the Lives and Estates of His Majesty's Subjects here, as our past Experience, has abundantly convinced us, by reason that *Pemaquid* is at so great a distance from our English Settlements." At the same time they took occasion to say they would always be ready, as good and loyal subjects, to supply whatever means might be necessary for the proper defense and preservation of the government.

What secret conference may have been held by the members of the cabinet in London, or what subdued curses they may, among themselves, have flung at Massachusetts, in this conjuncture of affairs, we know not, but certain it is, it was not deemed expedient to press the matter further; and the British government silently retired discomfited from the field. We shall soon see the new aspect the matter subsequently took.

In the year 1710 the position of affairs in this region was considerably changed by the capture of Port Royal,¹ in Nova Scotia, by the combined English and New England forces under Col. Nicholson.

This easy and inexpensive conquest prepared the way for further operations under Nicholson, the next year (1711), for the reduction of Canada, and the subjection of the whole north country to the English crown; but it resulted disastrously, and requires mention here only because of its effects on the minds of the Indians, who were always inclined to unite their interests with the party, which for the time seemed most likely to win.

By the capture of Port Royal, the English acquired such a foothold in that region, that the French were obliged to retire; and the retrocession of Acadia to England, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, followed almost as a matter of course. The in-

¹ The name was afterwards changed to Annapolis Royal (in honor of Queen Anne) which it has since retained.

fluence of the French being thus withdrawn from the Indians, they soon began to sue for peace; and at their request a conference was held at Portsmouth, in the month of July. Here, after making humble confession of their misdoings towards the English, they cast themselves upon the mercy of the British government, and renewed their allegiance, promising, in the most solemn manner, ever afterwards to conduct themselves as good and loyal subjects of the queen. When news of the new treaty was received by the eastern Indians, they rejoiced exceedingly, agreeing on their part to fulfill faithfully all its stipulations.

Thus ended this *third Indian war*, which has sometimes been called *Queen Anne's war*.¹ Its disastrous effects in the loss of life and property, were severely felt in all the settlements west of the Kennebec; but those in this region having been previously depopulated and therefore taking no part in the strife, the details do not require to be given here. During the contest of ten years, it is believed that Maine lost from a fourth to a third of all her inhabitants.² The Indians also suffered great loss, and the whole number of their fighting men in the tribes east of the Kennebec did not probably now exceed 300.

Peace being again restored, nominally at least, and under circumstances that seemed favorable to its continuance, some few of the former settlers began to return to their old places on Arrowsic island, and other points near the mouth of the Kennebec; but as there still remained not a little fear of further Indian outrages, little progress could be made towards recovering the former prosperity. The government desired to adopt a policy altogether conciliatory towards the Indians, notwithstanding their previous outrages, and even proposed to provide religious instruction for them; but it availed nothing. They had no desire for Bibles, and were altogether satisfied with the teachings of the Romish church, with which they had long been connected.³ This occurred at a conference held on Arrowsic island in 1717, between Governor Shute attended by some of his council, and several Indian chiefs of neighboring tribes.

¹ The war called the second Indian war was that beginning under Andros's administration, and terminating with the capture of Fort William Henry, in 1696.

² *Williamson*, II, 68, 69.

³ There were, however, in these parts a few praying Indians, as those converted to the Protestant faith were called, several of whom, October 3, 1717, sent a petition "to the Great General Court at Boston," "that ye Great Governor and

The next important movement in these parts was the rebuilding of the fort on George's river, in 1719, by the claimants of the lands there. This fort was of wood, and stood near the spot where the mansion of Gen. Henry Knox was erected near the close of the last century. Fort Richmond, in the present town of Richmond, on the Kennebec, was also built about the same time.

The so called proprietors of land in several other places in this vicinity also made some movements to regain possession of their claims.

In 1719 or 1720, Rev. Christopher Tappan of Newbury, who claimed to own a large tract of land on both sides of the Damariscotta river, sent down Michael Thomas, as a tenant, with two hired men, Samuel Gatchell and Benjamin Cheney, who spent a summer in cultivating three or four acres near the lower or salt water falls. They were not molested in any way; and the object being simply to make a show of actual possession, in due time evidence of these facts was put on record, in the shape of depositions from the individuals named.¹

The facts in regard to Wm. Hilton and family, who from the first or second year of the last century to the year 1718 resided at Broad Cove, will be recollected in this connection. The fact of their residence here seems to be well established, though it has been entirely overlooked by preceding writers. How they managed to maintain amicable relations with so treacherous neighbors as the native savages, at such a time, and for so long a period is a mystery.

The peace that followed after the treaty of 1717, was constantly violated by straggling Indians, and occasionally, it must be confessed, by the English; but several years elapsed before open hostilities again broke out between the parties.

The Indians had good reason for alarm, as they witnessed the continued expansion of the English settlements, and corresponding diminution of their own hunting grounds; and if some of them were at times driven almost to frenzy as they saw and

- Council would order a small Praying house to be built near the fort the English and us to meet in on Sabbath days."

Fort George at Brunswick,

Oct. ye 3, 1717.

JOHN GYLES, Interpreter,

SABATES (mark)

WARENOWBE (")

HENEQUE (")

(Mass. Arch., 31, p. 94.)

¹ *Lincoln Report*, 1811, pp. 95, 96.

felt their own utter helplessness in the matter, it is not to be wondered at. Such seems to have been the feeling which actuated many of the Kennebec Indians in the movement now to be narrated. That an educated and intelligent Frenchman, as Father Rasle was, should be found urging them on in a movement by which there was nothing to be gained by them and everything to be lost, is more a matter of surprise.

At length it was resolved by the Kennebec Indians, to make a formal demand upon the English. In August, 1721, some 200 in number, in 90 canoes, made their appearance in the mouth of the Kennebec, attended by Father Rasle,¹ a Roman Catholic priest, and several other Frenchmen, and bearing a French flag. Landing on one of the islands, a large party of them presented themselves before Capt. Penhallow, who commanded the garrison on Arrowsic island, boldly declaring that "if the settlers did not remove in three weeks, the Indians would come and kill them all, destroy their cattle and burn their houses," giving as their reason "that the Englishmen had taken away the lands which the Great God had given their fathers and themselves."²

This, of course, occasioned much alarm in all the settlements; the governor convened a special session of the general court in Boston, and measures were taken to seize and punish all offenders against the laws. An expedition was sent against the Norridgewock Indians with the particular object to seize Father Rasle, and take him to Boston "either dead or alive;" but the wily missionary, having heard of their approach, took himself out of their way. Some damage was done to the Indian village, Rasle's house was plundered, and his papers seized, which were found to implicate him, as having been engaged in exciting the Indians, to their recent outrages upon the citizens.

¹ Rasle (Rale, Rales, Rallé) was long a missionary among the Norridgewocks, by whom he was highly esteemed. He had great influence with them, and, as the English believed, was the evil counsellor by whom they had been urged on to commit many of their recent outrages. His history is too well known to need repetition here. After a residence in Norridgewock as a missionary to the Indians for more than thirty years, he was slain in the memorable attack upon that village by the New England forces under Moulton, only three years after this transaction.

² *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, i, 90; *Will. Hist. Me.* ii, 106; *Garrison's Hist. of Canada*, translated by Bell, i, 431. From the last author we learn that before sending this expedition to make so formal a demand upon the English, accompanied by such an awful threat, the matter was fully discussed and the course agreed upon between the Indians and the French priests among them.

Thus was begun another fight with the Indians in New England, which has sometimes been called the *Fourth Indian War*. The people of Massachusetts were very reluctant to engage again in war, but as the Indians were in actual hostilities it was forced upon them; and Gov. Shute after some delay issued his proclamation to this effect. It was dated July 25, 1722.¹ As Pemaquid still lay desolate, it of course had no part to act in the bloody tragedy which followed, but which requires mention here as it serves to explain the reasons why it so long remained in this condition. Several conferences with the Indian chiefs were held by the proper authorities, in which the difficulties between the parties were clearly seen and discussed, but no satisfactory adjustment could be made. This in the nature of the case was clearly impossible. Whatever other causes of complaint the natives may have had, the one overshadowing all others, was the constant enlargement and increasing numbers of the English settlements on the coast, and on the navigable rivers. For this there was no remedy but for the English to abandon the country.

Of the Indian conferences referred to, the most important were that at Portsmouth, in 1713, that at Arrowsic, in 1717, already mentioned, and those at Falmouth, in 1636 and 1637. At each of these the chief topic of complaint was the continued encroachments of the English settlements upon their chosen hunting grounds; and some extracts of what was said may be interesting.

At the Arrowsic conference, Gov. Shute and suite being present, the speaker for the Indians was *Wiwurna*, of one of the Kennebec tribes; in the course of his remarks he said.

“This place was formerly settled and is now settling at our request; and we now return thanks that the English are come to settle here, and will embrace them in our bosoms that come to settle our lands.

Gov. (to the interpreter). They must not call it their land, for the English have bought it of them and their ancestors.

W. We pray leave to proceed in our answer, and talk of this matter afterward. We desire there may be no more settlements made. We shan't be able to hold them all in our bosoms, and to take care and shelter them, if it be like to be bad weather, and mischief is threatened.

* * * * *

¹ *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, I, 94.

We are willing to cut off our lands as far as the mills,¹ and the coasts to *Pemaquid*.

Gov. Tell them we desire only what is our own, and that we will have. We will not wrong them, but what is our own we will be masters of.

Wi. It was said at *Cusco* Treaty, that no more forts should be made.

Gov. Tell them that the forts are not made for their hurt, and that I wonder they should speak against them, when they are for the security of both, we being all subjects of King George. King George builds what forts he pleases in his own dominions, and has given me power to do it here, and they are for their security as well as ours, and the French do the like. They build what forts they please, and all kings have that power, and the governors they appoint do the same.

Wi. We can't understand how our lands have been purchased, what has been alienated was by our gift."

Here an old deed of lands on the Kennebec, made by six Indian Sagamores to *Richard Wharton*, was brought out and read, and the whole thing explained to them, but with what effect the record does not say.

"*Wi.* As for the west side of the *Kennebec* river I have nothing to say, but I am sure nothing has been sold on the east side.

Gov. I expect their positive answer and compliance in this matter, that the English may be quiet in the possession of the lands they have purchased.

Wi. We don't know what to think of the new forts built. * * *

We should be pleased with King George if there was never a fort in the eastern part."¹

Much more than this was said, the Indians at times expressing much dissatisfaction; and the conference was closed without effecting anything of importance, unless the treaty agreed upon, only to be immediately broken, may be considered such.

If after this treaty was formed between the parties there was some cessation of actual hostilities for a very few years, there was no real peace. Soon the murderous attacks upon the settlers were renewed whenever opportunity occurred; and they in turn retaliated by bloody and ruinous attacks upon the In-

¹ Probably mills are meant on some stream emptying into the Kennebec, not far from the place where the conference was held. They would not allow the English to form settlements further up the Kennebec than the mills referred to, nor farther east on the coast than Pemaquid.

² *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, 361.

dians, as in Lovewell's terrific fight, at Lovewell's pond, in the present town of Fryeburg, and the destruction of the Indian village at Norridgewock, in 1724.

Some two years before this the fishermen on the coast had been made the special objects of vengeance by the Indians, and more than twenty schooners had been seized by them, and many of the men killed. Most of the vessels were afterwards recaptured, and some redeemed. One was taken as she lay at Damariscove island, and the captain and a brother who was with him badly beaten, and otherwise abused. The men were kept on board firmly tied; but one of them, with great effort, succeeded in releasing himself unobserved, and then proceeded to release his brother; the two together, then fell upon their captors, threw one overboard, and killed or mortally wounded one or two more, and thus made their escape.

This condition of things was too dreadful to be endured; and both parties could not but be anxious to be released from its horrors; but how to effect it was no easy matter. Treaty after treaty entered into, apparently in good faith, and under the most solemn sanctions, had proved of little avail; and if still another should be formed what benefit could be expected to result from it. The Penobscot tribe at this time, manifesting less hostility than any of the others, early in the summer of 1725, commissioners were sent down to St. George's river, by Lieut. Gov. Dummer, to learn whether anything could be done for the restoration of peace; and they found the Indians there altogether favorably disposed. As a result of their efforts, in the autumn of this year, four distinguished chiefs of the eastern tribes made their appearance in Boston, to negotiate with the Massachusetts authorities a permanent treaty of peace.

The discussion that followed was long and earnest, as the Indians insisted that the English should abandon Fort Richmond, in the present town of Richmond, and also the block house at St. Georges; propositions to which of course the English could not assent. At length a kind of compromise was agreed upon, and a treaty formed, which however required to be subsequently ratified by the various tribes concerned; and a conference for this purpose was appointed to be held at Falmouth in May of the next year, 1726. When the time for the conference arrived, Lieut. Gov. Dummer, of Massachusetts, Gov. Wentworth, of New Hampshire, and Col. Paul Mascarene, as representative of Nova

Scotia, repaired to Falmouth, but no Indians made their appearance. After a delay of several days, a message was received from the Indian chiefs at St. Georges requesting that the conference might be held at Pemaquid, as it was the busy season with them, and they desired not to go so far. This however was declined, and a sloop sent to St. Georges, with instructions to offer them a free passage to Falmouth. This invitation was accepted; and in due time some forty Indians, representatives of all the eastern tribes except the Norridgewocks, made their appearance, and July 10th, the conference began.

Lieut. Gov. Dummer, on the part of the English, conducted the conference, and *Loron*, (alias *Saguarum*) of the Penobscot tribe, was the chief speaker for the Indians.

"*Loron*. As to the first motions of peace when we heard of it from the governor we were very glad of it, and was ready to join in the peace, and made proposals in order to effect it, and particularly about the lands, and the *English* quitting the two houses, viz., *Richmond*, and *St. Georges*, which the government did not see cause to come into; if they had we, with the other Indians, should all have come into a peace before now, and there would be no difficulty with others; not that the houses should be removed at a great distance, but that the house at *St. Georges* should be removed to *Pemaquid*, and that at *Richmond* to *Arrowsic*, for the trading houses."

Lieut. Gov. Dummer reminded them that the conference was held simply to ratify the Boston treaty, but still they (the English) had come prepared on their part to prove the rights the English had to the lands at St. Georges, if they insisted on it.

"*Loron*. Now we proceed to make answer to the second part of yesterday's discourse. Everything of the treaty is very plain to us, and there is nothing in the way excepting the two houses; in case they could be removed a little further in, as we mentioned yesterday. The governor was mentioning that he would settle no lands, but what good rights and titles might be set forth to, and in case the lands were sold, we have a number of young people growing up who never were acquainted of the lands being sold. The government is a great and rich government, and if the lands were sold, they were sold for a small matter, and cost but little, and it would be but a small matter for the government to make allowance for them, and give them up.

Lt. Gov. What do you mean by making allowance for the lands.

Loron. We desire that no houses or settlements may be made to the eastward of *Pemaquid*, or above *Arrowsic*. As for the *Penobscot* tribe,

in particular, we don't know that ever they sold any lands. That is all we have to say."

This appeal was manly and to the point, and under other circumstances would have been irresistible; but the lands were needed by the English for settlement, and they were determined to have them, so the same reply was given as before. "Their fathers at some former time had sold these lands to the English."

"*Loron.* * * * We insist upon the removal of those two houses which was mentioned last winter, we again make mention of them now, and if they were removed there would be no difficulty among the tribes. We can't find any record in our memory, nor in the memory of our grand fathers that the Penobscot tribe have sold any land. As to the deeds mentioned last winter, made by *Madockawando* and *Sheepscot John*, they were not Penobscot Indians, one, *Madockawando*, belonging to Machias, and the other towards Boston. If we could find in reality that the lands were purchased of the right owners, we should not have insisted on it, nor have opened our mouths, we would not pretend to tell a lie about it, for we know that God will be angry with the man that tells a lie. We do not remember of any settlements at *St. Georges*, we remember a pretty while, and as long as we remember, the place where the garrison stands was filled with great, long, grown trees." * * *

Then they proceeded with the farce¹ by reading the deeds by which the English claimed the lands on St. Georges River. These of course were the deeds obtained by Governor, Sir. Wm. Phips, on the occasion of his visit to the place, May 9th, 1694, before mentioned, (*ante*, p. 203.)

After the reading of the deeds the Indians desired time to consider the matter, and the conference adjourned for the day. The next morning, on the assembling of the conference, *Loron*, in behalf of the Indians, made a dignified, but rather mournful speech, giving a reluctant assent to the ratification of the treaty as it was, but expressing the hope that the English might consider their wishes, and not obtrude themselves further upon

¹ At this very time the laws of Massachusetts declared all such deeds to be invalid, and nobody knew it better than Lieut. Gov. Dummer, and those associated with him. And, in point of fact, those claiming under this deed never gained possession of the lands in dispute, in virtue of the deed, but only by uniting the claim with that of the grant to Beauchamp and Leverett by the Council of Plymouth, March 13, 1630.—*Willis. Hist. of Portland*, p. 63, 2d ed.

their neighbors, the Indians, who desired, as brothers, to have a good understanding with them. The English, at the same time, gave some further assurances in regard to the goods which were to be supplied to the Indians at fair prices. *Truck houses*, which had been promised long before, were to be established at Fort Richmond and St. Georges river, for the special benefit of the Indians. In them supplies of goods, suitable for the Indians, were kept for sale, and exchanged at fair prices for furs and skins, and such other articles as they might have to dispose of. At each house the business was transacted under the direction of an officer called a *truck master*. The business was done at the public expense; but the goods being purchased at wholesale prices, and sold at a moderate profit, the net loss to the government was not great. These houses were maintained many years.

Though the Indians, in negotiating this treaty, did not succeed, as they desired, in securing themselves from the further encroachments of the English settlements, they sincerely rejoiced in the return of peace; and many kind and even grateful letters were subsequently written or dictated to Governor Dummer by prominent individuals. Sometimes a word of advice or request would be inserted. Among others our distinguished acquaintance, *Loron*, wrote, "Never let the trading houses deal in much rum. It wastes the health of our young men, it unfits them to attend prayers. It makes them carry ill both to your people and their own brethren. This is the mind of our chief men."

For some reason, not now understood, the Norridgewocks were not represented in this conference, and to give them opportunity to identify themselves with this movement for peace, another conference was appointed at Falmouth, to be held in the summer of 1727. This was attended by about 100 Indians, who, with apparent good faith, ratified on their part the treaty of the preceding year, with an additional article, providing for a union of their forces with those of the English in case any refractory Indians should, in spite of the treaty, presume to disturb the peace.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REBUILDING OF THE PEMAQUID FORT BY COL DUNBAR, AND CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

Col. David Dunbar, by direction and at the expense of the British Government, comes to rebuild Pemaquid Fort—By instruction (it is supposed) of his government he assumes that the fee of all the land here is in the Crown, and makes grants without regard to former owners or occupants—Dunbar also appointed surveyor of the King's woods—The fort called Fort Frederic—He gives the names Townsend, Walpole and Harrington to three townships laid out by him—Depositions of Samuel M. Cobb, Wm. Moore and John Beath—Opposition to Dunbar's proceedings, and his opponents at length effect his removal—The Attorney General decides against the Government as to the ownership of the soil—Names of some that settled under Dunbar.

The time for the rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid was now drawing near; the British government having failed in their efforts to coerce the province of Massachusetts Bay into the performance of this duty, at length resolved to do it themselves; but it was to be under a new theory of the ownership of the soil in the territory of Sagadahoc.

At the first settlement of the place, as we have seen, there were only two sets of claimants to the lands here, Elbridge and Aldsworth, or their representatives, and those deriving their title from the Indian deed to John Brown; but when the Duke of York assumed the government in 1677, no attention was paid to any of these claimants. His government continued only until the Spring of 1689; but during this time his representatives, by deed or perpetual lease, had reconveyed to actual settlers and others much of the soil, who held it for a time undisturbed. When the Duke of York, on the death of Charles II, succeeded to the throne as James II, Sagadahoc of course became a royal province, dependant solely on the crown; and if his title, as the Duke of York, was valid, it would seem that the same title was now vested in the crown.

On the abdication of James, and the imprisonment of his representative, Gov. Andros, in Boston, in 1689, Massachusetts peacefully resumed his former jurisdiction not only with-

out opposition from the government, but with its assent. By the new charter, received in 1692, her jurisdiction was extended over the whole of the present state of Maine, and also Nova Scotia; but the government of the latter province, was, a few years later, voluntarily resigned to the crown.

Massachusetts, it must be admitted, was in this treated with much kindly consideration by the home government; but if any expected that the puritanical province could thus be induced to yield jot or tittle, of her own rights or liberties they were not a little mistaken. For some years after the accession of William and Mary to the English throne, and the reception of the new charter by Massachusetts, there was a tolerable accord between the two governments; but now a serious disagreement occurred on two points having no connection with each other, and brought together only in the arbitrary character of the government which the British nation was seeking to establish over her colonies. These two points of difference were the rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid, of which something has already (p. 252-264) been said, and settling a fixed salary upon the governor of the colony, a matter which does not now concern us.

We cannot but admire the pluck of the Massachusetts people in refusing to be coerced into the adoption of measures their deliberate judgment did not approve; but, having recovered their ancient jurisdiction here by the special favor of the British government, it does not seem strange that the latter expected them to provide for the safety and protection of the territory thus submitted to their care. The controversy which ensued on this point has already been sufficiently discussed.

It being clearly seen that Massachusetts could not be brought to terms in regard to the rebuilding of the fort, the British government at length determined to do it themselves, and at their own expense. What may have been the deliberations of the ministers we do not know, nor, so far as we can now find, was any notice given of their change of policy, but early in the spring of 1729, *David Dunbar* made his appearance here, with a royal commission, appointing him governor of the territory of Sagadahock, and authorizing him to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid. He is said to have been a native of Ireland, and for a time colonel of the army, but was now out of employment, poor and proud. Many years before this, laws had been passed

in England to protect the timber, in these regions, deemed suitable for masts, and other purposes in the royal navy, and an officer appointed to have charge of the business, called surveyor general of the king's woods.

This office was then held by a Mr. Bridger; but Dunbar, with the aid of friends, found means to effect his removal, and his own appointment to the place. Some time before this, certain politicians and others in England, had started a scheme for detaching the whole Sagadahock territory from Massachusetts, and annexing it to Nova Scotia. There was at the same time a party who claimed that, in all this territory, ownership of the soil was legally vested in the crown, in opposition to all other claimants; their argument was that the capture of Pemaquid fort in 1696, by the French, was really a conquest of the whole territory of Sagadahock, which now became legally the property of France, and remained so until 1710, when by the capture of Port Royal by the English, the whole territory, as well as that of Nova Scotia, by the right of war, was recovered to the English, and the ownership of the soil thereafter vested in the crown.¹ This right of the crown was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, in which all this territory was formally retroceded to Great Britain. It was in this view that the general court was restrained from making any grants of these lands without the consent of the crown.

As we have seen, under the administration of the Duke of York, the government claimed ownership in the soil as well as civil jurisdiction, and made grants of land accordingly; but why that ground of claim should now be given up, and a new theory started, does not clearly appear.

Dunbar arrived in this country in the spring of 1729, and very soon proceeded to the erection or repair of the Pemaquid fort, which however in all probability was not finished until the following year. Very probably the stone walls of the previous fort may have been in tolerably good condition, and required but few repairs. The work was done at the expense of the British government, to whom of course Dunbar made return of his doings, giving some description of the works; but no such papers have been found.²

¹ *Hutchinson, Hist.*, II, 293, 299.

² These papers in all probability are still preserved among the British archives in London, and might be brought to light without very much research. They

Having put the fort in good condition, he named it Fort *Frederick*, in honor of the young prince of Wales, and removed his family here. Next a royal proclamation appeared, (April 27, 1730), addressed to Col. Philips, governor of Nova Scotia, authorizing him to take possession of all the lands between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers, and especially to set off 200,000 acres of good mast and timber land for the benefit of the royal navy. A detachment of thirty men under proper officers was sent from Nova Scotia by him to garrison the fort, who held possession of it some time.¹ Philips evidently was very willing to aid the schemes and fortune of Dunbar, perhaps expecting in some way to be benefited himself in return.

The repairs on the fort were begun in 1729, but probably were not completed until the next year. Having completed this work Dunbar formed a magnificent plan of operations for the improvement of the place, and began work upon it with great energy. Aided by a surveyor from Nova Scotia, by the name of Mitchell, he laid out the territory between the Muscongus and Sheepscott rivers into three townships, which he named after three English noblemen of the day, *Townsend*, *Harrington* and *Walpole*. Townsend included the present town of *Boothbay*, *Harrington*, the southern part of *Bristol*, and *Walpole*, the northwestern part of *Bristol* and a part of *Nobleboro*.²

In the meantime he caused proclamation to be made, in the king's name, of his magnificent intentions in regard to the place, inviting settlers from any part of the country, promising to supply them with lands on easy terms, and in some cases, at least, support for their families for a limited time.³

In the vicinity of Fort Frederick he laid out the plan of a city, and caused a considerable part of the territory in the three towns mentioned to be divided into lots of convenient size, which were to be appropriated to actual settlers. These drew

would now be of much interest, as would also Dunbar's commission or commissions, if they could be found.

¹ *Doug. Sam.*, I, 383; *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 166.

² According to a deposition of Wm. Moore, given Oct. 23, 1772, Dunbar laid out four towns, *Townsend*, *Newcastle*, *Walpole* and *Harrington*, which were so situated that "they were to meet at a noted ledge of rocks in Damariscotta river." — *Pills*, *State House*, Boston.

³ There were at this time only two newspapers published in New England, and some search has been made in them for Dunbar's proclamation, but without finding it.

for their lots, each one having assigned to him a city lot, as it was called, of two acres, and another lot, at a distance of forty acres. In some cases it would appear that still another hundred acres was promised, "where they might choose." In Townsend the lands fronting on the water were divided into two acre lots, each twelve rods wide, and those farther back in lots of 100 acres. Patrick Rodgers and——McCobb received a large grant in this town upon condition of procuring a certain number of settlers. Here also, on the beautiful harbor, Dunbar proposed to build a city.

In Harrington and Walpole the land on the river was divided into lots of 12 acres, but further back lots of 100 acres were laid out. According to Williamson,¹ a large part of Harrington and Walpole, not immediately taken up, was granted to two speculators by the names of *Montgomery* and *Campbell*; but little more is known of them.

The following document, though rather lengthy, is too interesting to be omitted. It is a deposition of Samuel McCobb of Boothbay, sworn to Oct. 23, 1772.²

Samuel McCobb, aged 64 years, testifieth and saith, that in the year 1729, Col. Dunbar came with a commission from his most excellent Majesty, George the second, with instructions to take possession and settle with the inhabitants, in behalf of the crown, the lands lying to the eastward of the Kennebec River in said province, that with a number of men and necessaries he arrived at Pemaquid in the said year, and forthwith proceeded to survey and settle several towns around, publicly inviting His Majesty's liege subjects to come and settle thereon, promising them ample encouragement, in the name of the King, his master. In consequence of which encouragement the Deponent, with more than 40 others, applied to the said Dunbar and by him were brought to and settled on a certain neck of land bounded on the sea, and lying between the Sheepscot and Damariscotta Rivers, the which lands the said Dunbar had laid out in parallel lots, twelve rods broad, containing two acres apiece, and ordered the settlers to cast lots for their respective places, which being done, the said Dunbar did, in the King's name and behalf, put them in possession of the lots they had respectively drawn, and promised that on condition of their building one house eighteen feet long and clearing two acres within the space of three years he could give them an addition of forty acres in one, and one hundred in another division, as contiguous to the first two acres as possible, in fee simple forever, and likewise to add thereto another division devising to each settler any number of acres besides, less than

¹ *Hist. Maine*, II, 166.

² *Files, State House, Boston.*

1000, which they should request. A number having complied with these terms, and said Dunbar offered to give them deeds of said lands, but the execution thereof was delayed, and in the year 1733 he was removed to New Hampshire. The lands being naturally broken and poor, and more especially then, in their wild uncultivated state, and the settlers coming there generally in low circumstances, and most of them (as being from Britain and Ireland) utterly unacquainted with the mode of managing lands in that state, little of the necessaries of life was raised from the soil, their whole living depended on cutting firewood and carrying it to Boston and other towns more than one hundred and fifty miles from them; hence the settlers lived, from the first, exposed to the utmost extremities of indigence and distress, and at the same time in almost continual alarms from the savages all around, till in the year 1745, when the murders and depredations in their borders forced them from their habitations to seek shelter in the westward, where they were scattered in a strange country, at nearly 200 miles distance from their homes, for five years. In October, 1749, as soon as the news of peace reached them, this deponent with many of his former neighbors ventured back to their said settlements where they had scarce finished the repairs of their wasted cottages and improvements, when in a year or thereabouts, the Indians tho' in a time of peace fell on their neighborhood, burnt barns, killed many cattle, attacked the little garrison kept by the people, and carried away a number of men, women and children into captivity. By this the deponent and his neighbors were obliged to flee to the little fortress they had raised for themselves where they lived and defended themselves as they might, not daring to look after their plantations, by which means the little provisions then growing for their support the next winter, were chiefly destroyed; whereby, when they returned to their places, little better than the horrors of famine were in prospect; many were obliged to live by clams, only, which they dug out of the mud when the tides were down; thus they subsisted in general till the late war with France broke out, when tho' their cries were sent up to the government for some protection on this settlement, which they still held in the King's behalf, and from which should they again be driven they knew not where to seek a place of abode, yet no defence or assistance went to or a morsel of bread was allowed them, but such as they found for themselves, by garrisons and guards of their own where their families lived in continual terror and alarm from the savages who ranged the wilderness all around, till the late peace was concluded, when their settlements increased much by new comers from the western parts. Thus happily rid of French and Indians they were not long suffered to rest for three or four opposite sets of claimers, part claiming by Indian deeds never approved according to law, and part by pretended ancient occupation and other pretexts never justified in law, at divers times came among them demanding the possession of these said lands, or requiring a purchase for them. These im-

sing on the credulous simplicity of some of the inhabitants by fair promises, and terrifying others with threats of lawsuits for which the poor settlers were ill provided, so far prevailed that the generality were fain to contract with and buy their lands from one or another of them, and some of them all successively, and such as have not done so are still harrassed by the said claimers and threatened by each, in his turn, with lawsuits, ejectments, if not imprisonments and ruin, whilst those of whom they have bought have never done anything to defend them from competing claimers, and all have left them to become a prey to whom comes next. However, by the help of God, they continued on their said possessions till the year 1764, when desirous of obtaining the benefit of order and the enjoyment of the gospel, they applied to the Genl. Court of the Province and were legally incorporated into a town by the name of Boothbay * * * in the year 1765, without any help from the public [from abroad] erected a church, and in the year 1766 settled a gospel minister. * * * These things the deponent testifyeth as facts within his own proper knowledge having had occasion to be personally and intimately interested therein, and he declareth that this deposition is not given with any injurious intent toward any person whatever.

This account of the condition of the inhabitants in the neighboring town of Boothbay, for some 20 years after the rebuilding of Fort Frederic, would probably apply equally well for Bristol at the same period. Other affidavits, sworn to at the same time, are on file in Boston, but only some short extracts can be given here.

At the same date as the above, Wm. Moore, aged 72, after confirming the above, deposed as follows: That at Townsend the said Dunbar said he meant to found a city. That the two acre lots were laid out by order of one Mitchell, said to be one of the King's Surveyors sent from Annapolis in Nova Scotia for that purpose, and after him by one Newman sent by said Dunbar from Pemaquid. That the reason why this deponent, and the other settlers who had fulfilled the conditions required, did not receive deeds from said Dunbar was by him declared to be because they must needs be sent to a certain Governor Armstrong at Annapolis to be sealed, which being a hardship on the settlers, and disagreeable to said Dunbar, he advised them to defer the execution of their deeds till he should have an answer from the Court of Great Britain to an application he had made them requesting the seal should be committed by himself. That [from various causes, as already related,] provisions were so scarce among them, the only sustenance this deponent could find for himself and family was clams and water for several weeks together, and he knows not of any of the settlers that were not then in the same state, so that when the first

child was born in the settlement not more than three quarts of meal was to be found amongst them all.

John Beath aged sixty-two years testifyeth that he lived with his father who dwelt at Lunenburg in the western part of said Province (of Mass. Bay) when the news was published over New England that His Most Excellent Majesty, King George the second had commissioned and sent to Pemaquid in the eastern parts of said Province a certain Col. David Dunbar, as his agent to take possession and begin the settlement of the land eastward of Kennebec River in His Majesty's name & behalf, & that said Dunbar was arrived and had published large encouragements to any of his Majesty's Protestant liege subjects who should settle on said land. In pursuance of which this deponent, together with his father & family, in June, 1731, left their plantation, & at no small expense transplanted themselves, their stock & effects to said Pemaquid, when after treating with said Dunbar this deponent, with his father & as he supposes, above sixty others, were by the said Dunbar settled [on a piece of land at Boothbay Harbour where he proposed to build a city.] That on the 19th of August in the year 1749, this deponent with seventeen others was taken captive by the Indians, that they were detained till November, that said Indians took from him a sloop of sixty tons burthen with the cargo [which they took to St. Peters & sold.]

No copy of a deed or lease given by Dunbar is now known to be in existence, but Williamson says "the assurances of title he gave the settlers were leasehold indentures, with the antiquated reservation of a 'pepper corn' if demanded." What became of these deeds or leaseholds is not certainly known, but it has been said they were committed by Dunbar to Montgomery and Campbell, before named, and by Campbell, after the death of Montgomery, to Wm. Vaughan, who lived at Damariscotta Mills. Vaughan built a house there about 1740, which, not long afterwards was consumed by fire, and probably also the documents in question.¹

Whatever may be said of Dunbar's character as a man, it is certain he conducted the affairs of his office with great vigor, and success. And it is probable that in all his arbitrary conduct towards the inhabitants he only acted in accordance with his instructions, which however he refused to show. He disregarded alike the claims of the great proprietors, whether holding under royal grants or Indian deeds, and those of the

¹ *Hist. Maine*, II, 166.

² *Lincoln Report*, 1811, p. 145. Testimony of Col. Wm. Jones.

poorest settlers, holding their small farms under these proprietors. On the theory just alluded to the whole had become the property of the crown whose agent he was.

Such a course as this could not but wake up a formidable opposition on every hand, and Dunbar soon found himself in difficulty. Disregarding alike all former titles, from whatever source derived, he soon found that all persons representing the old claims were arrayed as one man against him. At first he affected to despise this opposition, but at length he found, much to his disappointment, that it possessed a strength he had not anticipated. Petitions and remonstrances crowded the tables of the general court in Boston, and agents of some of the larger claimants even went to England to bring the matter before the proper authorities there. The remonstrances and petitions addressed to the general court were referred to a committee who speedily reported, presenting the facts in the case, and denouncing the course of Dunbar; but the provincial government was powerless in the matter, except merely to bring it before the British authorities. This they did in earnest, and with effect. Belcher, at this time governor, though in the midst of a bitter quarrel with the house in regard to his salary, united with them in this matter, out of hatred to Dunbar.

Political parties in the colonies at this time were as decided and bitter as they have ever been since; and Dunbar had given mortal offence to Belcher by joining the party opposed to him. When therefore all the proprietary interests were combined to effect Dunbar's removal, Gov. Belcher was ready without hesitation to afford all the aid which his official position might enable him to give. He evidently had the disposition to proceed to more decisive measures, but for his fear "to encounter a man armed with a royal commission."

About this time Dunbar, having occasion to visit Boston, was surprised to find that governor, legislature and the people were alike opposed to his course, which they considered excessively arbitrary and unjust. Being thwarted in some of his plans, and some of his views of public affairs being violently opposed, he fell into a passion, and in strong language denounced governor, legislature and people together.

Scarcely two years had elapsed, after Dunbar's arrival in the country, before the complaints preferred against him in England became so loud and earnest, that the government was

obliged to notice them. Shem Drowne, of Boston, in behalf of the proprietors of the Pemaquid patent, petitioned the crown for his removal; and Samuel Waldo, sent over as agent for the claimants under the Muscogus patent, with other friends they found in England, was present in person to urge the same thing. The whole matter was referred to the Board of Trade, who called the province agent, *Francis Wilkes* before them and ordered a full statement of the matter in controversy, to be made up and referred to the attorney and solicitor general for their opinion. The facts, as heretofore related (pages 254, 256), of the conquest by the French in 1696, and the reconquest by the English in 1710, were to be particularly referred to, and the two following queries submitted, viz :

“1. Whether the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, if they ever had any right to the government of the tract of land lying between the St. Croix and Kennebec, have not, by their neglect, and even refusal, to defend and take care of and improve the same, forfeited those said rights to the government, and what right they had, under the charter, and now have to the lands.

“2. Whether by the said tracts being conquered by the French, and afterwards reconquered by General Nicholson, in the late queen's time, and yielded up by France to Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht, that part of the charter relating thereto, became vacated, and whether the government of that tract, and the lands thereof, are not absolutely revested in the owner, and whether the owner has not thereby sufficient power to appoint governors, and assign lands to such families as shall be desirous to settle there.”¹

These officers, after patiently listening to the arguments of counsel on both sides, made a report which entirely settled the question. They decided that by the royal charter² to Massachusetts Bay, this territory was granted to her, both as to civil jurisdiction and right of soil, and that she had not at any time so neglected it as to forfeit the rights. They decided further that the conquest by the French, by the laws of nations did not annul, but only suspended, the rights of the crown and people of the province, and that upon the reconquest by the English, all the ancient rights, whether of the crown or the

¹ *Sat. Hist., Me., p. 293. Will. Hist., Me., II., 174.*

² The charter of William and Mary, in 1692, is meant.

people, being British subjects, immediately reverted to their former holders; that the charter remained valid and in full force, and that the crown did not have any right to appoint a governor, or to make assignments of the land.¹

This report was made in August, 1731, and adopted by the government; and there remained no reason for the long continuance of Dunbar in his office at Pemaquid; but his dismissal did not take place until the following year, August, 10, 1732. The same royal order that dismissed Dunbar, also revoked the authority previously given to Governor Phillips of (Nova Scotia) over this territory, and recalled the soldiers from Fort Frederic. Afterwards the fort at Winter Harbor was dismantled, and the troops, arms and stores removed to Fort Frederic, where a garrison was to be maintained.

Dunbar still retained his office as surveyor of the king's woods, and also lieutenant governor of New Hampshire, to which he was appointed in 1731, but continued his residence at Pemaquid until 1734. Removing at this time to Portsmouth, he was for a time very zealous and active in his efforts as surveyor to protect "the king's timber", which frequently brought him into violent collision with trespassers upon the royal woods. By a law of parliament, passed at an early period, no pine trees 24 inches or more in diameter a foot from the ground, were to be felled, as they were to be preserved for masts for the royal navy, and trespassers were punished by severe penalties. Logs, cut without license, were liable to be seized by the surveyor wherever found, and Dunbar with his servants, in several instances, went to the saw mills in search of contraband lumber, where serious wars of words and threatenings occurred between him and the trespassers, which greatly lowered his dignity. At length becoming exceedingly unpopular in New Hampshire, he returned to Pemaquid, and subsequently built a house at a place he named Belvidera, on the Damariscotta river, a little below the fresh water falls.

He was a man of energy and good capacity for business, but, at the same time, a scheming politician, and ready by any intrigue to promote his own selfish ends. Though unpopular

¹ The reader will bear in mind that this "*conquest*" of the country consisted in the capture of Pemaquid by Ibberville, in 1696, and the "*reconquest*" in the capture of Port Royal by Nicholson, in 1713. These terms of course can be used only by way of legal fiction.

with the multitude in New Hampshire, he had some warm friends, who seemed to think that influence enough could be raised in his favor, to secure for him the office of governor of that province; and with the view of obtaining this he went to England in 1737, but was not successful.

Some of his old creditors, in the hope of obtaining their dues, caused his arrest, and he was thrown into prison, but was soon liberated, by what means is not known, by some of his friends. All this time, though in Europe, he continued to hold his office in New England as surveyor of the woods, but at length, for £2000 sterling, was persuaded to resign, and was appointed governor of the Island of St. Helena by the Royal East India Company. This was in 1743.¹

Whether Dunbar ever returned to this country is not known, nor is it known when or where he died, but his widow, after his death, returned to this country and married Thomas Henderson, of Cushing, and was living in 1776, as was proven before the commissioners for settling the difficulties in Lincoln Co., in 1811.²

Some of the families introduced by Dunbar, became residents at Pemaquid, but it is believed, that most of them settled in Boothbay, where they are still represented. When the British government decided on the removal of Dunbar they of course by their acts, if not by words, repudiated the theory as to the ownership of the soil, on which he had been acting in their name; but no attention was given to the settlers, now left without any title whatever to the lands he had assigned them. A grosser piece of injustice, on the part of any government towards its subjects, has seldom been heard of; but there was no remedy. Dunbar, after his removal, told the people that the governor of Nova Scotia would give them deeds of their lands; but how could he give deeds after the confession of his superiors, that those lands belonged of right to other parties? The whole thing was a mean fraud having its origin and animus in the violent political partizanship of the day. If the land offi-

¹ *Belknap, Hist. N. H.*, II, 93. The author does not give his authority: he is followed implicitly by Williamson (*Hist. Me.*, II, 178), who takes no notice of the facts as sworn to by Mr. Plummer.

² *Lincoln R.p.*, 1811, p. 153; Benjamin Plummer's testimony. *Eaton, Hist. Th.*, II, 263. Henderson lived for a time at Round Pond, but removed to Warren and then to Pleasant Point in Cushing. At one time he had command of the fort on St. Georges' river.

cers of the crown, to whom the question was referred, had been no more honest than the government itself, an opposite opinion might have been obtained and this, in all probability, would have been followed by the formal detachment from Massachusetts of all the territory of Maine, east of the Kennebec, and its annexation to Nova Scotia. As a possible result of this the same territory might at this day form a part of the neighboring British province of New Brunswick.

With all his faults Dunbar was an energetic officer, and by his efforts a very good beginning was made for the new settlement. How many families were introduced by him, on the territory within his assumed jurisdiction, we cannot now know with certainty, but probably as many as fifty or sixty. Several families as well as single men came from Boston and vicinity, many of them were persons who had but recently arrived from the old country, and were poorly prepared for the hardships for which they had volunteered, and much suffering was the necessary consequence.

Of those that settled in Harrington, or perhaps some in Walpole, were Moses Young, — Kent, James Sproul, and — Reed, who received lots of land, on the west side of Pemaquid river, lying side by side, in the order of the names; Young's lot being at the north, and Reed's at the south. The lots were intended each to be 16 rods wide. Sproul's lot was the same occupied by the late Capt. John Sproul who was his grandson. The latter was accustomed to show in his field, some distance east of his house, the foundations of a stone house, and also a stable, erected and occupied by his grandfather, who died some time before the close of the last century. He was born in Ireland, probably near Belfast, and came with his family and also a brother, John, to Boston, not long before the arrival of Dunbar. Induced probably by Dunbar's offers he came here the very first year of his [Dunbar's] operations, and spent here the rest of his life. From him have descended, it is believed, all persons of this name in New England.

John Sproul, brother of James, lived in Stowe, Mass., and it is not known whether he was ever in these parts. Wm. Sproul, of the Meadows, whom many of the older people now living will remember, was a son or grandson of his.¹

¹ Capt. John Sproul, Mrs. Dr. Howe, Mrs. Mary (Sproul) Johnston. The latter remembered James Sproul, the first of the name in the country. He was her grandfather.

South of the four families resided others, on similar lots, but their names are not known.

On the east side, probably, were William and (Joseph?) Burns, ancestors of all persons of this name in this region. They came under Dunbar; and the former received from him a lot of land, but, being dissatisfied with the location, he left it and removed to Broad Bay, at the invitation of Waldo. Being driven away by the Indians, he took his family to Scituate, Mass., but afterwards, about 1748, returned to Pennaquid, and finally settled at Muscongus, receiving a deed of his farm there from Waldo. He was present as captain of a transport at the taking of Louisburg. He died at Muscongus, Dec., 1750.

Wm. Burns brother of Joseph (?) just named, and uncle of Deacon Wm., in the time of the Indian wars, raised a volunteer company of militia, and did good service for his country.¹

James Bailey and family came to Round Pond in 1729 or 1730, but whether under Dunbar or not is not known. His house was near the shore, at the southwest part of Round Pond, where he cultivated a field. After living here eight or nine years, at the beginning of the Spanish war, he removed with his family to the westward, but returned again, many years afterwards, and took possession of his former old field. His subsequent history is not known.

Thomas Henderson "lived on a point of land to the southward of Bailey's house, and joining them, and on the northerly side of a small brook, near to where said Bailey lived, and now improved by John Randell."² Henderson subsequently removed to Cushing or St. Georges; where one or two relatives of the same name also lived. At a later period he married the widow of Gov. Dunbar, as before related. — Moore who lived on the lot owned and occupied by the late Wm. McCobb, may have been the same as mentioned previously as belonging to Boothbay. His house was some distance east of the present road; and some stones showing the position of

¹ *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, 162. The Burns family during the Indian troubles were three times driven from their homes.

² Deposition of Patrick Rodgers in *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 61. This deposition was given in 1773. Rodgers was several years an officer in the fort, and ancestor of those of the name who lived at Pennaquid in recent times. The name has become extinct in this line. Whether the exact location of Bailey's and Henderson's lots can now be determined the writer is unable to say. *Euton's Hist. Thom.*, II, 263.

the chimney, were to be seen a few years ago. There were also indications of a small cultivated field. Mr. McCobb was accustomed to show the place, and claimed that Moore was an ancestor of his on his mother's side.

John North came from Ireland with his son John jr., aged 15, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Lydia, about 1719, or 1720, and settled first at North Yarmouth. He came in a vessel owned by himself with his family and servants. About 1731, he removed with his family to Pemaquid, and died here, about the year 1740.¹ His son John, was afterwards captain of the fort and surveyor of land, having been employed by Shem Drowne in making a survey of the claims he represented, and also a regular division of it into lots, for distribution among the different persons claiming under this right. He subsequently removed to St. George, and was for a time captain of the fort there. He died in 1763.

Lydia North, sister of the above, married Boyce Cooper, as his second wife, and lived in Thomaston.

Descendants of the family now live in Augusta, and vicinity, and in the house of one of them are still preserved articles of household furniture once used in the family of Captain North, in Pemaquid.

Capt. John North² was on excellent terms with Shem and Thomas Drowne, who employed him as surveyor. The farm he occupied was given to him by Thomas Drowne; it was situated at the head of the western branch of John's river, and was sold by him to James Young, and by the latter to Merrill. Some remains of the cellar of his house near the shore, it is said, are still to be found, and also some shrubs and plants that were cultivated in his garden.

The settlement of the place, thus commenced under Dunbar, continued after his removal, but its progress was not rapid.

The fishing business was prosecuted with a good degree of success; but the hard, unproductive soil, without plenty of manure, which could not then be obtained, yielded but a miserably poor return for its cultivation. Timber was abundant, of almost every kind, and the cutting and exportation of it soon became a leading business, not of Pemaquid only, but of all the settlements on the coast and navigable streams. Boston and

¹ Miss H. E. North, and Hon. James W. North.

other places in Massachusetts had long before this furnished a market for large quantities of wood for fuel; and probably at this time more persons in the eastern settlements obtained a livelihood by getting out "cord wood" than by any other business.

The native savages always roaming along the coast were frequent visitors; and though sometimes friendly required always to be watched. At times they were dangerous; and on their approach all had to leave their business, however urgent, and seek safety in the forts or other less imposing fortifications previously provided. It is not strange therefore that most of the settlers were miserably poor and, at times, even destitute of the meanest comforts, as described by affidavits on a preceding page. They brought little with them, and for many years the acquisition of anything more than was absolutely required for the support of themselves and families was impossible.

Another circumstance which retarded the settlement of the place was the singular uncertainty of land titles in all this region. Most of the settlers at this time held their possessions under Dunbar; but, as before stated, they had received from him neither deeds or leases; and besides, the British government, whose agent he was, had relinquished the feeble pretence of title upon which they had sent him here. Whatever title actual possession and reoccupation might give they had, but nothing more. If the settlers under Dongan, or their representatives, had returned and occupied their former possessions, they would have had a strong argument in their favor; but only a few came, and they seem not to have urged their claims with earnestness.

The two sets of claimants, one under the Indian deed of Brown, and the other under the Pemaquid patent to Elbridge and Aldsworth, very soon began some activity; and at different times, caused surveys to be made of the territories severally claimed by them. Both of these claims covered all the present townships of Bristol, Bremen, and Damariscotta, and a part of Waldoboro, and Jefferson.¹

Besides these, other claimants to portions of the same terri-

¹By referring to Brown's deed (p. 54) it will be seen that it did not include Pemaquid point, and perhaps not Rutherford's island and a portion of the neck of land between John's river and the Damariscotta; but those having possession of the claim did not hesitate for such trifles as these.

tory made their appearance who will be noticed hereafter. These unfavorable circumstances, by preventing immigration, tended strongly to retard the growth of the settlement.

Cooper, with his family and servants, came to Pemaquid some time before 1740. He came "from Ireland, in a brig of his own, with a numerous train of dependents, bound to him, for a certain number of years, to pay for their passage over. He resided first at Portsmouth, and afterwards at Pemaquid, coasting in his own vessel; his wife and family sometimes making their home on board." He afterwards moved to Broad Bay, where he died.

Boice (or Boyce) Cooper, son of the preceding, came with his father to Pemaquid, when a mere lad. He was "a humorous, eccentric character; a genuine son of the Emerald Isle, fearless and reckless, passionate and profane, but generous and hospitable, prodigal of his money, his time, and convivial hilarity." It is related, that when the family lived at Pemaquid, and the vessel they came in, was found to need repairs, they "hailed her up there for the purpose, and the father went to Boston to procure workmen. During his absence, some of the people, influenced by motives of mischief or profit, persuaded Boice that it would be better to build a new one, with the iron of the old. He seized upon the idea at once, set the brig on fire, and on the old gentleman's return, nothing remained but the ashes." Being an only child, he inherited the property of his father, and continued to reside on his father's place at Broad Bay, until the coming of the German settlers there, with whom he never could agree. "His habits, temper and recklessness, brought him in perpetual collision with them, their fists being more than a match for his tongue, especially as the latter was not understood." Disgusted with the Dutchmen, he removed from Broad Bay to the present town of Warren, having exchanged his lots in the former, for others in the latter place. After the death of his father, he made a voyage to Ireland, and disposed of considerable property that fell to him, bringing with him, on his return, several men and women, who had engaged to work for him seven years in payment for their passage. Not long after his removal from Broad Bay, going with another man some distance down the river St. George, for the purpose of gathering rock weed for manure, they were both captured by a company of Indians, and taken to Canada. Cooper, in his captivity,

maintained his usual cheerfulness, and more than his usual good humor, which greatly pleased his captors, and secured for him good treatment. While in prison in Canada, a fellow prisoner, like himself a native of Ireland, died, bequeathing to him a violin, on which instrument he was a skillful player. He made such excellent use of the instrument, that he received much attention from the governor and others, until an exchange of prisoners took place, and he was set at liberty. He died in 1795, aged 75. He married, 1st, Katherine Kellyhorn, and 2d, Lydia North, as before mentioned. He left several daughters, but no sons,¹ and the name is not perpetuated.

Wm. Starrett, a Scotchman, in 1735, with his family removed from Pemaquid to George's river, but it is not known how long he had been here. The family afterwards removed to Massachusetts, where he died, but subsequently his widow and family returned to Warren. The name is still perpetuated there by a numerous and respectable posterity. Two grandsons of his graduated at Bowdoin College in the class of 1818.²

John Shibles and wife, Elizabeth (Killpatrick) Shibles, came here before 1732, as their son John was born here that year. Mrs. Shibles with her infant son removed to George's river (Thomaston) in 1736; and it is inferred that her husband had died at Pemaquid. John jr., married in Thomaston; and from him have descended all of the name now in that place. He died in 1777.

¹ *Eaton's An. Warren*, 62, 63, 71 and 284. This story of the Coopers having come over, with their attendants, in their own vessel, closely resembles that of the Norths before given. Considering the connection between the two families, and the fact that they both came to this country about the same time, may suggest a doubt whether the story, very probably true of one, may not also have been attributed to the other.

² *Eaton's Annals Warren*, p. 428. *Triennial Catalogue*.

³ *Do. Hist. Thomaston*, II, p. 391. Others of the settlers who came here under Dunbar will be noticed hereafter in connection with events in which they bore a part.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GOVERNOR DUNBAR'S REMOVAL, AND EVENTS IMMEDIATELY
SUCCEEDING.

Gov. Belcher holds a Conference with the Indians at Falmouth, after having visited Pemaquid, and St. George—The Governor makes a second excursion to the eastern settlements, and, with several attendants, goes on foot from Pemaquid to the Sheepscott—Scarcity of food, and prevalence of Scarlet Fever in various parts of the province—Great embarrassment produced by the depreciation of the currency—A Land Bank established—Origin of the old tenor and new tenor, as applied to the currency—War declared between England and France—Necessary precautions taken against the Indians—Scouting parties formed for protection against the Indians—Expedition against Louisbourg—Beginning of the fifth Indian War—Murders by the Indians at Walpole and elsewhere—Indian conference at Falmouth—Unfortunate affair at Wiscasset—Massachusetts redeems her bills of credit.

Governor Belcher, in 1732, made a visit to the various English settlements as far east as St. Georges, calling at Pemaquid. His object was to learn, in person, the condition of the settlements, their wants and their strength, and especially to use what influence he might to keep the Indians quiet, and to protect them from wrong on the part of the settlers. The latter object was of great importance, and to some extent under the control of the governor; but a greater source of discontent with the natives was the continual enlargement and increase of the English settlements which the governor was obliged to favor. If, as between the two parties, he had of necessity something of a double part to play, it was no more than others before him have often done, through what has been called motives of state policy.

His chief conference with the Indians was held at Falmouth, where he gave a patient hearing to all their complaints. Besides the encroachments of the English settlements, they had other things to complain of; the truckmaster at St. George, Capt. John Gyles, allowed their young men too much rum which made them drunk, and had also dealt out to them "sour meal and damified tobacco"; and in one instance some of the Eng-

lish had killed two of their dogs for only barking at a cow! They thought, too, that the gunsmith at Georges did not mend their guns as promptly and as well as he should. To all this such explanations were made, and such assurances given for the future as measurably to satisfy them for the time.¹

The governor, on his return, spoke in the warmest terms of the improvements he had witnessed at the several plantations, and of their natural advantages, and future prospects. When the news of Dunbar's recall was received, at the governor's recommendation, provision was made by the legislature for continuing a garrison at this place; for this purpose the fort at Winter Harbor was dismantled, and the officers and soldiers, with the artillery and stores of all kinds, transferred to Fort Frederic, at Pemaquid.

In the summer of 1734, Governor Belcher, ever watchful of the interests of these eastern settlements, made another excursion, in the "Scarborough man of war," along the coast, calling at most of the settlements, and listening patiently to all complaints whether of the Indians or English. While at Fort Frederic, he made a personal exploration of the Damariscotta and Sheepscott rivers, and even undertook an excursion on foot from the head of Johns river to the Sheepscott. He was accompanied by six "musquetiers"; and at the end of their journey, which we may suppose to have been at Wiscasset or the immediate vicinity, they were met by the "man of war's pinnace" and taken back to the fort. Here many of the eastern Indians had assembled, probably by previous appointment, and an informal conference was held, the Indians expressing a desire for a long continued peace. The governor entertained the Indians in the kindest manner, and much to their satisfaction, who finally left for their homes in excellent good humor.

A tax of £1000 was the next year (1735) assessed upon the people of the province of Massachusetts Bay, of which only £46 and 7 shillings fell to Maine. The settlements east of the Kennebec river were not called upon for anything.²

At this time, whatever may have been the pretence to Indians, it was evidently very desirable on the part of the English to extend, as rapidly as possible, the settlement of the wild lands, especially those in Maine; and a project was started for

¹ *Eaton's An. War.*, 47.

² *Wm. Hist. Maine*, II., 185; *Hist. Magazine*, x., p. 116 of the supplement.

accomplishing this object, and at the same time rewarding some ancient claimants upon the public gratitude. More than fifty years had passed since the war of King Philip, and most of those who served in that contest had gone to their rest; but a law was passed giving, on certain conditions, a farm among the wild lands of the state to each survivor, and also to the heirs of those who were dead. Seven full townships were gratuitously set apart for this purpose, five in Massachusetts and two, now Buxton and Gorham, in this state. This encouraged others, who supposed themselves to have claims upon the colonial government, to come forward, and the result was that many other grants of the wild lands were made, thus stimulating their settlement in a manner not before known.

The increased activity in this direction could not fail to be perceived by the natives, and to increase their uneasiness. They complained particularly of the encroachment by Waldo's settlements on the St. George, and government was obliged to take measures to prevent Waldo's people from building or otherwise occupying the lands above the upper falls in the present town of Warren. With this the Indians expressed themselves satisfied, especially as presents of the value of £100 were sent to be distributed among the tribe. They continued so quiet a number of years that several of the forts were dismantled, and the soldiers removed, that in this place being one of them. Only a small number of men were retained in the forts at Richmond, on the Kennebec, and that on St. Georges river.

It was about this time (1735-1738) that such a scarcity of bread prevailed in this region, as described in an affidavit on a preceding page. The famine was most severe in the spring of 1737, and extended to all this eastern country. It was occasioned by the short crops for several years in succession; and was not unknown in Boston, and other parts of Massachusetts. At the same time a very mortal disease, called then *throat distemper* (*scarlatina*), prevailed in many parts of New England, greatly increasing the general distress.¹

We do not learn that the disease was known here, at the time, but in consequence of other troubles many, who had settled in this place, made preparations to leave for other localities which they considered as more favored; or it may be that the

¹ *Will. Hist., Maine*, II, 186-193; *Eaton An. War.*, 53; *Smith's Jour.*, 82, 83, 86.

agents of other settlements sought to entice them away to increase their own populations. In the spring of 1735, a contract was made with Waldo, at St. Georges fort, by 27 individuals for the settlement of themselves and families on his lands on that river; and it is probable that most or all of them were then resident at Pemaquid. We are led to this conclusion from the fact that the drawing for choice of lots was appointed at Pemaquid, the 4th of May, and, further, many of them we know belonged here.* Among the known Pemaquid names are John North jr., McCordy, Elliot, Henderson, James Sproul, Starrett, Young, McFarland, Fossett, McIntyre, and perhaps others. All who signed the contract did not participate in the drawing, but perhaps others took their places.¹

To keep the Indians tranquil, and to protect alike both the white man and the Indian, Gov. Belcher, almost every year, made a visit to these settlements; but in spite of all his care he could not but observe a growing antipathy between the two races and, in 1739, began to take measures of precaution against the coming struggle, which he plainly foresaw. Various measures were adopted to pacify the natives, in the hope of avoiding a rupture, but at the same time means were provided for repairing several of the forts on the coast, and a small garrison again stationed at the fort in this place. Great embarrassment was experienced at this time in every branch of business, because of the great decline in the value of the paper money, in circulation, called "bills of credit." Many plans were suggested to remedy the difficulty; and among other things a kind of bank, called a *Land Bank*, was started in Massachusetts, which however was dissolved by act of parliament.

To increase the difficulties war broke out between England and Spain, in 1739, and it was considered necessary by the colonists to strengthen themselves against any Spanish pirates which, it was rumored, might appear on the coast. Besides this it was expected that a war with France would soon follow, which would very certainly bring upon them again the dreaded savages.

The terms "*old tenor*" and "*new tenor*," as applied to the Massa-

¹ *Eaton's Am. War*, 17, 54. A list of the lots drawn on both sides of Georges river is given by this very careful and judicious writer. The name of James Sproul (or Sprowl) is here written Sprawl, by mistaking in the Ms. an *o* for an *a*! Though signing the contract, Sproul did not participate in the drawing.

chusetts currency, originated at this time (1741, 1742) and were occasionally heard in conversation, especially among the old people, as late as the beginning of the present century. A word as to their origin and meaning may not be out of place here.

Gov. Shirley succeeded Belcher in 1741, and one of his first efforts was directed to a reform in the currency, which was then so much depreciated that £100 sterling was considered equal to £550 Massachusetts currency. After much discussion and controversy it was decided to issue bills of credit, "of a new form," in which, as expressed on the face of the note or bill, the pound, or 20 shillings should be of the value of 3 ounces of silver. An ounce of silver would then, in this currency, be worth 6s and 8d., whereas in the old currency its value was 28s.

These notes, like those of former emissions, were made a legal tender in the payment of debts; but with this singular provision, that if they should depreciate in value, an additional sum should be required to be paid in proportion to the real depreciation, which should be determined once a year in each county by the oldest councillor residing in it.

To distinguish these bills from the old they were called *new tenor*, and of course the old soon came to be called *old tenor*.¹

For a little time these bills of the new tenor passed at their declared value; but as no provision was made for the *actual payment* of the 3 ounces of silver for each 20 shilling note, they soon depreciated in value, precisely as all former emissions, and all took the name together of *old tenor*. We shall have occasion to refer to this again hereafter.

The next year, 1742, Gov. Shirley made his first excursion to these parts, and spent a little time at Fort Frederic. When he returned he expressed much satisfaction with what he had seen at the settlements; and, at his recommendation, an appropriation of £700 was made for the repair of the fort here, and those at one or two other places. For the first time we now hear of provision being made for the appointment of a chaplain for Fort Frederic.² The year following, in apprehension of an immediate war with France, very liberal appropriations were made

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 208; *Eaton, An. War.*, p. 64; *Doug. Sum.*, I, p. 494; *Hutch. Hist.*, II, 361.

² Rev. Mr. Rutherford, as we have before seen, officiated as chaplain here under Dunbar, and it may be that he was regularly appointed and paid by the government.

for the eastern settlements, the fort in this place receiving £134 for repairs, and an addition of six men to its garrison. All the forts or block houses in the vicinity, as Richmond, Arrowsic, Sheepscott, Damariscotta, Broad Bay, and St. George, also received aid.¹ The result showed their wisdom, for the dreaded war was declared against England by France, March 15, 1744; and the French and Indians had begun their devastations in Nova Scotia, before the declaration was known in New England.

News, both of the declaration of war and the disturbances at the eastward was received in Boston while the legislature was in session; and active measures were taken immediately to meet the emergency, in which the settlements on the coast of Maine were so deeply interested. Five hundred men were at once drafted, of whom 300 were designed to protect the eastern frontiers. Seventy-three new recruits were sent to the several forts on the coast, of whom 24 were ordered to Fort Frederic.

As the Penobscot Indians had for some time been very peaceable, and appeared friendly, it was thought they might be prevented from joining the French, and at length, by kind treatment, become attached to the English interest. Measures were therefore adopted for this purpose; and a delegation, sent from Boston, in July, had a meeting at St. George's fort with some of the Penobscot chiefs, who gave every assurance of a strong desire, on their part, for a continuance of the present peace with the English. The tribes further east, on the Passamaquoddy, had already joined with the French in their acts of violence; and therefore in the autumn of the year war was regularly declared against them by the government of Massachusetts. The Penobscot Indians were forbidden, at the same time, to have any intercourse or correspondence with the "Indian rebels" to the east of them. It is painful to be obliged to add that to all persons who should volunteer and enter the war, at their own expense, a reward of £100 was offered for the scalp of every male Indian above 12 years of age, £50 for that of a younger male or of a female, and £5 additional to these rates for captives.

It was hoped to enlist some of the able bodied Penobscots in the public service against the French and Indians farther east, but it was found impracticable.²

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 214.

² *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 218.

Now, for the first time, the militia of Maine was regularly organized into two regiments, one being put under the command of Col. Wm. Pepperell, of Kittery, and the other under Col. Samuel Waldo, of Falmouth. The whole number of men enrolled was 2,855. The number in Col. Waldo's regiment was 1,290, of whom 270 are credited to Georges and Broad Bay, 50 to Pemaquid, and 50 to Sheepscott.

Now also we first hear of regular "scouting parties" in this vicinity who were to range through the woods from settlement to settlement, in order to intercept any hostile parties who might be disposed to mischief. One hundred men were enlisted for the winter (1744-5) for this purpose, who were divided into 8 companies, each commanded by a sergeant. The distance to be traversed over was from Berwick, near the New Hampshire line, to the St. George's river; and this was divided into 8 parts, to each of which a scouting party was assigned. The three parties in this vicinity, which more particularly concern us, were arranged as follows: a party of 14 stationed at Wiscasset, was to scout as far as Vaughan's mills, at Damariscotta, at Vaughan's block house, a party of the same number to scout to Broad Bay (Waldoboro), and another of 14 at Broad Bay to scout to the block house on St. George's river.¹

This was an excellent arrangement, and under different organizations was continued for many years, at least in times of special danger.

The year 1745 was destined to mark an important epoch in the history of New England and of British dominion on this continent, and must not be passed in silence, although the transactions were not particularly connected with the progress of events at this place. The great event was the capture of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton, June 17th, just thirty years before the battle of Bunker Hill. Whether we consider the unsurpassed energy with which the expedition was organized, the bravery and perseverance with which the siege was prosecuted, the wonderfully favorable turn which several apparently fortuitous, but very important circumstances took in its progress, or the momentous influence the result produced upon the relative position of the French and English elements on this continent, this enterprise of the English colony of Massachusetts Bay must ever hold a place among the wonders of history.

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, ii, 218; *Eaton, An. War.*, 66.

The city of Louisbourg was protected by several fortresses of immense strength, and contained a large stone building called the *Citadel* in which were the house of the governor, barracks for the soldiers and military stores of every kind, and in abundant supply. The whole was also well manned.

For half a century or more, as we have seen, there had been much talk in the English colonies of making an effort to drive the French from this whole region, if not from the continent; but they had all the time been increasing their strength. It does not appear that this grand result was particularly aimed at when the Louisbourg expedition was planned, though it actually followed the capture of that stronghold, almost as a necessary consequence, only fifteen years afterwards.

During the summer of 1744 the English, and especially the New Englanders, suffered greatly in their commercial and fishing interests from vessels of war and privateers fitted out from Louisbourg; and in the autumn it is said to have been a subject of general conversation that the place must be taken; but Wm. Vaughan of Damariscotta appears to have been the first to propose a plan for the bold undertaking. The legislature met on the first of January, and Gov. Shirley, having consulted with Vaughan and others, took an early opportunity to present the matter before them in a formal manner. After much discussion the recommendation of the governor was passed by one majority, January 26th,—and all parties without delay began to make preparation for the struggle. With such energy was the enterprise prosecuted, that, before the close of March, the expedition actually set sail from Boston, and arrived in the vicinity of Louisbourg before the ice had sufficiently melted away to allow the ships and transports to enter the harbor. We do not here enter into any details of the siege;—and it is sufficient to say, as above stated, that the place with all its immense stores fell into the hands of the English on the 17th of June.

They were greatly aided by several ships of the royal navy, under Admiral Warren, belonging to the English West India squadron, which was despatched there for the purpose.

The residents of this place could not but be deeply interested in the success of the enterprise,—and we are anxious to know what part they took in it,—but very little information has come down to us. The fact is well known that nearly all the promi-

ment officers of the expedition were selected from the district of Maine, and their influence induced many men from the same region to enlist in the service. From the German settlement under Waldo, at Broad Bay, which had been begun only a few years previously, all the able bodied men enlisted, some of them taking their families with them; — many also joined the service from Georges river. The Broad Bay settlement was for the time entirely broken up, those who did not enlist being obliged to remove to other places of greater safety.¹

We learn the names of only two who went from Pemaquid, Joseph Burns, who was captain of a transport, and James Yeates, or Yates, as the name is now usually written. Yates was absent about three years. At the same time Wm. Burns, brother of the preceding, enlisted a company of men in the service of government for the protection of the place.²

It may be that the men of Pemaquid were excused from serving in the expedition for this express purpose.

The place (Louisbourg) as previously stated, was captured June 17th, but Gov. Shirley, who took occasion to visit the place soon after its capture, persuaded as many as he could to re-enlist for the defense of the place, which, it might be expected, the French would immediately undertake to recapture. This explains why so many that joined the expedition did not return sooner than three or even four years. As was expected, the next year, (1646), an immense fleet was fitted out from France, for the recapture of Louisbourg and other hostile movements against the English settlement, and caused no little consternation; but so many of the ships were disabled on the passage, by storms and unexpected calamities, that nothing was accomplished, and nothing even attempted by way of fighting.

The British government, several years afterwards, paid to the several colonies who planned and executed so great a feat, in compensation of their expenditures, the sum of £200,000 sterling, equal to about \$1,000,000. It was paid in specie, silver and copper, which was brought into Boston in 215 boxes.

Wm. Vaughan, who was so intimately connected with the Louisbourg expedition, was a son of George Vaughan, formerly lieut. governor of New Hampshire. He was born in Ports-

¹ *Eaton's An. War*, 67; *Conn. Rep.*, 1811, p. 61, 162.

² The commission of one or the other of these men was preserved in a family of his descendants only a few years ago.

month in 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He early engaged in the fishing business, and his schooners were often at Monhegan, and Matinans and other places eastward. In the public documents of the time he is occasionally styled "fisherman."

He appears to have established himself at the "Damariscotta Fresh Water Falls" about the time Dunbar came to Pemaquid, and there was always an excellent understanding between the two, but we do not know as there was any other connection.

He early erected saw mills in the place and was largely engaged in the manufacture of lumber, which was disposed of in the Boston and other markets. He sometimes kept as many as 12 yoke of oxen, and other stock in proportion, employing of course many men.

Probably he held a grant of land on the Damariscotta river and pond from Dunbar; but he also obtained deeds of ill-defined tracts of the same lands of the Indian chiefs residing in the place or vicinity, and also of other claimants, as John Brown¹, and John Taylor. The object, of course, was to make his title perfect as possible.

For protection against the Indians he constructed a strong fort of timber 100 feet square. On one occasion he sent down a large raft of lumber to a vessel loading somewhere below; and the men as they returned, when near the fort, were fired upon by some Indians and a man named Joseph Jones and Plato, a negro, were wounded. Plato was a cripple ever afterwards.

About 1740 he built for himself a large and elegant house, for that time, but it was afterwards destroyed by fire.

Whether or not Vaughan first suggested the Louisbourg enterprise, it is certain that Gov. Shirley made him one of his principal advisers in planning the expedition; though Douglas¹ says of him that he was a "wild visionary projector in his own private concerns, entirely ignorant of military affairs, and of the nature of the defense, or strength of a place regularly and well fortified at immense expense." He thought the fort at Louisbourg, strong as it was, could be taken by 1500 militia, provided with scaling ladders, and attended by a few armed schooners. Though his advice was not followed altogether, the plan of the ladders was adopted; but when those supplied

¹ *Political Summary*, I, p. 348.

for the purpose were received before the walls, they were found to be ten feet too short.

Williamson says of him that he thought they might hope to capture the place, in the winter season, by marching over the walls upon the banks of snow, which might be expected to form against them.¹ From these facts we may conclude that he was more distinguished for bravery and energy than for sound discretion, but still he was trusted by Gov. Shirley with a lieutenant colonel's commission though without any particular command. He did good service at the siege of the fort, and contributed his full share to the wonderful success of the expedition.

The capture of the city of Louisbourg, with all its immense fortifications and military stores, was justly considered an event of more than usual importance, and entitling the officers in command to some special rewards for meritorious services; but, in distributing rewards, the American officers, with one or two exceptions, were entirely overlooked, Vaughan himself being entirely neglected. The next year he sailed for England where he died.

Another war, sometimes called the *fifth Indian war*, was a necessary consequence of the declaration of war by France, against England, as has been stated. This being clearly foreseen, our people hoped at first to secure the Penobscot tribe in their interest, and took measures for this purpose; but it was found impracticable. As neutrality on their part was impossible, in the present circumstances, it was plain that they must be considered as enemies; and the government therefore, Aug. 23, 1745, declared war against them, as they had, the preceding autumn, against the tribes further to the eastward. The miserable expedient was also resorted to of offering bounties for Indians captured alive or for scalps of those slain.

But the savages had begun hostilities before the war was declared; they delayed not for such (to them) unmeaning formalities. July 19th, they made an unsuccessful attack upon the fort at St. George, and a little later another party made their appearance before Fort Frederic. "In approaching it, they met a woman, about 300 yards from the walls, whom they wounded in the shoulder, and then one of them seized her. Either the report of the gun or her shrieks, unfortunately for them, alarmed

¹ *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, II, p. 220.

the garrison; and amidst the momentary consternation and rising smoke, or through the carelessness of her keepers, she broke away from them, and under the fire from the fort escaped to the gate."¹ This, so far as we can learn, was all they accomplished at this time.

A story similar to this, and perhaps only another version of the same, used to be told by the old people living in the vicinity. A woman, Mrs. McFarland, was picking beans in a field a little distance from the fort, but seeing an Indian partially concealed in the bushes, scarcely a gun-shot from her, she knew it was time for her to be seeking a place of safety. To attempt at once to run for the fort would be almost sure death; so, with apparent unconcern, she stepped slowly away for a few seconds, and then began to run for life. The Indian, seeing it was his last chance, rushed from his ambush and fired upon her but just at that instant she stumbled upon the uneven ground, and fell forward upon her face, the bullet merely grazing her shoulder, and producing a slight wound. She was now within range of the guns of the fort, the guards of which had been aroused by the report of the Indian's piece, so that any nearer approach, on his part, would have been particularly dangerous, and the woman was soon within the gates.²

Does the following extract from a message of Gov. Shirley to the house of representatives, July 25th, 1745, have reference to the same occurrence? "I have also to inform you, that I received yesterday an Express from Capt. *Savage*, at His Majesty's Fort *Frederic*, advising me, that on the 19th Instant a party of Indians had seized a woman within three hundred yards of the Fort, but that she breaking from them had, under Cover of the Fire from the Fort, escaped into it with receiving only one Wound in her Shoulder with a Musquet Ball; and that he was in hourly Expectation of having the Fort itself attacked by a large Party of the Enemy."³

During the next year, (1746), the savages continued their stealthy attacks upon the settlements, and wanton murders in every direction, wherever they could find unprotected victims; so that the people could labor on their farms or in their shops upon week days, or attend worship on the sabbath, only under

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 237.

² Mrs. Sarah (Johnston) Barnett, a granddaughter of Mrs. McFarland.

³ Copied from *Journal of House*, p. 85.

the guard of armed men, and at the risk of their lives. In the month of May, they fell upon the settlement at Broad Bay and entirely destroyed it, but in this vicinity all fled to Fort Frederic, leaving only the cattle and the horses and other domestic animals to the savage enemy.

The people lived in continual alarm, the men attending to their work with their loaded guns near at hand, and their families being in constant readiness to flee to the fort at any moment. John McFarland and family occupied a place at a distance from the fort, and in their defenceless condition were set upon by a party of Indians who wounded several of the family, leaving them for dead, and destroyed his house and everything connected with it.¹

In the spring of the year, 1747, the Indians began their depredations unusually early; April 27th,² they suddenly made their appearance at Walpole, killing Mrs. Jane and Mrs. Elizabeth Lermond, and several others whose names have not been preserved. A small building had been constructed of granite boulders, about two miles north of the present meeting house, to serve as a place of retreat, in case of an attack, and the women were milking their cows near it when the Indians suddenly rushed upon them. One of them had nearly reached the door of the fort when she was shot down.

Wm. Jones, who afterwards became a distinguished public man in the place, was then a young man, and was about building a house, for which he had procured some clear boards, only the day before the attack. A part of the boards were used for coffins for the slain, including the persons named. One account says there were no less than 13 persons killed in Walpole, during this incursion of the enemy.

About this time also, or a day or two earlier, they paid their respects to some of the settlers in Newcastle on the west bank of the Damariscotta, killing or taking captive no less than 15 persons! Either at this or some subsequent incursion they killed a woman, by the name of Gray, and six children who were living on the Farley place, in Newcastle.³

May 28th, a large company, numbering over 100, appeared before Fort Frederic, prepared for an assault, but they

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, II., 246.

² Tombstones of the Lermonds. Tradition.

³ Testimony of John Farley, *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, 152. Tradition.

could make little impression upon its stone walls. During the fight five men, that belonged to Falmouth and Perpooduck were slain, whose names are given by Smith in his diary; they were John and Joseph Cox, Vincent, Smith and Weston. Five men belonging to the garrison of the fort were also killed, and three others taken prisoners.¹ The two Coxes were cousins to the father of the late Capt. Israel Cox of Bristol.

The same day the Lermond women were killed, a party from the fort paddled up the Pemaquid river, in birch canoes, on a gunning excursion, but proceeded cautiously, for Indians were known to be in the region. Passing into the stream, a little above Boyd's pond, they saw at a distance an animal, partly dressed, hanging upon a tree, and near by appearances of a recent fire. Landing carefully, and approaching nearer, they saw it was the carcass of a colt, and near it indications that a fire had been kindled, as if to roast it, but left to go out before the cooking was completed. No Indians were to be seen; but the party thought it prudent to leave for their canoes, as silently as they came. One or two, however, not entirely satisfied with the performance, stole slyly back to the colt and cut off a joint from one of the legs, which they carried, as evidence of their daring, to show to their friends in the fort.² They could not, of course, have known at the time, anything of the terrible disaster at Walpole. During the summer of this year, murders and other outrages by the savages were constantly occurring in other parts, but this place seems not to have been again disturbed until September, when a company of Indians and French, about 60 in number, came silently, very early in the morning, as if intending to capture the fort by surprise. But it happened that a party of five men had, for some reason, gone a little distance from the fort, whom they unexpectedly met. The Indians instantly leveled their guns at them, killing three dead, and badly wounding the other two.

Two of the men thus shot down were scalped and left on the ground, but were soon afterwards found by a party from the fort. One of them was still alive and affirmed that he was scalped by a Frenchman, and not an Indian. He told them where they would find the bodies of two Indians, who had been killed by the fire from the fort, but on going there no bodies were found

¹ *Smith's Jour.*, 129. *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, 252.

² Capt. John Sproul, 1853.

but much blood, appearances indicating that the bodies had been removed. Before leaving, the enemy made a furious assault upon the fort for two hours or more but could do no further injury.¹

About this time two boys, George and Walter McFarland, sons of Mrs. McFarland before mentioned, while at work on Johns island, were attacked by some Indians, the former being killed, and the latter, Walter, carried into captivity. After being with the Indians (probably the Penobscots) about two years, he was restored to his friends at the Indian conference, held in Falmouth, in the autumn of 1749. We shall have occasion to speak of him again in another connection.

The following year, 1748, was a time of quiet here, though some outrages were perpetrated by the Indians, at Brunswick, and North Yarmouth, and other places. This year, by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, peace was restored between England and France, and the other nations of Europe, occasioning much joy in this frontier region. But while the inhabitants in these parts could not but rejoice in the restoration of peace, they felt it as a disgrace that Louisbourg, and the island of Cape Breton, which they had aided to conquer only three years before, at so great a sacrifice, should again be restored to France. But the peace following this treaty, which was indeed real among the nations of Europe, was little more than nominal here. The Indians, it is true, refrained for a time from their usual depredations and murders; but such was the feeling of distrust toward them, that it was considered necessary to preserve still their military organizations, and to conduct all their affairs as on a war footing. Hence, in the spring of 1749, we find there were in the garrison at St. George, 45 men, at Pemaquid, 24, and at Richmond, on the Kennebec, also 24. Besides these, scouting parties ranged the woods from one fortified position to another. Capt. Jabez Bradbury was in command of the fort on St. Georges river, and therefore came much in contact with the Indians, who had chiefly deserted this part of the country, and taken up their residence on the Penobscot. Several of the chiefs intimated to him that the Indians greatly desired to have peace with their neighbors and expressed the opinion that, if they were in Boston, they could easily conclude a treaty with the authorities that would put an

¹ *Hist. Mag.*, x, p. 117, supplement.

end to their difficulties. He therefore, by permission of the Massachusetts authorities, gave them a free passage to Boston in the province sloop, where they made such representations of the strong desire for peace among the eastern Indians, that it was agreed to hold another Indian conference at Falmouth, the September following.

This conference was attended by five commissioners from Massachusetts, and nineteen Indian Chiefs, representing the *Anasagunticooks* and *Wawenocks* (St. Francis tribe) the *Norridgewocks* and the *Penobscots*. A new treaty was formed on the basis of the Dummer treaty of 1726; presents were bestowed as usual upon the Indian negotiators, and "the parties separated with salutations of mutual and cordial friendship."¹

This treaty, it is said, was never openly violated by the Penobscots, who ever afterwards, nominally at least, lived in peace with the English; but the same cannot be said of the other tribes. For several years however, after this, the people of Pemaquid were little molested.

Only a few weeks after the signing of this treaty an unfortunate occurrence at Wiscasset greatly exasperated the Indians and put all the settlements in jeopardy. In a violent quarrel between some white men and Indians, one of the latter was killed, and two others badly wounded. Occurring so soon after the formation of the treaty, there was reason to fear that all the good effects expected to result from it, would be lost; but the Indians, though much excited, were persuaded to await the action of the law. Three of the whites engaged in the fight were arrested and put on their trial for murder; but so strong was the feeling against the Indians that no jury could be found to convict them. The government officers evidently desired that justice should be done; but various delays were interposed on the part of the defence, and the softening effects of time were as observable on the minds of the savages as they have often been in civilized communities. The government officials took occasion to explain, as well as they could, the causes of delay, and to conciliate the family and friends of the deceased by presents. Below is a bill of goods presented to the widow immediately after the sad event, and months afterwards other presents of a similar kind were bestowed on her

Will. Hist. Maine, II, 258; *Maine Hist. Coll.*, I, 220.

and others of his tribe. The goods were delivered by Capt. Bradbury at Fort Richmond.

"Sundries delivered to widow of the Indian that was killed, viz:

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| "34 Bisquet at 6/7. | 0—17—0 | 3 qts. Molasses 4s. 6/7. 0—13—6 |
| "6 Cakes Gingerbread 1s.. | 0— 6—0 | 2 yds. Flannel 35s...3—10—0 |
| "2 qts. Rum at 5s..... | 0—10—0 | Linen Cloth.....0—12—0 |
| "2 Blankets £5 | 10— 0—0 | 1 Hatchett,...1— 0—0 |
| "7 lbs. Pork at 6s | 2— 2—0 | |
| | | 5—15—6 |
| | 13—15—0 | 13—15—0 |
| | | £19—10—6 |

The troubles growing out of this disastrous occurrence continued several years, and occasioned considerable correspondence between the English authorities and the Indians.

Squadook was a noted chief of the Penobscots at the time; and in one of his letters to Gov. Phips, dated Sept. 12, 1751, he used the following language. The writing of course was done by some one serving as his amanuensis.

"Brother, once more, we don't like a great deale of Rum it binders our Praires we buy too much of it, it hurts our souls it is not you but us that doe it. One Kegg and one bottle is enough for one man, the women must have none, this we ask of the Governor and Council, the women buy and sell to the men and are debauched thereby. I believe you will think I speak well, Rum is the Cause of quarrels amongst us. I expect your answer to this."¹

"SQUADOOK."

The name of Squadook is very frequently met with in the original documents pertaining to the history of these trying times; and it is gratifying to know that generally he was an earnest advocate of peace. He died of smallpox in 1756, and also a son and other relatives. This disease was very fatal this year among the Penobscots, and so many of the tribe perished that their strength was sensibly diminished.²

It has been stated heretofore that the Indian tribe called Wawenocks had their chief residence in this place and vicinity, but now we find them associated with the Anasagunticooks, and the two together called the St. Francis tribe. This tribe,

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, vol. 32, p. 18; *Do.* p. 199.

² *Do.* p. 761.

which took its name from that of the river on which they had, and still have, their residence, was made up entirely of emigrants from the tribes on the coast in this region. The French very early acquired controlling influence over the Indians of these parts; but occasionally a disposition was manifested by them to transfer their allegiance to the other party. This the French greatly dreaded; and, as a means to preserve the hold they had gained over them, persuaded many to remove to the St. Francis river in Canada. This is about the last we hear of the Wawenocks who no longer constituted a separate people. Probably they and the Anasagunticooks (Androscoggins) formed the chief part of the new St. Francis tribe. It is to this people then we are to look for the descendants of the race who inhabited these shores, when the first settlers took up their residence here, and who roamed these forests for more than a century afterwards.

The year 1749 was rendered remarkable in Massachusetts, and, in fact, in all New England, by the wise course of the legislature in providing for the redemption in coin of the bills of credit, of which some £2,200,000 were in circulation. The occasion was furnished by the reception from the British government of nearly £200,000 in payment of their expenditures in the taking of Louisbourg, as before described. These bills of credit were of two kinds, old tenor and new tenor, as heretofore described, both of which had greatly depreciated in value; so that a *Spanish milled dollar*, was now worth 45 shillings, old tenor, or 11s. 3d., new tenor. At this rate the bills were redeemed by the treasurer of the colony, and received by the collectors of the taxes; and in a little more than a year they disappeared from circulation.

The next year, 1750, a law was enacted, which provided that in all future transactions, contracts should be payable in coin, at the rate of 6s. 8d. per ounce of silver. This, it will be perceived, is at the rate of 3 ounces of silver to the £. The Spanish dollar was then rated at 4s. 6d., sterling, and at 6s. lawful money; a phrase which soon came into general use in New England.

This return to specie payments was effected at this time by Massachusetts only; but such was her leading position among the neighboring colonies, that very soon all were obliged to fall in with her, especially as it was made a penal offence for persons in Massachusetts to receive bills of credit of other colonies.

Thus was established what has been since known as the New England currency, in which the dollar is reckoned at 6 shillings. The province of Massachusetts Bay was the first to issue bills of credit, to circulate as money, but the other colonies soon followed her example. After struggling with the enormous evils, occasioned by this miserable, irredeemable currency, for more than half a century, Massachusetts was also the first to free herself from the incumbrance, by redeeming the old bills, and providing for her people a currency of the precious metals.

Others of the colonies were later in effecting the same change, and the value of the dollar, as it came to be regarded as the standard of value, was reckoned differently in their several currencies. Thus in Virginia the dollar was reckoned at 6s., the same as in New England, while in New York it was reckoned at 8s., and in Pennsylvania at 7s. and 6d.

CHAPTER XXV.

PEMAQUID DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1750-'59).

The question whether England or France should take the lead, in the further colonization of North America could be determined only by the sword — Commissioners appointed to determine the true boundaries of Acadia — The French or French and Indian War begun — Ebenezer Hall and family of Metinicus — Fort DuQuesne, Crown Point and Niagara — Capt. James Cargill and his company — Discouraging condition of affairs in the Spring of 1756 — Loss of Fort William Henry on Lake George — A change in the British Ministry produces a great change in the aspect of affairs here — News of the capture of Quebec received at Fort Frederick.

The time was now rapidly approaching when a mighty question was to be settled, and the history of the preceding half century had fully shown that it could be settled only by the sword. The question was whether the English or French influence should prevail in the further development of this vast continent; whether England or France should take the lead

in shaping the institutions and controlling the destinies of the future inhabitants of a fifth part of this globe of ours.

The two nations could not act in concert in their schemes of colonization, nor would either consent to withdraw from the field. Both governments saw the value of the prize, to be contended for, as did also the chief men in the colonies, though these latter had before their minds, as the only immediate objects of the contest, their own political and pecuniary interests.

It was indeed only a very subordinate part which those feeble colonies, on the coast of Maine, were to act in the memorable drama; but we shall fail to estimate properly the otherwise trifling incidents of their history if we omit to notice their relation to other, and more imposing events transpiring elsewhere.

During the last half century projects for removing the French from Canada and Nova Scotia had occasionally been discussed in New England, and like plans for expelling the English from the New England coast, had been discussed in Canada and among the French, which have been sufficiently described in the preceding pages. As we have seen, once or twice extensive expeditions were fitted out by one party or the other, with some indefinite hope of striking a blow that should decide the contest, but now, at the middle of the eighteenth century, both parties stood firm and defiant as ever. England and France were nominally at peace, and diplomatically giving assurances of their earnest desire for continued peace, but each distrusted the other, and continued to make preparation for the mighty struggle that was seen to be inevitable.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, (1748) Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton had been restored to France, and provision made for the settlement of questions in regard to the true boundary between the English and French territories at the east; and in due time commissioners were appointed to meet in Paris for this purpose. Their labors were long continued and earnest, but had no favorable result. The real question was as to the true limits of Acadia, by which was meant, as all parties agreed, a territory somewhere to the east of the Kennebec river, but whether it included the whole country east of the river and south of the St. Lawrence, or only a part of it, had never been authoritatively determined.

That the commissioners were unable to agree in settling so momentous and so indefinite a question is not surprising. It was an absurdity to suppose the thing possible. But while negotiations were in progress, there was good reason for delay, and this, probably, was all either party expected to result from it.¹

The English now held possession of the whole Atlantic coast north of Florida quite to this disputed territory of Acadia, and farther east they were in possession also of Nova Scotia; their opponents or rivals, the French, held undisputed possession of both banks of the St. Lawrence, and were rapidly extending their dominions into the region of the great lakes, and even to the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They were also nominally in possession of the territory between the Bay of Fundy and the Penobscot river, through which, in the winter season, they had access to their Canadian colonies. But their right to this territory was of course involved in the question in dispute as to the proper limits of the renowned territory of Acadia.

For some years past, in the great contest for colonizing this continent, the French had been losing ground on the Atlantic coast, northeast of us, but in Canada and the region of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the country south and east of the lakes, they were taking measures to extend their domain with astonishing boldness and success. Their right to the head waters of the Kennebec, where they formerly had a fortification, they had not formally renounced; while further west, at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, they showed their future determination and views, by erecting a fortress of considerable strength. At one time they felt so strong as to extend their hostile incursions southward from Lake Champlain, until even Albany was seriously threatened. At Niagara was another fort of theirs, which served as a depot of supplies, while they were industriously establishing their military posts south and southeast from this point, to the infinite annoyance and astonishment of their English rivals.

A French colony had long before been established in Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi; and it now became

¹Mémoires des commissionnaires du Roi et de Ceux de sa Majesté Britannique, sur les Possessions et les Droits Respectifs des Deux Couronnes en Amérique, avec les Actes publics et Pièces justificatives, 4 Tomes, Paris, 1755 — 7.

apparent that the French government had conceived the bold idea of extending a line of fortifications quite through the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, thus connecting their extreme northern and southern settlements. In fact the idea had been conceived long before, and the action upon it now begun, seemed likely to be successful.

This scheme of the French, so boldly initiated, showed that, at most, they intended to allow to the English only the narrow belt they then occupied on the Atlantic coast, if perchance they might be able to hold even this, when their colonies came to be entirely surrounded on the north and west by their powerful foe.

The British government, and the people of the colonies were not entirely idle; and several plans to counteract these movements of their rivals were projected, one of which was to establish a strong English colony on the Ohio river, for which a powerful company was formed in England, and 600,000 acres of land actually purchased. But for some reason nothing came of it. The plan was violently opposed by Pennsylvania, whose citizens feared it might in some way interfere with their interests. Next a union of the colonies was suggested for the general protection against their combined foes, the French and the Indians; and in due time a convention of delegates from seven of the colonies met in Albany, for the purpose of establishing such a union. A wise plan, as it seems to us, was adopted for presentation to the several colonies and to the English government; but it was rejected by both parties; by the British government, because of their fear of the colonies, and by the colonies because of an absurd fear of establishing too strong a government over themselves.

Massachusetts, always active in the cause of the colonies, some time before this, had erected a pallisade fort at Oswego, on the south shore of Lake Ontario, much to the disgust of the French; and now Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, alarmed by the bold and daring movements of the latter in establishing their military posts on the Ohio, and other places in the west, felt it necessary to take some more active measures to protect his dominions from these encroachments. A small number of soldiers and others was sent to construct a fort and establish a military post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers (now Pittsburgh, Pa.), but the French were upon them at once, in great force, and drove them from the country.

Being now in possession of this important position, they (the French) immediately built a strong wooden fort, which they called Fort Du Quesne.¹ This was in 1754. It was only the autumn before this that George Washington was sent with a message to the French commander on the Ohio river, protesting against the French encroachments, and urging the entire withdrawal of their forces.

The French general utterly denied any hostile intentions on the part of his government, but coolly claimed the country as belonging to the French crown, and declared his purpose to arrest every Englishman found trading with the Indians in that region.

Thus was really inaugurated, in these colonies, another war between France and England, though as yet no declaration of war had been made by either party. This has been called the *French war*, and the *sixth Indian war*.

Governor Shirley, who served as one of the British commissioners at Paris in the prolonged negotiations regarding the true boundary of Acadia (page 301), returned to Boston in 1753, and the next year, in the province frigate, Massachusetts, made a voyage to the eastward, visiting Falmouth, and the Kennebec, and the other settlements farther eastward. He was accompanied by several gentlemen of distinction; and to convince the Indians of his power to enforce obedience to his commands, took with him some 800 men whom he had enlisted for this special purpose. At Falmouth a number of Indian chiefs met him by appointment, at which the usual expressions of good will towards each other, and promises of good intentions for the future were indulged in, and some of the old treaties renewed, but probably with little hope by either party that the treaty thus renewed would be any better obeyed than it had been previously. He then sailed up the Kennebec river, and ordered forts to be erected at Teconnet (Fort Halifax), at Cushnoc (Augusta) which he called Fort Western, and another at Frankfort (Dresden) which was named Fort Shirley. Several of the forts in other places were also repaired, as that at Brunswick, and that at St. Georges, but no mention is made in this connection of the fort in this place. It is easy to be seen that as the English settlements extended back from the coast, and

¹ Pronounced *Du Kune*. The name was given in honor of a French general, of the time, of some distinction.

fortifications began to be erected in the interior, those so far down on the coast as this at Pemaquid, at first so important, were gradually becoming of less consequence; and nothing requiring notice was done here, at this time, though a small garrison was still maintained.

The gradual extension of the English settlements into the interior, and especially the erection of the new forts just mentioned, caused great annoyance to the Indians, who, in several of the conferences that had been held within the few years preceding, had insisted that while the English should be allowed to occupy the coast, they should not extend their settlements "above where the salt water flows." The Indians never succeeded in having this last restriction formally inserted in any treaty, and of course were at length obliged in fact, if not in form, to relinquish the claim. Fully persuaded that they were deeply wronged, in these constant extensions of the English settlements over territory they considered their own it is not surprising that they, "untutored savages" as they were, should sometimes manifest their resentment by unjustifiable modes; but it is painful to be obliged to admit that other provocations were not wanting, as we have already shown.

The following is an extract of a letter to Gov. Phips¹ (of Mass.) from four Penobscot Indians in behalf of the tribe. It is dated April 25th, 1753.

"Brother, you did not hearken to us about the Englishman on the Island, he hunts us in our Seiling and fishing, its our livelihood and others too for what we get we bring to your Truck masters, we don't hinder him from fishing; if you don't Remove him in two months we shall be obliged to do it ourselves. We have writ to you before and have had no answer, if you dont answer we shant write again, its our custom if our letters are not answered not to write again. * * * *

We salute you and all the Council.

In behalf of the Penobscot Tribe.

COSEMES,
NOODOBT,
CHEBENOOD,
NUGDUMBAWIT."²

¹ Spencer Phips, an adopted son of Sir Wm. Phips.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 32, p. 353.

Ebenezer Hall at this time lived, with his family, at Metinicus island, employing several men, as is supposed, in the fishing business. In 1754, one James Clark, made an affidavit before the governor and council, that in the summer of 1751 he was employed on the island by Hall, and lived with him. Sometime in the summer two Indians came upon the island, and Hall, aided by his son, shot both of them, and buried their bodies in his garden. He then burned the canoe which they came in, but preserved their guns.

But the cowardly act did not pass unrevenge. Not in two months, as they threatened, but in a very few years, they effected Hall's removal with a vengeance. Early in June, 1757, a company of them made their appearance on the island, killed Hall, destroyed his house and everything he had, and took his wife and five or six children prisoners to the Penobscot. At this place Mrs. H. was separated from her children and taken to Quebec, but was redeemed by a generous friend, and put on board a vessel bound to England; and, in about 13 months from the time she was taken, found her way back to her former home.

But not one of her children could be found. She lived many years afterwards, and continued her assiduous inquiries, as far as her means allowed, for her children; but no reliable report ever came to her of any one of them.¹

In the spring of 1755, active preparations were made by the English government, aided also by the colonies, for a vigorous campaign against their rivals, but without a formal declaration of war. Four separate expeditions were resolved upon against as many fortified positions of the French; but only a few words in regard to them will be required here.

The most important of these was commanded by the conceited Gen. Braddock, the history of which is familiar to all. It was designed to wrest from the French the important position of Fort Du Quesne, but ended in the general's inglorious defeat and death, and a decided increase of the French influence over the natives of that region.

Next in importance, perhaps, was the expedition against Crown Point, which was put in command of Col. Wm. Johnson of Schenectady. This fortified position of the French gave them complete control of Lake Champlain, and also served as a

¹ *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, p. 326; *Jour. II. Represent.*, Feb. 7, 1760, p. 236.

place of resort and a centre of supplies for the marauding parties of French and Indians, which were occasionally committing their depredations upon the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Though Johnson did not succeed in gaining possession of this stronghold, he badly punished the French army that came out to meet him, and secured for himself great renown.

A third expedition against the French fort at Niagara, commanded in person by Gov. Shirley, of Massachusetts, accomplished nothing except to prove the incapacity of the commander for military achievement, though a worthy and popular governor.

The fourth expedition, to which allusion has been made, was directed against the French in Nova Scotia; and of course more immediately concerned the people of this region than any of the others. The French still asserted their right to the country as far west as the Kennebec; and the result of the expedition might even decide the question whether they should still remain under the jurisdiction of Great Britain, or be transferred to occupy a similar relation to the government of France. The expedition was undertaken by the British government, of course at its own expense, but the eastern provinces were called upon for troops; and such was the popularity of the movement that 2000 volunteers were enlisted in Massachusetts (including the district of Maine), in the short space of two months. It has not been ascertained whether or not any enlisted from this place. The force was commanded by the British General, Monkton, and soon succeeded in reducing all the French settlements on the Bay of Fundy and in Nova Scotia. Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton alone, of all the French settlements of the Atlantic coast, south of the St. Lawrence, remained under the jurisdiction of the French king.

It was in connection with this campaign that the "*French Neutrals*," as they were called, were removed from their settlements in Nova Scotia, to several of the English colonies. They were emigrants from France, or descendants of former emigrants, who, since the conquest of the country by the English, had given the government much trouble by their insubordination and it was now determined to remove them from the country and confiscate their possessions. More than 7000 persons, old and young, were transported to the other British colonies, some being sent as far south as Georgia. Between 1000 and 1100

were allotted to Massachusetts to be supported at the public expense. Only 61 were allotted to the district of Maine, and these were distributed among the towns of York, Kittery, Berwick, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Scarborough, Falmouth, North Yarmouth, Brunswick and Georgetown.¹ The story of these French neutrals has been made familiar by Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

These successes of the British armies above mentioned were not without their favorable effects on the minds of the natives, but did not counteract the pernicious influence of the disasters in other directions just described. Besides this, as the French could not openly engage in acts of war against the English, the two nations being nominally at peace, they did not hesitate to urge on the savages in their acts of pillage and murder, hoping thus, by distressing the settlers, to furnish an additional motive for them to leave the country.

Formal treaties to which ignorant savages may be parties, generally avail little; — so it was found by the early colonists, and so it was found at this time. The treaty of 1752, and that also of 1754, were only re-enactments of that of Dummer in 1726; they were all equally good and equally worthless, for any practical purpose, for the reason that there was not, in the chiefs of the tribes, sufficient power to enforce any decisions the leaders might make, or to execute any agreement or treaty they might form. However honest a great majority of a tribe may have been, in agreeing upon terms of peace, if there remained only a small number disaffected, and determined to execute their plans of private revenge, little regard was likely to be paid to treaty arrangements.

This was well understood by the settlers, and the officers of government; and therefore at the very time they were negotiating and establishing the most solemn treaties with the savages, for the preservation of peace, they were also careful to prepare for war. The forts were, therefore, kept in good condition, and numerous lesser fortifications constructed at important points, usually called *block-houses*. One was placed on the east bank of the Damariscotta, one at Broad Bay (Waldoboro), and another at Meduncook (Friendship), besides others not in this vicinity. All these, however, could not save the people from the treacherous savages, who this year (1755) renewed their mur-

¹ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vi, p. 341.

derous attacks at several places, as at Frankfort (Dresden), Newcastle, North Yarmouth and New Gloucester. At Newcastle they seized five men, as they were plowing, and carried them captives to Canada. Only two of them lived to return.

These depredations, it will be noticed, were all to the westward of this place, and the fact plainly indicated that the Kennebec or Canada Indians were the perpetrators, and not the Penobscots, who probably were sincerely desirous to preserve the peace. But they could not be persuaded to join with the English, to make common cause with them, but chose to remain neutral. While the Penobscots were hesitating, in doubt what to do, the government of Massachusetts, in view of the late hostilities, felt obliged to declare war (June 11, 1755) against the perpetrators, but especially excepted this tribe, which however was afterwards (Nov. 5), included, by a second proclamation. It is painful to be obliged to add that they also, again, offered large rewards for Indian *scalps*, and also for Indian captives.

It is not surprising that the minds of the English became at times greatly excited against the Indians, leading to the perpetration of great wrongs upon them, which all just minded persons deeply regretted, but could not prevent. In some cases the most outrageous atrocities were perpetrated, of which we cannot even now read, without a blush of shame and sorrow. Capt. James Cargill, of Newcastle, in the summer of 1755, commanded a company of "scouts," as they were called, whose business it was to patrol the country between the Sheepscott and St. George's rivers, and in one of his excursions with his company near the latter river they met an unarmed Indian of the Penobscot tribe, with his wife and child two months old. This was several months before the declaration of war against this tribe; but, without making any inquiry, they fired upon them, killing the man instantly, and mortally wounding the woman, but without injuring the child. As her murderers came up to her, she held up her child to them, saying with her expiring breath, "take it to Capt. Bradbury," but an inhuman monster at the moment knocked it in the head, with the remark, "every nit will make a louse." The only apology that can be made for the party is to say that they were all intoxicated. The Indian man was also intoxicated, it is supposed. The woman, Margaret Moxa, was well known at the fort on the St. Georges, and was greatly esteemed for her honest dealing and kind and

genial nature; and her death was deeply lamented, especially by the women at the fort.

At a later hour the same day, a part of the same company, with Cargill at their head, fell in with a party of the Penobscots, whom they recklessly fired upon killing no less than nine, whose scalps they exhibited the next day at the fort. Of course this was simply cold-blooded murder, and Cargill was apprehended and after about two years, tried for murder, but acquitted by the jury, the excitement against the Indians being such for a long time that no white man could be convicted for killing one.¹

This affair, as a matter of course, greatly exasperated the whole Penobscot tribe; and if, before the sad event, there had been a possibility of winning them over to the English, it could hardly be expected now. The government sought by all possible means to pacify them, by assurances that justice should be done to the culprits, and by abundant presents lavished upon the relatives and friends of the Indians slain, but all was insufficient to produce the desired result. Therefore, later in the season (Nov. 5,) they were included in the declaration of war. This, of course, admirably suited the French who all the time were using their utmost efforts to intensify the Indian hatred against the English.

The condition of public affairs in these colonies at the close of this year was gloomy in the extreme. Almost uniform disaster had attended the English arms during the whole year. The disgraceful defeat of Braddock does not find a parallel elsewhere in the history of North America, and the utter failure of Shirley against the French fort at Niagara, though not so disgraceful, was scarcely less disheartening to the minds of the colonists. Some success had attended the British arms in particular directions, but, to all intelligent observers, that gloomy autumn, the ultimate triumph of the French in establishing their ascendancy on this continent must have seemed quite possible or even probable.

During the winter, small garrisons were maintained at the more important forts and block-houses in the eastern parts, there being 35 at St. Georges, and 20 at Fort Frederic, but we do not learn that any event of interest occurred, anywhere in these parts.

¹ *An. Warren*, p. 94; *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, p. 314.

But neither John Bull nor Brother Jonathan is accustomed to yield a point for a mere trifle. Affairs in the spring of 1756 were in a condition truly discouraging, but the contest must be renewed with vigor. The Indian depredations began early in the season, in different parts east and west of the Kennebec, and several persons were killed, and others taken prisoners to Canada; but the English had well learned the necessity of caution and less injury was done than in former times.

In June of this year England declared war against France, and soon France reciprocated the compliment by declaring war against England; but why it should be done just now it is not easy to see. And the war, now that a war had been doubly declared, was scarcely more real than it had been in years immediately preceding. The most important event of the war this year was the capture of the English fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, by Montcalm, with its garrison of 1600 men, 121 cannons, and abundance of military stores, and two sloops of war on the lake, and boats innumerable. The Indians, at planting time, made their appearance on Arrowsic island, and killed a man and his wife, as they were at work in a cornfield, and took their three children with them to Canada, but we do not learn as they came any nearer to Pemaquid. During the summer, several attacks were made on other places in the interior and east of us, on the coast, several coasting vessels and fishing schooners were seized and destroyed, and several men killed.

[On the whole the season closed this, as it did the last year, without anything to encourage the heart of the English, but with much of the opposite character, .

The next year, 1757, little change occurred in the affairs of the provinces; but the capture of Fort William Henry on Lake George, with all its stores and 3000 men, was a sad blow to the English interest. Another attack upon Louisbourg this season was determined upon; and a large force sent from England, to be joined with the provincial troops, for the purpose; but nothing was accomplished, chiefly through the imbecility of the commanding officers. One favorable indication this year began to manifest itself; this was a profound conviction in the public mind of the imbecility of those in power, from the king's ministers down to the lowest officer in the government. Mention has already been made of the prevalence of small pox among the Penobscots, a little time before this, which had preceptibly di-

minished their strength, and it was probably in consequence of this that they began to indicate a desire for peace. But, as if to prevent the possibility of a speedy reconciliation, a party of soldiers marching through the woods near the St. Georges fort, met with a party of Indians, and fired upon them, killing one and wounding some others. The effect upon the minds of the Indians was extremely unfavorable.

During all the years of this war "scouting parties" were continually ranging the country from one fortified place to another, as previously described; and the muster rolls of several companies are preserved in the state department in Boston.

Some of the names on these rolls are still familiar in all this region, and one or more of them may be given in an appendix, if space can be allowed.

The commander of Fort Frederic at this time, 1756, and several years subsequently, was Alexander Nickels, a native of Londonderry, Ireland, who came to this country with his wife and family, in 1721, and resided many years in Boston. Not much is known of him until his appearance here as commander of the fort, though holding only a lieutenant's commission. He had several children, but only two of them were well known here. Those were Alexander jr., father of the late James, Wm. and John Nickels of Pemaquid, and several daughters, and James Nickels, ancestor of those of the name in Wiscasset and Newcastle.

In 1758, 600 men were recruited for the army in the District of Maine, of whom 300 were assigned to garrison duty, and stationed at the various forts and block-houses. Of these Fort Frederic received 15, Georges fort 35, the block-house at Meduncook, 10, and that at Broad Bay, 17. Below is the muster roll of the company at Fort Frederic, Capt. Alexander Nickels, from August 14, 1758, to September 30, 1759.

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Alexander Nickels, | <i>Lieut.</i> | David Drowne, |
| Do | <i>Sergt.</i> | Richard Bulkley, |
| Patrick Rogers, | <i>do.</i> | Archibald Fullerton, |
| Do | <i>Cent.</i> | Samuel Boyd, |
| Boice Cooper, | <i>Corp^s.</i> | John McFarland sen., |
| Do | <i>Cent.</i> | Roger Hamble, |
| Thomas Johnston, | <i>Cent.</i> | Joseph Green, |
| Owen Madden, | | Samuel Boges or Boggs. ¹ |
| John McFarland, | | |

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 97, *Muster Rolls* Vol. 7.

It would seem from this that some held two offices at the same time, but whether they drew pay for both does not appear. Nickels, being in command, is styled captain though ranking only as lieutenant.

Though fifteen men were assigned to this place, we have in this list the names of only fourteen.

It is not known when or where Lieut. Nickels died.

James Nickels, son of Alexander, died May 19, 1776, aged 57. Captain James Nickels, mentioned by Drake in his *History of Boston* (p. 645) as living in Pond Lane (now Bedford St.), is believed to be the same man. It is not known that he ever removed his family to this vicinity, but it is quite possible that he did, as several of his eleven children were settled and lived in this town and in Newcastle and Wiscasset.

We shall have occasion to speak of his son, Alexander Nickels jr., in another place.

At length came a change in the British ministry, and the inefficient Duke of Newcastle gave place to the renowned statesman, Wm. Pitt; and the effect of the change was soon seen in the changing aspect of the affairs of these colonies. Pitt excelled ordinary statesmen in many essential qualities that make up the character of a wise ruler, but in nothing more than in his judgment of the men whom he selected for important offices. Such conceited impracticables as Braddock were no longer appointed to important places to disgrace the national arms and ruin the colonies, but men took their places in whom the people of both countries could repose implicit confidence, as Generals Amherst and Wolfe.

The preparation made in 1757 for another attack upon Louisbourg was not entirely lost; and a plan for its reduction this year, 1758, was at length agreed upon. At the same time it was determined to organize two other expeditions, one against Fort DuQuesne, and the other against Crown Point, both of which were still firmly held by the French.

The expedition against Louisbourg was commanded by Gen. Amherst, and aided by a British fleet which arrived early in June; and towards the close of July the place was captured, with all its guns and military stores, never again to come under the dominion of France. The army sent against Fort DuQuesne was also successful; and the place took the name of *Pittsburg*, in

honor of the great statesman then at the head of the British ministry.

But the strong fortification at Crown Point still remained in the hands of the enemy. Besides the men sent from the New England colonies to join with the British regulars in the attack upon Louisbourg, the same colonies also supplied 10,000 more for this enterprise. It was commanded by Gen. Abercrombie, and consisted in all of about 15,000 men, all of whom were well armed, and supplied with every thing needful, but simply from want of good generalship it was destined to fail. After several injudicious attacks upon the French stronghold, and the loss of many men, the general determined to retreat, though he still had a force two or three times stronger than the French general opposed to him. The New England soldiers were greatly disgusted and nicknamed their commander "Gen. Nabbycrombie." But after his own failure, the general organized a part of his force for an expedition against Fort Frontenac, near the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, which was completely successful. It consisted of about 3000 men, and was placed in the command of Col. Bradstreet. The French garrison of only 120 men had no expectation of an attack, and were obliged to surrender at discretion, with all their guns and stores of every kind.

What a momentous change in the position of affairs between the two great parties to the contest had the operations of this year produced! The French still held possession of the St. Lawrence river and Lake Champlain, and had fortified several places westward on the great lakes and on the Ohio; but no foothold remained to them on the Atlantic coast. Moreover, having lost the control of Lake Ontario, their communications with the military posts on the great lakes and farther south must be difficult and dangerous. Truly fortune seemed now, after so many and severe disasters to the British interests in North America, to have turned in their favor.

And so it proved. At the close of this year (1758) three strong positions were still held by the French on this continent north of Louisiana, and the only three which were considered of any importance. These were Quebec, Crown Point and Niagara. These once reduced, the flag of England would wave triumphantly over the whole continent except the French settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and a few Spaniards

on the coast of Florida, the whole at this time deemed of little consequence.

When, therefore, the spring of 1759 opened, the reduction of these three places was the definite object all had in view; and for it all began to make preparations with a determination and cheerfulness that argued well for the enterprise. The mother country would send ships and stores of guns and ammunition but the colonies must supply the soldiers and the commissariat. The taxes were already enormous, and almost every family had supplied one or more of its loved ones to perish in the strife, but a further sacrifice must be made. The colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were chiefly relied on; and they did not fail. Preparation being completed the forces destined for the important work were early on their way, and before the month of July had closed, Niagara and Crown Point had been reduced, and the siege of Quebec begun. The surrender of this place, last mentioned, to the English followed about the middle of September following; and the ascendancy of the English was established beyond the possibility of further serious controversy.

It was also decided at the same time that the further development of this vast country should be under the influence of the Protestant, rather than the Romanist form of Christianity.

The capture of Quebec took place Sept. 18th, and the news of its fall reached Falmouth, Oct. 14th, giving occasion everywhere for the wildest demonstrations of joy. The report was brought east by a schooner which was accidentally passing, but for some reason, had put into Round Pond. The news soon reached the fort, and occasioned great joy; but a full confirmation being desired, Thomas Johnston volunteered to go to Round Pond for the purpose. He had been married in the fort the year before, and with his wife and infant daughter was still residing there. Starting alone, he crossed to New Harbor and followed up the shore, as being more safe than the usual path through the woods; and finding the schooner still there, hailed her, and was taken on board. Receiving full confirmation of the report, and learning all the particulars of the battle that he could, he was soon journeying home by the same way as he came.¹

¹ Capt. Israel Cox, 1846. He heard it from Johnston himself when an old man. Cox remembered the time when Quebec was taken.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC TO THE BEGINNING OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR 1759-1775.

Fort Frederic dismantled — Henry Hunter and family, and others who were introduced here about this time — Murder of Joshua Bradford and family in Meduncook — Indian murders at Pemaquid — Indian Conference at Falmouth, and return of Walter McFarland from captivity — The Indians at Broad Bay.

The garrison had been removed from the fort the year before the capture of Quebec; but many of the inhabitants, with their families, continued to reside within the walls.

Several from this place, or who afterwards became residents here, were connected with the expedition by which Quebec was taken, but only a few of their names have been preserved. Henry Hunter, ancestor, it is believed, of all by this name now so well known in the place, was one of them. He was captain of a small schooner, which sailed out of Boston, and was employed as a transport for the expedition. During the fight the vessel lay at anchor in the river, and was once struck in the storm by a stray shot from one of the batteries. "To the victors belong the spoils," after the battle is ended; and some articles of furniture, taken at this time, and brought on board the schooner, are still shown in the families of his descendants.

Henry Hunter was born in Ballygruba near Londonderry, Ireland, in 1725, and came to this country before the French and Indian war. He was engaged in business with a nephew of his of the same name, who had established himself in Boston; and thus came to be employed in transporting troops and supplies to the British forces at Quebec, under Gen. Wolfe. He married first Sarah Wyer in Boston, and the wedding ceremony was performed under the Great Elm on Boston Common. His wife died four years afterwards, and he married for a second wife another woman of the same name, belonging to Londonderry, N. H. He lived near the old-meeting house in Walpole, and died Jan. 11, 1799, aged 74 years. His widow died Feb. 17, 1836, aged 99.

They were the parents of eight children, six sons, Henry, John, David, William, James and Thomas, and two daughters, from whom have descended a numerous posterity. The sons were all men of more than ordinary ability, but received only such education as the district school afforded. One of them, William, possessed considerable poetic talent, which, nearly half a century ago, at the beginning of the temperance reformation, he was accustomed to employ, with some effect, in favor of the movement, which he had much at heart.

David, third son of Henry Hunter sr., married Elenor Fossett, in 1796, and removed to the town of Strong on the Sandy river, where they lived together the long period of 75 years. Mr. Hunter died in Strong, May 8, 1871, having attained the great age of 98 years. Mr. Hunter built the first frame house, and introduced the first pleasure carriage in the town of Strong, and was one of the original members of the Congregational church in the town. He lived a quiet and peaceful life, always ready for every good word and work; and his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, to the number of more than 70 rose up in his life time to call him blessed.¹

Capt. James Morton, who lived at Muscongus, was also in the expedition. It is believed that he was a native of Massachusetts, but at what time he came here is not known. He was employed as pilot on board of a transport. His wife was Anne Bryant, daughter of David Bryant of this place.

Elijah Crooker, who subsequently became a resident here, was present in some official capacity at the capture of Quebec, and also the second capture of Louisbourg in 1758. He was born in Marshfield in 1729, and on attaining his majority in 1750, made his way to Boston, where he fell in with Capt. James Nickels, and agreed with him to proceed to Wiscasset and assist in loading a large Spanish ship then lying at the wharf there. In the summer of 1751, the Indians being troublesome about the Kennebec, he joined as a volunteer in several short expeditions against them. Having found his way back to Massachusetts, when the Crown Point expedition was undertaken and volunteers called for, he enlisted as first sergeant of a company, but in a skirmish was wounded by a musket ball in the ankle, and obliged to return home. In the autumn of 1757, he was employed as mate on board a transport in con-

¹ Notice in Memoriam of David Hunter, printed soon after his death.

nection with the expedition against Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia; and in fact he continued in this service, as mate or captain, most or all the time until the beginning of the revolutionary war. At the time of the battle of Lexington, he was in Boston; but left for home the same day, and engaged in raising a company for the defence of the country. In the course of the summer, with his company, he joined the army before Boston, where he served nearly a year.

The next year he raised another company and was ordered to New York to join the army of Washington. He was with the army in the retreat to White Plains, and then into New Jersey. In the fight at Trenton his company took an active part, and assisted in capturing the 600 Hessians. In the fall of this year (1777) he was honorably dismissed from the service.

The next year, 1778, he joined the army under Sullivan, in the expedition against Rhode Island, which was still in the hands of the British; but immediately after his return home, removed with his family to Bristol, where he spent the remainder of his days. He died Dec. 28th, 1812, leaving a large family,¹ among them a son, Philip Crooker who died only recently.

His wife Agatha (Hatch) Crooker died Dec. 19th, 1830. She was a sister of the late Elisha and Phillips (sic) Hatch.

During these few years, while these momentous events were transpiring, which were to fix the destiny not of these feeble settlements only, but of many millions of the race; little of importance was done at Fort Frederic and vicinity, and yet the people were not permitted to be entirely at rest. Parties of Indians prowled the forests suspiciously, and occasionally committed some depredations. May 22, 1758, a little after sunrise a party of them made an attack upon the house of Mr. Joshua Bradford in Meduncook (Friendship) killed and scalped Mr. B. and his wife, and a Mrs. Mills and her child, who were at the same place, or in the same neighborhood. A small boy of Mrs. Mills was also badly wounded, and a daughter of the Bradford's slightly. Two of Bradford's sons were taken to Canada

¹ Capt. Crooker left in MS. quite a lengthy account of his connection with the revolutionary army, which is of much interest, as giving important items of his own history; but though partly in the form of a journal, evidently it was not written until long after his retirement from the army, and is mostly made up of matter that had already been published. From this the facts in his personal history above given have mostly been obtained.

as prisoners, and were allowed to return only after the capture of Quebec. One child in the house escaped by hiding itself under a bed.¹

Joshua Bradford was a great grandson of Gov. Wm. Bradford who came over in the *May Flower*, and was born in Kingston, Mass., from which place he came with his wife (who also was a Bradford) and family to Meduncook only a few years before this. According to tradition in the place *Moxus*, an Indian well known in Meduncook, was the leader of the party. Only a year or two previously the old Indian broke through the ice not far from Bradford's house, who ran to his rescue, and saved him only with considerable difficulty. The scoundrel professed much gratitude for the kindness; and he and other Indians afterwards pretended great friendship for Mr. B. and his family. At this time, knowing that Indians were in the neighborhood, most of the people fled for safety to the fort on Garrison island, but Mr. B. and his family were very confident that no injury would be done them, and chose to remain at their home; and with the result stated.

¹ *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, iv, 49; *Id.* xiv, 222. Extract from the [Boston] *News Letter*, June 1, 1758. Mr. G. M. Fessenden, author of the "*Bradford Genealogy*" in the *Register*, gives May 26, 1756, as the date of this outrage; but the extract from the contemporary newspaper fixes it, as given in the text, beyond controversy. See also *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, iv, p. 236, note.

This seems to make it altogether certain that the outrage upon the Bradford family occurred this year (1758), but, if so, there was another similar occurrence in the same vicinity the previous year.

James Cargill, with a company of armed men in canoes, in the spring of 1757, made an excursion among the islands near the mouth of the Penobscot with the view of punishing any hostile Indians that might be found in the region. A detailed account of his doings, in the form of a journal, is contained in the *Mass. Archives* (vol. 28, pp. 246 and 254). The company started (probably from the Sheepscot river,) April 18th, and on the 26th, were at Pemaquid, and the next day at Muscongus island. They went as far east as the Fox islands, killed several Indians whom they met in their canoes, but accomplished little, as the natives were careful to keep out of sight. May 13, they returned home.

May 31, he, with his company, started on another similar excursion, but returned June 9th, without accomplishing anything of importance. At Meduncook or St George, he learned that the Indians had recently killed a man and his wife, a son, who was sick, making his escape by crawling into the cellar, and hiding himself. The man was absent in his field, and an Indian rushed into the house, and attempted to shoot the sick boy by placing his gun at his breast, but it missed fire, when the woman seized hold of him, and succeeded in pushing him out of the door. The Indian thus worsted found a crack in the door through which he fired, killing the woman instantly. It is not said whether the man was killed by the same Indian or some other. (*Mass. Archives*, vol. 28, p. 254.)

There was at this time a noted Indian, chief of the Androscoggin tribes, by the name of Moxus; and it is quite possible that he was here at this time; but the Penobscot and St. John's tribes were more frequently in this region, than those residing further west, and on the Kennebec.

It was probably at the same time the savages made an attack upon the fort on the island, in Meduncook harbor as described by Minot and Williamson.¹ They were repulsed from the fort, but killed, or took captive eight persons.

Some other occurrences at Pemaquid fort may be mentioned here, though they probably belong to earlier dates. The Indians once came slyly to the fort in midday, when the men were at work at a distance, probably expecting to gain admittance before they were discovered. In this, fortunately, they failed, and were therefore obliged to limit their operations to what they could do outside. Two women were pulling flax in a field, upon whom they fired, killing one who had a young child with her; the other fled, and in her fright threw herself into the water, but her clothes bearing her up, she was swept along some distance by the tide, and was at length rescued uninjured. The child, frightened perhaps by the strange occurrences, made so much ado as to disturb them, and to quiet its complaints they put it to the breast of its dead mother.

As some or all of the men of the fort would soon return, and the savages could make no impression upon the stone walls of the fort in the little time they had, they selected a spot at a distance, and began to construct a kind of barricade, behind which they could seek protection themselves from the guns of the men, when they should return from their work. Solomon McFarland, the only man in the fort, was confined to his bed by a severe illness; but, encouraged by him, the women loaded one of the cannon of the fort, and McFarland, rising from his bed, discharged it at the barricade party, killing one of them on the spot. Soon some of the men, probably alarmed by the report of the cannon, began to return, but to get into the fort in the face of the enemy was not an easy matter. But they understood the character of the foe, and managed with so much caution, as well as courage, that all but one at length succeeded in gaining an entrance without serious injury. One, James Little, was killed and scalped.²

¹ *Minot*, II, p. 41; *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, p. 333.

² *Mrs. James Sproul*, July, 1859.

Solomon McFarland, above named, had a family of four children at least, two sons and two daughters, and probably others. In the summer of 1747, his two sons, George and Walter, while at work on Johns island, were suddenly attacked by some Indians, the former killed on the spot, and the latter taken captive. After being with the Indians about two years, Walter was restored to his friends, at the Indian conference at Falmouth, in October, 1749. When the conference met his father was present, but was able to recognize his son only by his voice, so completely Indian had he become in his appearance and manner. During his stay among the Indians he learned to speak their language, and was subsequently employed by government as an interpreter. But he will best tell his own story in a petition he presented to the governor and council several years after his return. It is dated January 9, 1758.

After the usual preamble he "says in the year, 1747, I was taken captive by the Indians, and the same time my brother was barbarously butchered, I underwent many hardships which by information your honors are not ignorant of [or] their manner of proceeding. I continued in captivity till the peace between the province and the Indians commenced, and when I was relieved from my captivity, there was ten pounds paid for me to the Indians. Upon my return I was taken into the service of this government, and the aforesaid ten pounds was taken out of my wages. The governor ordered me five months' schooling at Boston, accordingly I came up, went to school and attended eleven days. One of the Indians came to Boston, I was sent for by the council and ordered to attend said Indian which I did, and before I had an opportunity of going to school again, I was ordered to Richmond [fort,] where I was obliged to stay till I was ordered to Georges [fort,] for an interpreter after the death of Capt. Bean, where I have continued ever since and had no consideration for schooling but have been obliged to pay out of my small wages, what schooling I have got for I was but young when taken, and had then got very little. May it therefore please your Excellency and Honours to consider the ten pounds I had to pay for my redemption the five months' boarding and schooling I was allowed by the Government which I got not, and the small wages I have had since I entered the service. And if it please your Excellency and Honours, order me pay for my five months' schooling, etc. The ten pounds I had to pay for my redemption and your Petitioner as in duty shall ever pray."

Walter m^r Farland

The petition was read in the house, January 12, 1758, and an allowance of £5 voted him.

The Indians by whom he was taken, it is believed, belonged to the Penobscot tribe.

The Indian conference at Falmouth, in 1749, was attended on the part of the English, by Thomas Hutchinson, afterwards governor of the province, John Coates, Israel Williams, and James Otis, Esqs.

In the official record of the doings of the conference we have the following in reference to McFarland.

Commissi. [Addressing the Indians]. Do you expect that the captive, William [Walter] *Macfarland*, shall be any longer with you.

Indians. No, we have delivered him up.

Commissi. He shall go home with his Father, who is here present.

Indians. We are content.”¹

Hutchinson, who was chairman of the board of commissioners, in his *History of Massachusetts*, gives the following account of McFarland's rescue.

“The Indians began the treaty with an act of pleasantry and good humour. Notice had been given, that they must bring in such English captives as were among them, and particularly a boy whose name was Macfarlane, and who was taken in the beginning of the war. They apologized for not bringing Macfarlane, and figured some excuse, promising he should be sent when they returned home. The commissioners shewed great resentment, and insisted upon the delivery of the captive previously to their entering upon the treaty. Some time was spent in altercation. At length an old Sachem rose up, and took one of the likeliest and best dressed young Indians by the hand, and presented him to Mr. Hutchinson, the chairman of the commissioners, as the captive, Macfarlane. This increased the resentment as it was thought to be too serious an affair to be jested with. The young man then discovered himself, and (having spoken before nothing but Indian), in the English language, thanked the commissioners for their kind care in procuring his redemption. He had so much the appearance of an Indian, not only in his dress, but in his behavior, and also his complexion, that nobody had any suspicion to the contrary. He had made himself perfectly acquainted with their language, and proved serviceable as an interpreter at the French (Truck ?) house so long as he lived.”²

¹ *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.*, iv., 148, 169; *Eaton, An. War.*, p. 98.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 77, p. 387; *Hutch. Hist. Mass. Bay*, p. 3. Capt. Wm. McFarland and wife, July, 1859. Capt. M. was then more than 80 years of age. He supposed himself to be a grandson or great grandson of a brother of Walter.

Little is known of McFarland after the date of the above petition, but it is believed that he died quite young, and unmarried.

Some other incidents in the history of the place may be introduced here, though they probably belong to an earlier date.

Some time during the French war a large vessel with 13 hands, besides a boy, was lying in Pemaquid harbor, waiting for a favorable wind, and it being the fishing season, they concluded to make an excursion to the falls to catch alewives. While busily engaged in fishing, a party of Indians suddenly sprang upon them, killing all the men, but the boy fled around the head of the bay and made his escape to the west side of the harbor, and finally to the fort. Several of the savages pursued after him, but he concealed himself in the remains of a stack of hay on the Sprout place, and they fortunately passed by without discovering him.¹

It used to be said also that nine young men of the place were killed at one time when fishing at the same place. They were taken to the fort and buried in one grave; but the spot can not now be identified. About 1820 or 1825, some of the old people were accustomed to complain that the owner of the land (Capt. John Nickels) in ploughing had encroached upon the small mound of earth over the grave, which was the only means by which the place could be known.

May not both of these stories have had their origin in the following occurrence, of May 22, 1747, of which we have the following authentic account written at the time.

"Boston, June 1, [1747.] * * *. But the most melancholly Account is from Pemaquid, as follows. Two fishing Vessels having put in there to get Bait, on the 22d, past, their Crews, consisting of 11 Men and a Boy, with 3 Men from the Garrison, went up to the Falls to catch Alewives, where they were surpris'd and attacked by a Body of 50 or 60 Indians, who killed all the Men, and the Boy very narrowly escaped, by running into the Bushes, from whence he afterward got to the Garrison."²

¹ Capt. John Sprout, Dec., 1853. Mr. Sewall (*Anc. Doc. of Maine*, p. 265,) gives a similar story of five men who came here from Wiscasset for the purpose of fishing for alewives, all of whom, but one, were killed by the Indians.

² *Hist. Magazine*, vol. v. p. 116, supplement.

William Fossett was shot and scalped by some savages, as he was searching for the cows, only a little distance from the fort. Afterwards it was ascertained that they had purposely detained the cows from returning, and then lay in ambush, where persons seeking after them would be likely to pass. The body was found the next day and interred near the fort.

At Broad Bay (Waldoboro) there were some interesting occurrences during this war, that may be mentioned here, as they have not found mention in print elsewhere. A Mr. Demuth lived on the east side of the river, a little below the present bridge, but had a small garden on the opposite or west side mostly planted with cabbages. At midday the cows were observed among the cabbages, and Mr. Demuth and a young man crossed at once in a boat to attend to them. They landed on the west side undisturbed, but before they reached the garden several Indians sprang upon them from their ambush, and seized upon Mr. Demuth, securing him firmly, but the young man, running for the boat, was shot dead before he reached it. Mr. Demuth was taken away with them, but was never heard of afterwards. The wiley savages had purposely turned the cows into the cabbage yard, and secreted themselves near by for the very purpose they had now accomplished.

The timber block house, erected soon after the beginning of these troubles, stood on the bank of the stream a distance above the present bridge, to which the people hastily repaired in case of alarm. A mile or so below the block house lived a family by the name of Kinsel, all of whom at the signal of danger had at one timesuddenly made their escape to the place of safety. At the farm they left, with other things, a hen with her young brood for which Mrs. Kinsel, after finding herself and family in a place of safety, became much concerned. The next morning as there were no Indians to be seen, she desired her husband to go down and see to the chickens. So taking his trusty dog and gun he passed down by the usual path, and attended to the chickens and some other matters about the house without observing anything unusual. But as he was about to return, the dog begun to show signs of alarm, and he was well assured there were Indians near; for the dog, by long experience and training, understood the subject as well as his master. What now was to be done? To go back by the usual way would be especially dangerous, for the scoundrels

would probably be secretly waiting for him near the path, and to go further into the woods so as to avoid any ambush prepared for him would also be dangerous. But no time must be lost; so looking again to his gun to see that it was in order, and motioning to his dog to take his position behind him, he walked cautiously to the shore, and the tide being out, waded out in the mud so as to be more than a gun shot from the shore, and then made his way upward in the middle of the channel, and finally reached the block house in safety.¹

Besides the stone fort in Walpole, mentioned on a preceding page (294), there was another, built of wood, directly on the shore, on the farm owned and occupied by the late J. Gilmore Huston, Esq., near which some important events transpired, but the traditions concerning them have become so indistinct and contradictory that a detailed account will not be attempted.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, CONTINUED. (1759-1775).

Quebec having fallen, the Indians at once become more docile — Population in 1764 — John North's map of 1751 — Residences of persons named on the map — Family of James Sproul — Though peace was restored between England and France, by the treaty of 1763, the mutual hatreds of the English settlers and the Indians remained active — Measures taken to secure an act of incorporation — An act of incorporation passed, and the new town called Bristol — Organization of the town government under the charter — Change in the northern boundary of the town — Public doings of the town — Troubles regarding meeting houses.

The war which had been so long and so desperately waged did not at once cease on the fall of Quebec, but the aspect of affairs, especially in these parts, was immediately greatly changed. The Indians very soon became quite sensible of their great blunder in adhering to the French, and were now glad to make any terms with the English if they could be allowed to pursue their hunting and fishing unmolested. But full confidence

¹ George Smouse, Esq.

between the parties could not be at once restored ; and, though animated with hope for the future, the people felt it necessary to be on their guard against the perfidy of the savages whom, as they had found to their sorrow, no treaties or promises could bind. But general quiet prevailed ; — and Pemaquid had this advantage, that, as the settlements were extended more into the interior, these became more the points of danger, and at the same time a protection to those lower down on the coast.

In 1758, the soldiers were removed from the fort as being more needed elsewhere, but the heavy guns were retained for future use if they should be needed. The power of France on the continent was effectually broken by the capture of Quebec in 1759, and the events which immediately followed, but it was not until 1763, that a treaty of peace was signed by the two nations. By this treaty France renounced all her claims in these northern parts except the two small islands, St. Peter and Miquelon, on the coast of Nova Scotia. These were reserved to her for the shelter of her fishermen in these waters ; and the one first mentioned now receives the American end of the French telegraph cable.

With the change in the affairs of the northern colonies consequent on the expulsion of the French, came also a very considerable change in the treatment of the “mother country.” The British government had indeed expended much treasure and blood, in defending the colonies and rescuing them from the dominion of France ; and now it seemed to be taken for granted by those in authority, that they could of right exact from them such return as they themselves might determine. Schemes for raising a revenue out of the colonies for the benefit not of the colonies, but of the home government, began to be discussed ; and in spite of every remonstrance they soon ripened into the tea act, the stamp act, etc., and led finally to the revolt of the colonies and the establishment of an independent government.

In 1764, a beginning was made by an order from the lords of trade for a census of all the inhabitants of the colonies ; and Massachusetts immediately took measures to give effect to the order, the enumeration being accurately made when it could be done conveniently, and estimates to be made when this was impracticable. Maine then contained three counties, York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, which contained, respectively

11,145, 8196, and 4,347 white inhabitants, besides 232 negroes. The population of Townsend, Pemaquid and Harrington, was put by estimation at 300.¹ Of these probably two-thirds, or about 200, resided in Bristol (Pemaquid Harrington and Walpole). Down to this time the people appear to have built their houses always near the shores, for the reason probably, that whenever it was practicable, communication from place to place was by means of boats. Thus Pemaquid, in that day, held more frequent intercourse with Townsend and Damariscotta than with Broad Cove, or even Muscongus. No roads whatever, it is believed, had been made, except merely to remove the underbush so as to provide a narrow pathway. Horses, cattle, and sheep were common, but not abundant. According to Mr. Eaton (*An. War.*, p. 112), no carts were in use at this period, in the settlements on Georges river, and we may presume there were few if any here. Agriculture was not entirely neglected, but was little depended on. People obtained a livelihood chiefly by getting out lumber and wood, or by fishing. Wood was worth about 58 cents per cord on Georges river, and of course it would be about the same here. Corn brought from Boston, cost 50 cents per bushel, and tea 42 cents per pound. Small sloops and schooners ran frequently to Boston, carrying wood and lumber, bringing, in return, supplies of West India goods and other articles, as ordered in small quantities by the inhabitants. This also gave employment to many young men, who thus became expert sailors, and were excellently trained for the carrying trade, that sprung up in subsequent years, especially after the close of the Revolutionary war.

While the men were employed as thus described, the women were not less industrious, in manufacturing the necessary clothing for their families, from the wool and flax of domestic growth. Mr James Boggs had lived some years at Pemaquid, but afterwards removed to Georges river, in the present town of Warren. Having some sheep at Pemaquid, or perhaps he had purchased them here, he went for them in a small sail boat; and on his return with the sheep the following accident occurred. "Sitting on the windlass, with his flock on the deck, he became drowsy and begun to nod. An old wether, standing in front, mistaking the nod for a menace, sprang

¹ *Will. Hist. of Maine*, II, 372.

forward, and butted him over upon the deck! Boggs sprang upon his feet much enraged, and pitched the old wether overboard, when the whole flock, following their leader, also jumped into the water; and all were floating together in the ocean. By some effort he was able to recover the flock, and proceeded on his way."¹

By means of a small map, prepared by John North in 1751, we are able to fix the location of a few families at the date mentioned. It is only a rough sketch, and includes Pemaquid Point and Harbor, John's river and Bay and a part of Damariscotta but not the eastern part of the present Bristol. The following are all the houses marked upon it. At a little distance east from the fort, Jeremiah House, and on the opposite side of the river and farther north, James Sproul, apparently the same place occupied by the late Capt. John Sproul, who was grandson of the first James. Near the easternmost head of John's river, and north of the present meeting house, were Wm. Sproul, Moses Young, and Geo. Colwell,² in the other mentioned. Directly at the head of the western branch of John's river was the residence of "widow North;" she was the widow of the first of the name who came to this country, as before related. Her husband probably died here about 1741 or 1742, and it is not known that the widow ever removed from the place. The remains of the cellar are still to be found here, and some shrubs still growing that were cultivated in the garden attached to the premises, and also several apple trees which are yet in bearing.

Passing down on the west side we come first to the house of G. Clark, then P. Rodgers, R. Sproul, and J. Young. Further down, and nearly opposite Seal cove, was John Wirling. On the Damariscotta, a little north of Gondy's mills were the houses of Wm. Kent and John Kent, and quite a distance further north those of Thos. Hutchins and John North, the former being situated on the east bank and the latter on the west bank. This John North, a son of the first of the name, was author of the map, though we have no other evidence that he ever lived in the place alluded to, or owned property there. He was a

¹ *Eaton's Annals War.*, p. 112.

² This name is so written on the map but is probably the same as is elsewhere written Caldwell. The old people put the accent on the second syllable, and pronounce the name as if written Kilwell.

noted land surveyor, and as early as 1737, was employed by the Pemaquid proprietors represented by Shem Drowne to survey the tract claimed by them, dividing it into lots of about 100 acres each, which were all numbered and subsequently distributed by lot to the several claimants.¹ At one time he was captain of the fort here, and otherwise much employed in the public business. Subsequently he removed to St. George's river, and was captain of the fort there. While residing in the latter place he was employed by the Kennebec proprietors in making surveys of their large tract claimed by them on that river. When he commanded the fort at St. George's he held a commission as justice of the peace, and in 1760, on the formation of Lincoln county, he was appointed one of the four judges of the court of Common Pleas. He died at Fort St. George, 1753, aged 65 years. The present Judge James W. North, of Augusta, is a grandson of his. In one branch of the family there are still preserved some articles of furniture that were once used in the fort in this place.²

Enough has already been said of several of the persons named on the map, but a few words concerning the others will not be out of place. The residence of Jeremiah House has some special marks about it, as if larger or of more importance than others, but we know very little of the man. Moses Young is believed to have been a brother (or perhaps cousin) to James Young both of whom came from Ireland, landing first in Philadelphia. It is not known by what peculiar train of circumstances they were brought to this place. Moses early removed to George's river where he ever afterwards lived. James lived on the place mentioned above, as indicated on the map, where he died of small pox, a little before the close of the last century. There is some reason for believing that his father and perhaps

¹ *Lincoln Rep.*, 1811, p. 67.

² *Lincoln Rep.*, 1811, p. 59; *Eaton's An. War.*, p. 113. Miss H. E. North, who kindly procured for the writer a copy of this map, which was found among the old North papers in the possession of a branch of the family. It was prepared for the Kennebec proprietors whose claim extended to this region. As this claim did not include the eastern part of the town, it is not represented on the map. A copy of the map is on file at the State House in Boston.

These places of residents are indicated on the map in the first part of this work. Some other names of families known to have been here at the time have been added.

others of the family came at the same time. Certain it is a young lady of the family, probably a sister of James, had a lover in Ireland, whom she favored, in spite of the opposition of her father and family. This young man was Alexander Fossett who, after the Youngs had left for America, determined also to come. Landing first at Philadelphia, and finding that the fair lady had come to this region, with her friends, he soon made his way here, and was favorably received. They were in due time married, and according to tradition Mr. F. received from his father-in-law, the whole tract of land lying between the Great and Little Falls streams, and extending northward some 200 rods excepting a strip, called the Given lot, on the banks of the Great Falls stream. Fossett was so well pleased with the country that he wrote for his brother William who subsequently came over, and, unfortunately, was killed by the Indians as before related.

Alexander Fossett married (1) Miss Young who died without issue; (2) Mrs. Eleanor McDougal in Falmouth, August 14, 1748, and (3) Mrs. Sproul, widow of John Sproul, before mentioned, p. 276. He died in 1806.¹

Of George Colwell or Caldwell little is now known; fifty years ago the old people were accustomed to refer to a man of this name as an old resident, pronouncing the name as heretofore mentioned.

Wm. Sproul, who lived next to Moses Young, was son of James Sproul who has already been mentioned as having taken up his residence here in Dunbar's time.

A little below "widow North's" place, according to the map, lived George Clark who came here from Londonderry, New Hampshire, some time before the date of the map (1751). He was a descendant, probably a grandson, of the Rev. Matthew Clark who came over from Londonderry, Ireland, about 1728 or 1729.

Matthew Clark was a young man when (1689-90) the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, took place, and an active participator in the fight; but afterwards studied for the ministry. In the siege alluded to he was wounded in the face, the cheek bone being injured in such a manner that it never healed; and he always afterwards wore a black patch to conceal it. He was for

¹ Alexander Fossett, Horatio N. Fossett, and Wm. Hackelton, July 1860. *Ilist. Gen. Register*, vol. XIV, p. 226.

a time pastor of the Presbyterian church in Londonderry, N. H., and enjoyed the full confidence of his people; but was somewhat eccentric. Once preaching on the character of Peter, and his self-confidence that he would not deny his Lord, and his subsequent fall, he said in his broad Scotch dialect, "Just like Peter, aye mair forrit than wise, gauging and swaggering about wi' a sword at his side; an' a puir han' he mad' o' it, when he cam' to the trial, for he only cut off a chiel's lug, an' he ought to ha' split doon his heed."¹

Mr. Samuel Clark, who has recently died on the same place, was a grandson of George whose name is on the map.

Next south of George Clark's house, was that of P. (Patrick) Rodgers, who was for a time lieutenant of a company of militia of which Alexander Nickels jr. was commander though holding only a lieutenant's commission.

He was born about 1706, and lived in Georgetown when he was about 14 or 15 years old, and came to this place before 1737, for this year he aided Mr. North in making the survey and division of the land of the Pemaquid patent, as before related. Before this he was engaged in the fishing business, and was well acquainted here. He died Nov. 24th, 1796, aged 90 years. His wife, Anna, died July 1st, 1758, at the age of 40 or 41.

He was a man of much energy of character and fully enjoyed the public confidence, as was shown by his frequent elections as selectman and treasurer of the town of Bristol, after its incorporation in 1765. When Rev. Alexander McLean was installed, in July, 1773, as the first settled pastor of the Presbyterian church in Bristol, Patrick Rodgers and Edward Young entertained the ministers that attended, at their own private expense. He left several children, two sons and two daughters, certainly, George, William, Elizabeth and Mary; and another son, John, died young, July 15th, 1760. George married Hannah Nickels Nov., 1766, and lived at New Harbor; William died unmarried, Nov. 26th, 1815, aged 63. The two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, familiarly known in the neighborhood as "Betty" and "Polly," or "Aunt Betty" and "Aunt Polly," were very eccentric characters, and well known though they seldom ventured from home, especially in the latter part of their lives.

¹ *Hist. Lond.*, p. 128. Hon. Elisha Clark, of Bath, who is a great grandson of George aforesaid.

Though in speaking of them, in their absence, the neighbors almost always used these terms, they knew well that to address them thus to their face would cost the loss of their friendship. Once a pedler stopped at the house and opened his wares, and had nearly completed a bargain for some articles, when, in his good humor, he unfortunately addressed one of them as "Auntie," and it was all up. They bade him pick up his goods and leave the house, which he was obliged to do in spite of all apologies and explanations he could make. They said people took the liberty to use such terms only because they were old maids.

Between the family of Patrick Rodgers and that of Capt. Alexander Nickels there existed an ancient feud, said to have had its origin very early in some question of military etiquette, but was especially remarkable for the persistence with which the feeling was maintained by the Rodgers, or some of them at least. Elizabeth died, Jan. 20, 1830, aged 87, and Mary, Sept. 27, 1847, aged 91. The latter, near the close of her life, in disposing of some real estate near the fort, where Capt. John Nickels lived, wished to have the writing so drawn that the property could never come into the hands of her "inemies," meaning the Nickelses.¹

Returning again to our map, next south of P. Rodgers, lived Robert Sproul, who was a son of James Sproul, and was born in Ireland; he was some 10 or 12 years old when the family came to this country. He was twice married and left a large family, who are still well represented in the place and vicinity.

James Young lived still further south; but we have already spoken of him. Of John Wirling, whose house was situated nearly down to the present bridge leading to Rutherford's island, nothing is now known. There is some reason to believe that his wife was a sister of Captain John North.

On the east side of Damariscotta river, near the place of the tide grist-mill, (called Askins or Gondy's mills), two houses are represented on the map, with the names Wm. Kent and John Kent. Of the latter nothing is now known, but the former, Wm. Kent, was from Ireland. He was lost in a vessel with Capt. James Morton of Muscongus and a female passenger, on one of the Damariscove islands, Dec. 25, 1785, on the passage home from Boston. John Morton, brother of James, was the

¹ Tradition, gravestones in Pem., burying ground, Wm. Hackelton, Esq.

only person that escaped.¹ In the Bristol records for 1773, and several years following, mention is made of "old Mr. Kent and wife" as receiving aid from the town, and possibly it was the John Kent referred to; but in one place he is called, Mr. Wm. Kent.

Thomas Hutchins, whose place of residence was on the Damariscotta farther north, is believed to have been the progenitor of all of this name now in this region.

The site of Fort Frederic is marked on the map, but no houses are indicated near it, though we well know there were many there. The map does not include the eastern part of the town, New Harbor, Round Pond, and Muscongus, for reasons given above.

Solomon McFarland and family lived in the fort during a part, at least, of the last Indian war; but little more is known of him, than has already been given. Besides the sons already named he had certainly three daughters, who married respectively David Drowne, Thomas Johnston and Jacob Dockendorff. Johnston and Dockendorff with their families, after the war, removed to Broad Cove. Drowne lived at New Harbor, and both himself and wife were lost by shipwreck on their way to Boston. Mrs. Drowne was not intending to go at that time; but being urged by a female friend, Mrs. McGlathery, who had taken passage, she set aside her spinning wheel, and departed without much preparation. The schooner with all on board was lost. This was about 1769. Whether Mrs. D. left any children or not is not known; but her immediate friends were greatly afflicted by her death, which they considered so strange; and for a long time, they preserved her spinning wheel and other things precisely as the owner so hastily left them.²

Wm. Hiscock (Hitchcock) came to Walpole about 1735, and took up his residence here. Little is known of him now, but he is presumed to have been the progenitor of those of the name now living in the place.

Simon Elliot (Eliot) came from Londonderry, N. H., as is believed, about 1755, and settled at Round Pond. He was ori-

¹ John Batman, grandson of Wm. Kent, July, 1860.

² Tradition. Mr. and Mrs. Drowne were both lost by shipwreck on their way to Boston, but there is some doubt whether they were in the same vessel. Mr. D. was a relative of *Sam Drowne*, long the energetic agent for the Pemaquid proprietors, but probably not a brother, as some have claimed.

ginally from the north of Ireland, perhaps, Londonderry. He was the father of Capt. Simon Elliot, who, about the beginning of this century, once or twice represented the town of Bristol in the legislature of Mass., and filled other important offices. He died at sea about 1815. There were several other sons, as John Elliot, who lived at Long Cove, probably one or two others.

John Rendell or Randall, an Englishman, also lived at Round Pond, probably on the same lot previously occupied by Thomas Henderson. He was born in 1733, and came here with his wife before 1759. The family afterwards removed to Thomaston.

James Sproul, as we have seen, (p. 276) came here under Dunbar, and lived on the west side of the Pemaquid river, a distance above the harbor. He is represented at the present time probably by a more numerous posterity than any other one of these early immigrants.

He came to Boston with his wife and several children, probably about 1727, and to this place in 1729. He died some time before the close of the last century. Mrs. Mary (Sproul) Johnston, his grand-daughter, who died July 4, 1853, at the age of 84, remembered him. He was a helpless invalid several years before he died.

JAMES SPROUL¹ and wife had children: Robert², William², James², John², Mary², Anne², and two or three other daughters, whose names are not known. One of them married --- Young, and another, Thomas Brackett.

ROBERT² was born in Ireland in 1716, and died March 25, 1793, aged 77 years. He married 1st, Ann Reed, who died January 29, 1756 aged 26, and for a second wife, Anna Little.

Children of Robert², by his first wife:

Robert³, born in 1754, married Jane Greenlaw, and lived at the Mills.

Katy³, who m. --- Sylvester.

By his second wife:

John³, who lived in Harrington. In early life he lost a thumb by the bursting of a gun, and was, therefore, often called "One Thumb John," to distinguish him from several others, of the same name. He married Mary Gondy.

William³, who lived in Walpole.

Thomas³, who d. April 2, 1793, aged 24 years, unmarried.

Margaret³, familiarly called Peggy³, who m. Elisha Clark.

Jane³, who married Ebenezer Blunt, and d. Jan. 10, 1796, aged 27.

Sally³, who m. (1), Thos. Masterson, and (2), Arch. Oliver.

Mary³, who m. Stetson Soule.

James³, who m. (1), Susan Foster, and (2), Abigail Mann.

JAMES², married — Young and lived on the old homestead.

Their Children were :

Francis³, who was born Dec. 8, 1765. He married Nancy Young, and died Dec. 10, 1837, aged 72 years. His wife Nancy, died Feb. 24, 1823, aged 53.

James³, who m. ——— Greenlaw.

William³, d. in the war of 1812. (Blown up in the Young Teazer.)

John³, who m. Hannah McFarland. He was captain of a militia company in the war of 1812.

Hannah³, who m. Samuel Tibbets.

William², who married Mary Gundy and lived near the old Harrington meeting house. He died Feb. 18, 1804, aged 78 years. There are two traditions in the family as to the time of his birth. According to one tradition he was born on shipboard on the passage of the family to this country, but according to the other he was two years old when they came to America. Perhaps we may be allowed to harmonize the two accounts by supposing that he was born on their passage from Ireland in 1726, or 1727, and was, therefore, two years old when they removed to Pemaquid in 1729. By the inscription upon the headstone at his grave we learn that he died at the date and of the age above given, by which it would appear that he was born in 1726. His wife d. April 30, 1816, aged 78 years.

Mr. S. was a man of great industry and enterprise, and one of the first in the place to begin ship-building after the close of the revolutionary war.

ANNE², married Thos. Johnston, as his second wife, July 26, 1764, and lived in Broad Cove when she died, Jan. 9, 1809, aged 72 years.

MARY², married Stetson Soule, who was a brother or cousin of the late Joshua Soule, bishop of the M. E. Church, South.

JOHN², was perhaps the oldest of the children, though spoken of last. He was by trade a hatter and lived in Stow, Mass. It is believed that he did not come to Pemaquid with the rest of the family. He died when quite young leaving two children, a son named William³ and a daughter, Elizabeth³.

After the death of Mr. Sproul (of Stow) his widow and children came to reside in Bristol. Subsequently the widow married Alexan-

der Fossett (first of the name), and the daughter Elizabeth married Jacob Fountain. The son, Wm. 3, was adopted into the family of his uncle Wm. Sproul² of Harrington. When quite a small boy it was his business one summer to drive the cows morning and evening to and from the pasture which was at some distance in the woods. Usually at the proper hour in the evening the cows would be found at the bars at the entrance of the pasture, waiting to come through when the bars should be let down by their well known attendant. One evening, the cows not having arrived he let down the bars, and placed himself a little out of sight at one side of the entrance, and waited for their arrival. Soon they came up the path, and crowded along as if a little excited, but he kept his place intending when the last one should come along to jump up suddenly so as to startle them a little and hurry them along. The cows passed along and at the proper moment he sprang up with a loud shout; but the supposed last cow proved to be a big black bear, which struck at him savagely with his claws, tearing off most of his clothes, and so lacerating the flesh of his shoulders and back that the scars remained through life (ante p. 276).

He married Rebecca Fossett, and d. ———

Peace between England and France being fully established by the treaty of 1763, there was little now to be feared from the Indians who would long before have ceased troubling the settlers but for the pernicious influence of their pretended friends, the French. But the whole country being now given up to the English, there could be no more occasion for French interference; but so deep were the feelings of hatred between the settlers and the Indians, which had been excited by the terrible conflicts of the past, that perfect quiet could not be at once restored. Some difficulties that occurred on the Penobscot, in which an Indian was killed, produced much excitement, and Governor Pownall felt it necessary to issue a proclamation, forbidding acts of hostility towards the Indians, and ordering the immediate arrest and punishment of all offenders.

The garrison from the fort had been removed, before the capture of Quebec, but the heavy guns remained there several years; and only a few years ago some of the old people were accustomed to describe the scene when they were removed through the big oaken gate, to be transported to Boston. The Penobscot Indians in their canoes were frequent visitors, but gave no trouble. The summers of 1761 and 1762, were ex-

ceedingly dry in all New England, and the crops in consequence were very short; but the people relieved of the oppressive burdens of war, and freed from constant fear of the Indians, with which they had been so long borne down, partook joyfully of their humble and sometimes scanty fare, and a creditable spirit of enterprise soon began to manifest itself.

Up to this time, as far as we can learn, there had been no political organization whatever among the residents of Pemaquid. In some of the settlements, as at Meduncook (Friendship), voluntary organizations were formed, and records kept of their transactions, which are still preserved; but we have no evidence that there was anything of the kind here. In 1764 Boothbay, with which Pemaquid then held very intimate relations, nearly all communications being by water, became incorporated as a town; and in the autumn of the year the people of this place took measures for the same purpose.¹ The first act of incorporation was passed June 21st, 1765, but the northern boundary not suiting the citizens, another act was passed the following year, June 19th, 1766.

By some mistake the first charter did not include Broad Cove within the limits of the town; the language as to the northern boundary was "Beginning at a Heap of Stones at the Head of Brown's Cove near the great Salt Water Falls in Damariscotta River on the Eastern Side of the said River, running a southeasterly course to a heap of stones at a place called Round Pond, five and a half miles," etc. Thomas Rice, Esq., of Wiscasset, was authorized to call the first meeting, which was held at the house of Wm. Sproul, in Harrington, Dec. 4, 1765, Capt.

¹Nov. 1, 1764, at a meeting of gentlemen from "Walpole, Harrington, Pemaquid, Broad Cove, and Round Pond," James Boyd was chosen *moderator*, and Thomas Johnston, *Clerk*. Measures were taken to procure an act of incorporation; and James Boyd and Wm. Miller were appointed a committee to draft a petition for the purpose, procure signatures, and forward it to the legislature. At the same meeting it was also agreed, that the new town should include the three districts of Walpole, Harrington, and Broad Cove each of which should build its own meeting house, and each have its proper share of the "ministerial performances," when a minister should be obtained. They also agreed upon the proposed boundaries of the new town, and appointed Mr. Packard to survey the territory and prepare a map or plan, under the direction of Thomas Fletcher, Robert Huston, and Wm. McLain. Another meeting was appointed for the 29th of the month, at the house of Wm. Sproul, Inholder, to take any further action on the subject that might be necessary. No suggestion is made as to the name the town should take.— *Minutes of the first meeting in the handwriting of Thos. Johnston.*

Thomas Fletcher was chosen moderator, and Robert Given, town clerk. Selectmen and assessors, Wm. Jones jr., Patrick Rogers, Robert Sproul, Henry Hunter, and James Young jr. Constables, Alexander Erskine, and James Sproul.

The very appropriate name, Bristol was given to the new town, because of the connection of its previous history with so many eminent citizens of Bristol, England, but it is not known by whom it was first suggested.

The second meeting of the "legal-voters" of the town was held March 13th, 1766, and measures were promptly taken to procure a change of the north boundary "so as to correspond with first petition." Accordingly a supplemental law was passed as above stated, by which the northern boundary line was made to extend from Brown's Cove on the Damariscotta, to the eastern creek of Broad Cove, so called, on Muscongus river, the eastern part of this line constituting the "line dividing between the English and Dutch settlements."

This was accepted as satisfactory, and Broad Cove became a part of the town.

From this time the "town meetings,"—meetings of the legal voters of the town, were held in different parts of the town,—as the selectmen might direct in the warrant, or as might have been determined by vote at the last previous meeting.

The first, or annual meeting for 1766, was held at the house of Henry Hunter, March 13th, at which James Boyd, James Huston, and Robert Sproul were chosen selectmen and assessors, Henry Hunter, town clerk, and Patrick Rodgers, treasurer. After electing officers for the year ensuing, the first business transacted, according to the record, had reference to the erection of a meeting house, or meeting houses, and the settlement of a minister of the gospel. On the meeting house question there was evidently much difference of opinion, and no conclusion was arrived at; but after considerable discussion it was at length:

"Voted, that the selectmen procure preaching this year in the best manner they can."

Several meetings were held during the summer, but no mention is made of the assessment of a tax until August 26th, when it was voted to assess a tax of 20 pounds "for the support of a minister and making roads and bridges." The tax probably was delayed for the reason that an amendment of the act of

incorporation was expected, very considerably enlarging the limits of the town, and increasing the number of tax payers.

At the annual meeting, March 12, 1767, besides choosing officers little was done, except to "discuss the meeting house question, and appointing a committee to procure preaching," but at a meeting in June, it was decided to build their meeting houses, as soon as the citizens "should think proper." It was also:

"Voted, that the town get into church order as soon as opportunity will afford, and that we shall be under the Westminster Confession of Faith, or Presbyterian rules." Committee appointed to carry this resolution into effect, Wm. Jones, Patrick Rogers, George Clark, Nathl. Palmer, and Wm. McLain.

But there was a powerful minority, violently opposed to the decision concerning the meeting houses because they thought the people unable to raise so much money as would be required. They therefore caused a *protest* in the record, "a decent" [dissent]¹ to be entered on the town record, which was signed by the following twelve persons, viz. James Drummond, Simon Elliot, George Clark, John Lermond, Francis Young, Elisha Clark, Joseph Clark, Samuel Clark, Alexander Fossett, James Sproul, John Lermond jr. and Robert Paul.

Measures were taken to preserve the alewives in the Pemaquid and Muscongus streams.

The next year the meeting house question was the chief matter of discussion at the town meetings; but in spite of the opposition the plan to have three houses was adhered to, and May 2d, (1768), it was "voted to locate the Pemaquid and Harrington meeting-house and burying place, on Wm. Sproul's land," where after much contention it was afterward erected, and stood until recent times. Alexander Nickels, Patrick Rodgers, and Robert Sproul were appointed a committee to attend to the building of the house.

At the same meeting the Walpole meeting house was located "on land of John Thomson," and Dugall McMichael, Henry

¹All the old secretaries were very deficient in their orthography; but we do not often meet with such curious mistakes as this. It is well known that previous to the publication of *Johnson's Dictionary*, about the middle of the last century, the orthography of the language was very unsettled, and many words were spelled, even by the learned of that day, in different ways. What we should call bad spelling did not therefore with our fathers indicate the same illiteracy as it would at the present day.

Hunter, and Richard Hiscock appointed a committee to lay out the land for it.

"Broad Cove and Round Pond meeting house, burying place, and training field to be where the inhabitants of those places cleared, Jan'y. 23, 1768. Wm. Stetson, Nathaniel Palmer, and Wm. Burns, Com."

Another protest (called also a *decent* in the records) was presented, and entered upon the records, signed by the following thirty-nine names. The reason given for their opposition was that the building of so many houses would require too heavy a tax of at least ten pounds "on every single poll." The names are Alexander Fosset, Thos. Boyd, Wm. Celso, (Kelsey?) James Wentworth, Hugh Little, Peter Murphy, Peter Celso (Kelsey?), Simeon Elliot, Thomas Thompson, M. Goudy, Wm. Kent jr., John Conally, James Gwin, John Larmond, John Cattland, Daniel Cattland, Thos. Thomson, Cornelius Malone, James Hynes, George Clark, Saml. Clark, Joseph Clark; Amos Goudy, Bedford Plummer, James Gall, Henry Fasset, James Philphat, Richard Sanborn, James Sproul, Saml. Boyd, Wm. Sproul, Wm. Fosset, James Drummond, Francis Young, James Young, Eben. Blunt, John Boyd, Wm. Sproul sr., Elisha Clark.

At the annual town meeting, March 14th, 1769, it was voted to raise £100 "for preaching and schooling" the ensuing year, and that each of the three parishes, Harrington, Walpole, and Broad Cove, should expend its own proportion of the money raised for schools. It was also voted that each parish should "raise by tax £100 for building its meeting house."

We have no means now of knowing by what majorities these votes were carried in regard to the meeting-houses; but we know there was a powerful opposition, which at a meeting, May 30th, had attained such strength, as to cause all those votes for raising money and building meeting houses, to be "repealed."

The meeting house question had now become decidedly interesting; and every one was obliged to fall in with one party or the other. The party in favor of having only one house for the whole town, were evidently in the majority, and March 13th, 1770, at a regular town meeting, another vote was passed "repealing" all former votes on the subject, and appointing Thomas Rice, of *Pownalboro*, Andrew McFarland of *Boothbay*, and David Hopkins of *Newcastle*, a committee to go through the town, measure the distances from the centre on the principal roads,

and appoint a place or places for a meeting house or houses, according to their best skill and judgment. The record is very brief; but it appears that the whole matter was to be decided by this committee; — 1st, whether there should be only one house or several, and 2d, the first question being settled, they were also to decide where the house or houses should be located.

This committee reported at a town meeting, July 12th, 1770, recommending the division of the town into three parishes, and that a meeting house should be erected in each, and described accurately the boundary lines of the proposed parishes. The record does not say whether this report was ever accepted or not; but the next year, Nov. 28th, 1771, it was again "voted that all former votes, concerning meeting houses be repealed," and that a "committee be nominated and voted to survey the town, the length and the breadth of sd town and find the center of the northerly part, likewise to find the center of the southerly part of sd town, and the middle center of the whole town, and voted that it be left with the committee to agree on the place where to set out from, in each part of sd town." The committee were put under oath, and Thomas Boyd was to accompany them as surveyor, also to be under oath.

March 12th, 1772, this committee reported at a regular town meeting, but there was the same difference of opinion among them as before, and without coming to any decision they adjourned to the 31st when, according to the record, they "voted that there shall be but one meeting house in this town."

They also voted to grant £90, lawful money from the treasury for building the meeting house. A protest against this action was handed in, signed by Alexander Nickels, Patrick Rodgers, Wm. Burns, Robert Sproul, Wm. McLain, and Wm. Miller.

May 12th, following, an attempt was made to have this action rescinded, but without effect, and James Sproul, Henry Hunter and Simon Elliot, appointed a committee, to attend to the building of the proposed house, which was to be 43 by 52 feet on the ground.

Thus the advocates for a single meeting house seemed finally to have prevailed, and we are informed by tradition that a frame for a meeting house was actually erected at "The Mills," on the hill, 60 or 80 rods west, and a little south of the present town house. This was done, it is believed, in the autumn of 1772, but at the regular annual meeting, March 9th, 1773, (at

the house of Wm. Sproul), it was found that a great change had taken place in the public sentiment; and after much wrangling, if tradition may be relied on, they first "repealed" all previous action on the subject, and then "voted that the meeting house be pulled down." To show that they were in earnest they appointed "Alexander Nickels, Robert Sproul, and Wm. Jones a committee to pull down the meeting house." We are informed by tradition that the house, or rather the frame for the house, for this is all there was of it, was actually pulled down a little time after this, not, however, by the committee of worthy citizens appointed for the purpose, but by a mob self-appointed. The frame was afterwards removed to Harrington, and erected on Wm. Sproul's land, as had been previously voted. This house, with its heavy "sounding board" over the pulpit, is associated with pleasing recollections



THE PRESENT HARRINGTON MEETING HOUSE.

by very many of the present inhabitants. A few years ago, when it was taken down for the purpose of using the materials in constructing the present house, erected near the same spot, abundant evidence was found of the violence previously used upon it.

Broad Cove and Walpole parishes were by vote, at the same meeting (March 13th, 1772), authorized to locate their own meeting houses and the people of each parish to raise among themselves the money needed for their own meeting house. Any money which they had previously paid into the treasury for the purpose was to be refunded.

Several persons who were present at this meeting, were not allowed to vote, but for what reason does not now appear.¹ They were Samuel Bates, Thomas Thompson, Patrick Wallis, Daniel Cortland (Cattland?) Ebenezer Cox, Miles Thomson, and Wm. Kelsey.

A protest (called in the record, as before, a "*desent*," but spelled with an s) against the decision on the meeting house question, was presented and put on record. The reason they give was "that the meeting was not legally warned." The signers were James Sproul, Simon Eliot, Saml. Paterson, John Dickey, Wm. Sproul, Ninyon Askins, Ebenezer Blunt jr., Alexander Askins, George Clark, Francis Young, and Alexander Fosset.

Saturday, May 1st, town meeting at the house of Wm. Burns, at Muscongus; the late decision concerning meeting houses was confirmed, and the question settled, after full six years' earnest discussion; other matters then received attention which would not be considered quite inappropriate for discussion at such a meeting. On motion, it was "voted that the people of this town submit themselves to the Boston Presbytery." Patrick Rogers was appointed a delegate to the Presbytery with the minister, Rev. Alexander McLean, who had then recently come into the place.

He was born on the Isle of Skye, Scotland, about 1744, and educated at the university of Aberdeen; he came here from New Jersey on the recommendation of Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, to whom application had been made by the committee. We shall have occasion to speak of him frequently hereafter.¹

As most of the churches in New England were in form Independent or Congregational, we naturally inquire for the reasons of their preference, which probably may be found in the fact that many of the leading men of the town were Scotch Presbyterians, or sons of Scotch Presbyterians, as was also the minister, Mr. McLean, whom they had engaged to settle among them.

The meeting houses in Walpole and Broad Cove parishes were erected in due time, and the former, somewhat dilapidated is still standing. Recently it has been repaired, and modern

¹Very probably it was for non payment of taxes, for at the next meeting, it was voted that any man who pays two-thirds as much as his poll tax shall be allowed to vote.

²*Greenleaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches*, p. 148; *Panoplist*, Feb., 1808.

blinds added, which of course considerably changes its external appearance; but the interior is wisely preserved just as at first constructed. The Broad Cove people selected as the



WALPOLE MEETING HOUSE.

site of their meeting house a place directly on the shore at Greenland cove; and the house erected by them stood there until 1824, when it was taken down, and the materials used in the construction of the present meeting house in Bremen. This place is now inaccessible by any public road, but the travel in those days was directly along the shore from Round Pond to Muscongus harbor, and from this place northward. Many families then lived on the adjacent islands whom they also desired to accommodate. The house continued to be used for religious worship until after the beginning of the present century, but had long been abandoned when torn down in 1824.

It is altogether probable that the "dedication" of these houses to the worship of Almighty God was attended to according to the usual custom in New England, but no records of such an event have been found.

The fathers in those days intended that order should be observed in the house of God, and therefore, at a town meeting, March 18th, 1774, "Timothy Weston was chosen to take care of the dogs on the lord's day, and on other public days,"—"sd dogs to be killed if found surly and disorderly."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BRISTOL IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The people generally sympathized strongly with the patriot cause — Petition to the Provincial Congress — Vote of Town Meeting to pull down the old Fort — Committees of Inspection and Correspondence — The town called upon to furnish supplies of clothing and beef for the army — Gloomy condition of affairs during the winter of 1780-1 — Piracies on the inhabitants by tories — Nathaniel Palmer — The people of the town unable to meet fully the demands upon them for money and men in 1781-1782, vote to memorialize "the Great and General Court," setting forth their distressed situation — Efforts to conciliate the Penobscot Indians — Letter of Indians to Washington and his reply — Efforts of the Canadian Indians to seduce the Penobscot and St. Johns' tribes from the patriot cause — Privateering — Gen. North — Expulsion of the tories — Names of citizens of Bristol who perished during the war in the patriot service, by sea and land.

It was well for the people that the meeting houses were finished, or nearly so, before the struggle of the revolutionary war had seriously begun. The people of the town sympathized strongly with the country in general in opposition to the tyrannical course of Great Britain; but nothing appears on the records making allusion to the state of the country, until the 14th of March, 1775, when in town meeting it was decided to pay the province tax, collected in the town on the grand levy of the preceding year, into the hands of "Mr. Henry Gardner who had been appointed by Congress province Treasurer for this colony." This was in accordance with a recommendation of the Massachusetts provincial congress, the previous autumn.

The week following another meeting was held, and a vote passed to raise three militia companies, one in each part of the town, and Tuesday, the 28th, was appointed for the companies to assemble for the choice of officers.

They also decided, in accordance with recommendations of the provincial congress, to appoint "a Committee of Inspection," who shall "inspect into all invasions against the town, and also to see that there is nothing carried on contrary to the resolves of the Continental and Provincial Congress." The names of this committee are not given; but we learn they were not

idle, as two of them, Wm. Martin and Wm. McLain, July 30th, seized the sloop Sally, Capt. Andrew Johnson, at Mednucook, [Friendship] and wrote to Boston for instructions as to further proceedings. The sloop was owned by Messrs. Isaac and John Winslow, of Boston, who were supposed to be unfriendly to the patriot cause.¹ It is not known how she was disposed of. The selectmen were authorized to procure "three barrels of powder and balls, and the flints answering thereto."

May 2d, 1775, town meeting at house of Wm. Sproul, voted to send Thomas Bracket as agent of the town "to Congress to represent the difficulty of the town for the want of ammunition," "and other stores." Miles Thompson was hired at \$3 per month to carry on Bracket's farm during his absence. This farm is believed to be the one owned by the late James Blaisdell, and formerly by Arthur Child.

Caleb Turner, of Broad Cove, was appointed "to ride post to Falmouth (Portland) and bring the weekly papers, three papers to be brought, one for each part of the town." He was to receive 20 shillings, lawful money, for each trip. At the next meeting, May 24th, this arrangement with Mr. T. was discontinued, probably for the reason that a weekly post from Falmouth to Thomaston had been established by the government a little time before (*Boston Gazette*, Oct. 20th, 1772).

Thomas Bracket who had been sent to congress (the provincial congress, then in session at Watertown, Mass.), for ammunition reported his doings; and £38, O. T. was awarded him for his expenses. The "provincial Congress" at Watertown, May 11th, advised the selectmen of Framingham to supply him with one-half a barrel of gun powder, for the town of Bristol; and this probably was all he obtained. He was to pay for it; and an equal quantity from the public stores, when more should be obtained, was to be supplied to Framingham.² Bracket was ordered to divide his powder among the captains of the three militia companies; and if any man, receiving a portion of this powder, should consume it for any other purpose than in defence of his country he was to receive "ten lashes on his back, or pay a fine of 10 dollars."

The following address to the "Provincial Congress" was agreed upon, which Bracket probably took with him. No copy

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 180; No. 216.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 206, p. 14.

is preserved in the records, but the original is still on file in the State House in Boston :

"To the Honourable the Members of the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay—on the second Day of May, 1775. At a Legal Meeting of the freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Bristol the following artickels were agreed to :

"1st. Whereas we wrote to your Honours Last March a little Sketch of our Circumstances and that we would put ourselves as soon as possible into Military order, and Inform your Honours more particularly of our Strength in Regard to Arms and ammunition. Therefor we would now Inform your Honours that we have Indeavour'd to put our Selves into Military order and Discipline as well as we war Capable. We make out three Companys. Each Company consisting of Sixty Training Soldiers Exclusive of Officers, which Officers was Chosen by vote of the Several Companys in ye Training Field. As to arms the most part of us have Got Guns, but we are in very low Circumstances in Regard Ammunition, powder especially. We have used Several miens to provide ourSelves with powder but it has hapened to be to no purpose. Therefore if it is passable that your Honours Can point out to us any way of Relieff in this particular we shall take it as a very grate favour ; we apprehend that we are very unsafe to be Distitute of ammunition as our Town borders on the Sea we are much Expos'd to our Enemies.

2d. Voted unanimously that Mr. Thos. Bracket of this Town be, and we hereby Impower him to be our agent and attorney in all matters whatsoever, in our name and Sted to Contract for any Artickels that our said Attorney shall think Necessary for this Town, And to Represent to your Honours the Whole Circumstances of our Town By whom we hope to Receive advices from your Honours How we Shall Conduct in all matters.

We Remain With arnest Prayer to almyty God for a Blessing upon your Honours' Persons, and upon your Honours Proceedings in Behalf of this Province.

Your Honours Most Dutifull,

Most Obedient,

And Most Hmble

Servants.

By order and In behalf of the Town of Bristol.

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--------------------------|
| SAMUEL OATES, | } | Committee Men. |
| ROBERT GIVEEN, | | |
| THOMAS BOYD. | | |
| GEORGE RODGERS, | } | Selectmen of Bristol. |
| THOS. JOHNSTON, | | |
| JAMES HUSTON. | | |

WILLIAM BURNS, Town Clerk."

The name, *Oates*, is now usually spelled *Otis*. The next name should be Robert Given; and was probably written for him by another hand.

At this meeting it was "voted to pull down Pemaquid fort, and that next Tuesday be appointed for the purpose." This was done to prevent the British taking possession of it, and using it in their warlike operations against the colonies. At the time appointed many of the citizens repaired to the spot, and partially demolished the stone walls, the gates and other parts made of wood having mostly decayed. The walls, or rather the highest parts of the walls, were simply pushed over; and the small stones of which the walls were made, allowed to remain where they fell. Earnest patriots as they were, they evidently felt that they had performed a patriotic service; but if the enemy had really desired to use the place as they feared, he could, in a very little time, have repaired all the damage they had done.¹

The town had now been incorporated about ten years, but had never aspired to send a representative to the legislature; now however (at a town meeting, July 10th) they determined to assert their "right of representation," and made choice of Wm. Jones, as their first representative in the legislature, or provincial congress, as it was then called.

Several town meetings were held during the summer and autumn of this year (1778), as the public business required, though the distances to be travelled by many of the citizens, were great, and to attend a meeting required of them very considerable sacrifice. Places of meeting during the year, Walpole school house, Wm. Sproul's, Simon Elliot's, Alexander Askin's, and Wm. Burn's.

At a meeting in October, a vote of thanks to the committee of "Correspondence and Inspection" was passed, and they were dismissed, and a new committee appointed. They were Robert McKown, Henry Hunter, Robert Sproul, George Rodgers, and Thomas Johnston. They, like the preceding committee were to act "during the town's pleasure."

The next week another meeting was called, and the preceding one was declared "ealeagal" (illegal); for what reason does not appear. Many were not satisfied with some members of the "Committee of Correspondence and Inspection," just appointed; and desired that a new election should be held; and

¹ Tradition.

this method was taken to accomplish their object. The committee, named above, were therefore "dismissed," and two new committees appointed in their stead, one to be called a "committee of Correspondence, and the other a committee of inspection." Robert Sproul, Edward Young, Wm. McLean (he usually spelled his own name, McLain), Joseph Eaton and Henry Hunter, were appointed a committee of correspondence; and James Morton, Samuel Paterson, James Given, a committee of inspection, both of whom were to hold office "during the town's pleasure."

Previous to this, warrants for the town meetings had all been issued in the name of his majesty; but a notable change is now to take place, not important in itself, but significant of the future. The battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, but the Declaration of Independence was yet unwritten, when the authorities of Bristol issued their warrant for a meeting of the "legal voters" of the town, March 12th, 1776, "in the name of the Continental Congress." Subsequently the meetings were called "in the name of America," and finally in the name of Massachusetts.

At the meeting, March 12th, a new "Committee of Inspection and Correspondence" was appointed, consisting of Alexander Nickels, Simon Elliot, Henry Hunter, Henry Fasset, Zebulon Howland, Amos Goudy, Wm. Burns, and (Prince?) Baker.

Though sympathizing fully with the patriotic cause, the people here soon began to feel severely the enormous burden of the war. Early in the spring of 1776, a convention of delegates from the several towns in Lincoln county was called at Wiscasset, and Alexander Nickels was chosen as delegate from Bristol. This was at a town meeting held at the house of Wm. Sproul, April 22d; and the record mournfully speaks of him as a "delegate" "to represent the difficulties that we labor under at this difficult day."

Committee of "Inspection and Correspondence," for the first part of the year, 1777, chosen March 13th, were Wm. McLain, S. Elliot, Edward Young, Samuel Boyd, Prince Baker, Wm. Jones, Robert Randall, Samuel Paterson and Robert Given. Committee for the latter part of the year, chosen July 15th, Samuel Boyd, Robert Given, Robert Randall, Wm. McClure, Wm. Jones, Samuel Paterson, Prince Baker, Edward Young, and Simon Elliot.

The plan of government for the colony, submitted to the people by the general court, the previous year, was brought before the town at a regular meeting, May 4th, and was unanimously rejected, 103 votes being cast."¹

Committee of "Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety," first part of the year, 1779, chosen, March 2d, Jacob Eaton, Wm. McLain, Wm. Burns, Lemuel Doe, Amos Goudy, Robert Sproul, Ebenezer Thompson, Benjamin Day, and Elijah Crooker. For latter part of the year, chosen Nov. 19th, Thomas Martin, Wm. McLain, Benjamin Messervy, Samuel Boyd, Wm. McGlathery, Robert Given, Nathaniel Thompson, Elisha Hatch and Henry Hunter.

Bristol, in common with other towns, was early called upon for articles of clothing for the soldiers and later for beef and other articles of food; but no detailed statement has been found to show how much was done in response to these calls. In the record of a town meeting, held Aug. 18th, 1775, we find the following, voted "that we think we cannot send any of the coats and other clothes that the Provincial Congress sent for to the town." Subsequently, in 1779, the town voted to pay £60, lawful money, as a bounty to each man who should enlist in the service for nine months, or a like proportion for a less time. The number of men wanted not being readily obtained, a committee was appointed, at the March town meeting, to attend personally to this matter, and it was also decided to enforce the law on Nathaniel Smellage, a citizen of the town who had previously received the bounty, but failed to perform the promised service.

The following document was addressed to Dummer Sewall, Esq., of Georgetown :

Sr. We are informed by Mr. Hiscock that you must have an Account of the price of every article of the Clothing separately by itself; we therefore take this opportunity to let you know the same.

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| The price of the Shos is, | 2 : 8 : 0 per pair. |
| The price of the Shirts is, | 2 : 7 : 0 a peace. |
| The price of the Stockings is, | 1 : 16 : 0 per pair. |
| The 27 pair of Shoes at 48s. per pair is, | 64 : 16 : 0 |
| The 27 Shirts at 47s. a peace is, | 63 : 9 : 0 |
| The 27 pair of Stockings at 36s. per pair is, | 48 : 12 : 0 |

The sum of the whole is, £176 : 17 : 0

¹ *Brad. Mass.*, II, p. 349; *Will. Maine*, II, 464-65.

We are informed by Mr. Hiscock that you think the price very High, but things is so dear that we was obledged to return Sundry articels to the owners again, because we could not come to their price.

THOS. JOHNSTON, } Selectmen
JAMES HOUSTON, } of Bristol.¹

Bristol, Sept. 28th, 1778.

These high prices were occasioned by the great depreciation of the currency; but if they were then high, at a subsequent period they were destined to be much higher. At a town meeting, May 2, 1780, it was voted to allow each man \$40, per day for work on the roads, and \$20 per day for a yoke of oxen.

The requisitions of the government this year for clothing and beef for the army were enormous, and the people of Bristol staggered under their burdens. By a resolve of the legislature, May 4th, each town was required to procure one-tenth as many shirts, pairs of shoes and stockings as there were male inhabitants in the town above the age of 16 years, and half as many blankets as shirts; and by other resolves, Sept. 25th and Dec. 4th, the towns in Lincoln county were called upon in all for 195242lbs. of beef.

This town, of course, was called upon for its share; and by great effort the beef required seems to have been procured in due time, and probably also the articles of clothing; but the state taxes were greatly in arrears. For much of the beef, \$5 a pound was paid! Nov. 4th, it was "voted to give five dollars per pound for beef; and what the inhabitants turn in must be delivered to Wm. Burns by Thursday next." A committee was appointed "to purchase what beef may be wanting after the citizens have carried in what they can get."

A part of this beef, and perhaps all was sent to St. George.

The winter of 1780-81, was a season of deep gloom in all this region. The previous winter had been unusually severe, both as to the great depth of snow on the ground and the intense cold. For several days in the month of February people passed on the ice to and fro between Camden harbor and Bigyduce (Castine), on the opposite side of the bay.² As the winter season again approached, recollections of the past naturally had the effect to increase the general depression; and the people knew not which way to turn. At a town meeting, Dec. 7th,

¹ Original MS., in the handwriting of Thomas Johnston.

² *Eaton's Annals War.*, p. 181.

1780, after much anxious discussion, it was voted to petition the general court for some "easement" in the collection of their taxes, and also more aid in protecting the coasts, which were infested with *marauders* from the provinces east of them, and *tories* from among themselves.

Of the latter class was one *Nathaniel Palmer*, of Broad Cove, who, about this time, was believed to be the leader of a small gang of pirates infesting the islands in Muscongus bay, and committing their depredations upon vessels falling in their way. Thomas Johnston and some of his neighbors sent a freight of wood to Boston, and ordered in return West India and other goods for the use of their families for the winter; but the vessel on her return was seized and plundered by Palmer and his gang. The loss at such a time was grievous to be borne; but Johnston's indignation was increased by the fact that Palmer had been a pupil of his, in an evening school, only a winter or two before, and had received many kindnesses from him. For this, and probably other similar offences, he was arrested and tried by court marshal under General Peleg Wadsworth, who had command of this district; but made his escape before the sentence pronounced upon him could be executed. He was handcuffed, but succeeded in removing the manacles by twisting off a board nail with his teeth.¹ After the war, probably several years, he returned to Broad Cove, and lived there unmolested but, of course, thoroughly despised by the community.²

In January, 1781, a call was made upon the town for ten men to serve in the army; and to procure them it was voted in town meeting "to classify the town," but in what way it was done is not known.

Committee of "Correspondence, Inspection and Safety," appointed March 8th, L. Doe, A. Goudy, James Drummond, Elijah Crooker, S. Reid, Zebulon Howland, Saml. Yates, Wm. Burns, and Joshua Soule.

The last name is here introduced for the first time. He was father of the Rev. Joshua Soule, D.D., late bishop of the Metho-

¹ Tradition. *Eden's Ann. Wren.*, p. 185. It is believed he was sentenced to be hung.

² When the writer was but a child, Palmer once made a call at his father's, and his appearance is remembered as if it was only yesterday. Being received with rather cool politeness, he tarried but a little time; and after he left, the gentleman of the house gave a brief sketch of his history, which excited the indignation of the children not a little.

dist Episcopal Church South. He lived at Round Pond on the Chamberlain place, which he sold, Aug. 18, 1773, to the Rev. A. McLean, and removed to Broad Cove, where the future Bishop, Joshua Soule jr., was born. Subsequently he removed with his family to the town of Avon, in the Sandy river country. He (Joshua sr.) was a prominent man in the town, and his name often appears in the records. This year he was a member of the board of selectmen as well as the committee named. Occasionally he is styled "Captain."

James Drummond was a Scotchman, and resided with his family at Harrington not far from the old meeting house. The family came first to Boston, and afterwards to Bristol. He was a man of limited education but of sterling worth, and was clerk of the town many years. He was father of the Hon. James Drummond, of whom we shall take occasion to speak more at length hereafter, and grandfather of Hon. Thomas Drummond of Chicago, Judge of the United States Court, and Rev. James Drummond, late of Springfield, Mass.

Lemuel Doe was a man of considerable influence in the place, but little is known of him. He lived with his family a little distance north of the place of the late Phillips Hatch, on the road leading from "The Falls" village to "The Mills."

May 2, 1781, the town voted to pay Rev. Mr. McLean's salary "at 90 for one in the old emission or equivalent in the new emission," thus indicating the depreciation of the currency at the time. The selectmen, about this time, were paid \$60 per day for their services.

It was found extremely difficult this year to meet the requisitions of the government for men and beef, and to collect the taxes which seem to have been two years in arrears. Late in the season a fine was imposed on the town for not having supplied the men required of them for the army, probably the ten men previously mentioned, but they concluded to make another effort to procure the men as they were allowed to do, rather than pay the fine. Dec. 14, in town meeting it was voted "to assess the beef tax immediately" but to defer the "hard money" tax, and to indemnify the selectmen, if any action should be brought against them. But many thought the collection of the beef so late in the season impossible, and another meeting was called, Jan. 31, 1782, and it was determined to postpone

the collection of the beef tax also, and "to send a petition to the Great and General Court setting fourth our distressed situation." Samuel Otis was at the same time appointed to present the petition (as they called it) to the general court.

Some of the citizens were opposed to this movement, thinking that more effort should be made to meet the demands upon them, and therefore entered a protest against the proceedings. They were Wm. McLain, Oliver Nash, George Yates, Simon Elliot, Saml. Yates, Nathl. Thompson and Wm. Burns.

But the "petition" was successful; and, at a subsequent period, mention is made of the abatement, in whole or in part, of the state tax of 1780.

Committee of correspondence, etc., this year, 1782, appointed April 1, Isaac Colimore, Joseph Burns, Wm. McLain, Richard Jones, Alexander Askins jr., Alex. Askins 3d, Ebenezer Blunt, Phillips Hatch and Saml. Clark.

This was the last committee of the kind appointed in the town. Isaac Colimore had the confidence of the people of the town, as a good citizen and an upright man, but was not very influential; and little is known of him. Ebenezer Blunt lived south of "The Mills," on the road to "the meadows," it is believed; and is now represented in the place by a numerous posterity. Phillips Hatch was by trade a blacksmith, and lived two miles or more south of "The Mills," on the road to Pemaquid. He was a worthy man; and died at a very advanced age some twenty-five years ago. Samuel Clark was a son of George Clark, and lived at Harrington. The others have been (or will be) spoken of elsewhere.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, took place in October, 1781; and peace between this country and England was expected to follow as a matter of course; but still as late as Feb. 4, 1783, the citizens of Bristol found it necessary to petition the general court for additional means of defense against the enemy. It is not known, what was the special occasion for this movement.

At the same meeting it was voted to request of the governor the use of a flag [of truce] "to carry Mrs. Kelley to Bagaduce" (Biguyduce); but whether it was successful or not is not known; nor is it known what specific charge was brought against her.¹

¹ The record seems to read Mrs. Kelley; but it may have been Mr. and not Mrs. Kelley.

It is interesting to know that during the war, the Penobscot and other eastern Indians remained entirely peaceful, but their friendship and neutral position was not maintained without effort on the part of the citizens. Thus we find, at the very beginning of the struggle, the officers of government did not forget the little attentions to them, which cost so little comparatively, and yet are so pleasing both to savage and Christian. But, what was more important to the Indians, the authorities took occasion frequently to forward small presents of useful articles, which, in these times of scarcity, added greatly to their comfort.

July 9, 1775, the "provincial congress" in session at Watertown, authorized Hon. Frederic Prebble and Hon. Enoch Freeman to supply the Penobscot tribe with goods to the amount of £300; and the next day they in like manner authorized Capt. John Lane (Lain) to make over to the same tribe 25 pounds of gun powder. A month before this, at the request of the chiefs of the tribe, they had appointed Lane as agent for the tribe, and specially authorized him to notice every infraction on the rights of the Indians by the white people, and report them to the congress. Being in Watertown subsequently with several Penobscots, whose shoes were badly worn, he had the boldness to petition the congress for a supply of the needed articles for his friends and proteges; and such was the temper of the body at the time, the grant was made at once.¹

The following document explains itself. "I, the subscriber, having two Indians under my care, one from St. John's Tribe, and the other from the Penobscot tribe, bound to the General Court of this Province, and being obliged to apply to Committee of Bristol in the County of Lincoln for assistance in our Passage to Watertown we have Received from Mr. Thos. Brackett and Thos. Boyd, two of the Committee men of s^d Bristol, Thirty Shillings Lawful money towards assistance in our journey. Bristol, Sep. 26th, 1775. ANDREW GILMAN.

"Please pay the within to Mr. Briggs Turner and you will Oblige your Friends.
THOS. BRACKETT,
THOS. BOYD."

"Please to pay the Within to Cornal [Colonel] William Jones and you will oblige your friend.
BRIGGS TURNER."

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 22, No. 631, 632, 141, No. 315, 317.

We are sorry to be obliged to add that the general court refused to pay the bill, and the two patriotic citizens of Bristol probably never recovered the money so justly due them.¹

At the beginning of the war it was hoped that the Penobscots, and perhaps other tribes might be induced to join the Americans, and aid them in their struggle with Great Britain; but they declined. Subsequently some of the young men of the St. John's and the Micmac tribes made a treaty in behalf of their people with the Massachusetts government, by which, for proper consideration, they agreed to furnish 600 men for the army under Washington, to serve not more than three years. This produced much excitement among the tribes, and occasioned the following memorial to the people of Massachusetts from eight of their principal chiefs. As they could not write each one signed the document by making his mark.

"Friends, Brothers and Countrymen.

In the spring of the year we received with Joy and Gladness, a very kind Letter from our Friend and Brother His Excy. George Washington.

What he said therein gave us great satisfaction and Determined we were to Continue in that Friendship, with the same faith as he professed towards us and to Keep the chain bright for Ever.

A few days ago an alarm was spread among us that another paper was come, to require us to take up the hatchet.

We met, therefore, and found that some of our young men had been with you in the Character of Chiefs and made a Treaty to go to war, Contrary to our Desire, and as we understand from them was not rightly understood.

Our situation and Circumstances being such at present, our natural inclinations being Peace, Only accustomed to hunt for the Subsistence of our families. We Could not Comply with the Terms, Our numbers being not sufficient among other Objections. And as it was not done by Our authority and Consent of the Diff. Tribes we are necessitated to return it.

Still depending upon the promise of our Brother Washington, and relying upon the friendship of all our Brothers and friends your way we hope and trust no offense in sending it back.

And protesting at the same time that the Chain of Friendship is still subsisting between us on our side and that we hope for Ever. A further Account of our situation will in our Name be Delivered by our Brothers and Countrymen John Allen, Esq., Bearer of this, Our Love and Friendship be with you all. We are your Friends and Brothers.

At Coquen. Sept 19th, 1776."²

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 144; No. 320.

² *Mass. Arch.*, 144, Nos. 358, 375. Kibler, *Mil. Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution*, pp. 57, 59.

This drew from Washington the following letter, which was addressed to the St. John's tribe; but a copy or a similar letter was also sent to the Passamaquoddy and perhaps other tribes. That sent to the latter tribe has been carefully and sacredly preserved by them, and was seen by Mr. F. Kidder of Boston, in 1852. Some other documents of the period are also preserved by them.

“Brothers of the St. John's Tribe.

It gave me great Pleasure to hear by Major Shaw, that you Kept the chain of Friendship, which I sent you in February last from Cambridge bright and unbroken.

I am glad to hear that you have made a Treaty of peace with your Brothers and neighbors of the Massachusetts Bay, who have, agreeable to your desire, established a Truck House at St. Johns out of which they will furnish you with everything you want and take your Furs in Return.

My good Friend and Brother, Govr. Pierre Tommar, and the Warriors that came with him, shall be taken good care of, and when they want to return home, they and our Brothers of Penobscot shall be furnished with everything necessary for their journey.

Brothers, I have one thing more to say to you, our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavoured to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South Carolina against us; but our Brothers of the Six Nations and their Allies, the Shawnese and Delawares would not listen to him. The Cherokees and Southern Tribes were foolish enough to listen to them and take up the hatchet against us, and our Warriors have in return invaded their country, and burnt their houses and corn, obliging [them] to sue for peace, and give Hostages for their future good behaviour.

Never let the King's wicked Counsellors turn your heads against me and your Brethren of this Country, but bear in mind what I told you last February and what I tell you now.

In token of my Friendship for you I send you this from my Army on the Bank of the Great River Delaware this 24th day of December, 1776.

G. WASHINGTON.¹

The efforts of the government of Massachusetts to secure and maintain the friendship of the Indians were unremitted; and the amount of money expended in presents was not small. Often small parties and even individuals, by a timely applica-

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 141; No. 377. Kidder's *East Maine*, 59. The reader will notice that the letter was written only two days before Washington's famous victory at Trenton, N. J.

tion, secured grants or presents on small pretence of services or claims.

Occasionally a few of the young men joined the service and received the regular pay as other soldiers. Thus seven men of the Penobscot tribe were enrolled in a company under Lieut. Gilman from Nov. 13th, 1776 to Feb. 7th, 1777, "including 15 days' travel from Boston to the Penobscot."

| | |
|---|-------|
| Arexis, $\frac{1}{2}$ month 42 pr. mo., | 3—3—0 |
| Wongoret, 2 months and 26 days, | 6—0—6 |
| Attenanics, Ditto | 6—0—6 |
| Ansong Neptune, Ditto | 6—0—6 |
| Assonsar, Ditto | 6—0—6 |
| Joseph James Holet, Ditto | 6—0—6 |
| Joseph Cook, a Mohawk, Ditto | 6—0—6 |

£39—6—0

Boston, Jan'y 23, 1777.

ANDREW GILMAN.

A month later 15 Indians from the army, 6 of them being Penobscots, and the rest of the St. John's tribe, being at head quarters and desirous of returning home, caused a petition to be presented for means to return home and also to obtain clothing for themselves, and also any arrears of pay that might be due, all of which was granted. The Indians not being fully satisfied, an additional grant of 11 shirts was made them. But they had still another claim. When they came to head quarters they brought their arms with them, which had been stolen; and they therefore prayed that other arms might be supplied to them. Whether or not the last request was granted is not known. Many such cases occurred.

The people of Canada, as is well known, refused to join with the other colonies in the contest for liberty, and the Indians of that region naturally took sides with them. These, excited to action by the British officials, were ever ready to use their influence among their brethren on the Penobscot in favor of the English, and against the Americans. Early in the spring of 1779, they sent two of their young men with a formal message to this effect. The message and manner of its delivery are thus represented:

April 30th, 1779.

John Neptune & Orono came into Prebbles at Penobscot Falls by Express sent by John Marsh from John Prebble, and was informed that a

Message with Wampum was sent from Captain Smith, at Machias, Deputy Superintendent, to acquaint the whole Tribe that Col. Allan requested their assembling at Machias the 25th May, to Receive the Priest. &c., and to bring the Peltry with them.

Then John Neptune Presents three small strings Wampum and says (holding the first string) These are sent our Tribe from Canada by Two Young men about three weeks ago.

“1st *String*, We send you this to open your Eyes

2nd *String*, That you may see a great way.

3d *String*, That your Ears may be opened to hear, and fix your Hearts that you may have a Right understanding to what I am going to tell you.”

Then presenting a large Belt of Wampum, 1,500 White, said this Likewise was sent from Canada with this Message.

“Brothers, Don't have any Connections with the Americans. Remove yourselves off from them and not keep with them, for Powder and Balls has no respect to Persons for if we should find one of our Brothers Dead it would make us sorry and Angry.

The Americans have no knowledge of what they are about in Fighting the Great King of England; but now the King is in Earnest and Determined to whip them severely, we send you this Great Belt of Wampum for every one of you to See and think of, and to Show it to the St. Johns' and Micmaes, and to let them Know what we say, and Return the Belt Back to us Immediately.

The Indians are coming across the woods as soon as the Leaves are as big as our nails, and we are Determined to Destroy the white People,—300 on the River Penobscot, 300 upon the Norridgewalk River, and 300 upon Cohos.

There is 300 Barrels of Flour at Sococen for the Support of the Indians who are coming a Cross the Country.

Brothers of Penobscot we have Provision Enough in Canada to last 30 years if the war should last so long. Don't think this Belt of Wampum is sent for nothing, Don't make a Laugh and Scorn of it, it is the Truth we send you and you may Depend upon it.

Brothers, there is now at and near Canada good Indians ready to execute any order they may receive from the British General in Canada.

Brothers, the Indians were so rejoiced to get their Wampum Carried to your Tribe, that they Danced and Drank three Days and Nights and Liquor was given them free as water.”

“JOHN PREBBLE.”¹

This action of the Canada Indians could not fail to excite some anxiety in the minds of the Americans, when it first be-

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, 144, No. 417; *Kidder East. Maine*, p. 263.

came known; but the disastrous results of the Penobscot expedition, which occurred a little later in the summer, very considerably increased the danger. The Indians like always to fight with the victorious party; and they might at any time transfer their allegiance from the Americans to their enemies, the victors in the last fight.

The Indians, therefore, were closely watched and cared for; and as the Penobscot river was now inaccessible, it was decided to establish a truck house "at or near Fort Halifax," on the Kennebec where the natives could bring their furs and obtain in exchange such articles as they needed. Col. Josiah Brewer was appointed truck master; and it was at the same time voted in the house of representatives (Sept. 27, 1779) "to give a suit of clothes and a gun to each of the Penobscots in town." A little later (Oct. 8th) Major Wm. Todd being in Boston with some Indians, one of whom claimed that Gen. Lovell had promised him a hat, in return for one he had lost when serving as a pilot somewhere at the east; and on application to Mr. Powell, a member of the council, the hat was granted.

In the same spirit of conciliation the government of Massachusetts employed *Juniper Berthiamme*, a Roman Catholic priest, as an instructor of the Indians living about the Penobscot. He resided for a time at Fort Halifax on the Kennebec. Mr. Kidder writes the name *Barthium*.

These wisely directed efforts were the essential means by which the friendship of the Indians was secured and continued; but the alliance with France was not without its influence. The French had been driven from the country years before; but the savages had not forgotten their former friendship. In a conference held with some of the chiefs at Penobscot by Gen. Lovell, in Aug. 1779, they professed sincere attachment to the cause of the colonies, the more so because of the "alliance with France," and said they had "but two fathers, George Washington and the King of France."¹

The business of privateering was carried on briskly in this region during the war; but it does not appear that any of the people of Bristol were directly interested in it. Congress very early established a court for the trial of maritime cases; and many such were brought before it in the autumn of 1776, and subsequently. Hon. Timothy Langdon, a lawyer of some dis-

¹ *Mass. Archives*, 144, No. 423.

tion residing at Wiscasset, was appointed judge; and notices of the "libels" to be tried before him are contained in the newspapers of the day. Wiscasset was then called the "East Precinct of Pownalboro," the present town of Wiscasset not having been incorporated until the beginning of the present century. There was then no court house, and the trials were held in the meeting house. None of them, so far as we know, were in any way connected with the history of this place.

Previous to the publication of North's excellent *History of Augusta*, in 1870, probably very few of the citizens were aware that one of the most worthy, but one of the youngest of the generals of the American army in revolutionary war, was born within the town. This was Gen. Wm. North, son of John North, the surveyor, and Elizabeth, his wife. He was born in Pemaquid fort in 1755, but his father having died when he was only eight years old, his mother with her family removed to Boston.

When Arnold was preparing to make his celebrated march by way of the Kennebec river to Canada, in the autumn of 1775, he volunteered for the service, but was kept at home by sickness. On his recovery he joined the army as second lieutenant of artillery, and continued in the service during the whole war. For a time he was attached to the staff of Steuben, whose confidence he enjoyed, and was present with him at the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, in 1781. He had at this time attained the rank of major, but subsequently, during the administration of Adams, he was appointed adjutant general with the rank of brigadier general.

After the close of the war he married a daughter of Hon. James Duane of New York, and settled at Duanesburg, N. Y. He was several times a member of the legislature of New York, and once speaker of the house of representatives. For a short time, in 1798, he was a member of the senate of the United States, by appointment of Gov. Jay.

Baron Steuben showed his regard for North by appointing him one of his executors, and bequeathing to him a liberal share of his estate.

Gen. North died in the city of New York, January 3d, 1836,¹

¹ *Hist. of Augusta*, p. 180; *Memoir* by Miss H. E. North; *Drake's Biographical Dictionary*.

and was buried in Duanesburgh, where an elegant tablet in the Episcopal church commemorates his virtues.

The war having terminated by the triumphant establishment of the great doctrine of popular rights, against governmental tyranny; it was not to be expected that those, who during the contest had sympathized with the enemy and even "afforded him aid and comfort," should be allowed to come in and enjoy, "the rights and privileges they had been seeking to destroy. The government caused circulars to be sent about the country, calling attention to this subject; and one of them having been read here in town meeting, it was voted that "no refugee having taken refuge under the British during the late war shall be suffered to return to this town to share any of the liberties and privileges, that we have purchased at so dear a rate;" they then proceeded to choose a committee to carry the resolution into effect. The members of the committee, were Elisha Hatch, John Lérmond, Samuel Yates, Wm. Jones, Wm. McLain, Isaac Colimore, Wm. McGlathery, Saml. Otis, and John Boyd. This committee was instructed to meet and organize at once, and communicate with the committee of correspondence, etc., in Boston, "informing them of our doings."

It does not appear that they ever had occasion to exercise the functions of their office; but this may be only the fault of the records.

But little information, except what is given above, has come down to us of the doings here through the war, but Wm. Rodgers in 1811 testified that about one-fourth of all the able bodied men of the town perished in the service, either by sea or by land. Fortunately we have the names of thirty-four. Moses Eddy, Wm. McLean, (McLain?), Isaac Randall, Wm. Coleman, Thaddeus Ames, Ebenezer Bowman, Job Pronty, James Low, (or Law) James Condon, James Rought, Joseph Wascutt, Moses Harvey, Timothy Weston, Benjamin Crooker, Thomas Farrow, Jacob Partridge, Robert Morton, Thomas Morton, David Bryant, James Elliot, Thomas Smellage, Timothy Sylvester, Jacob Hooper, John Holden, Zebulon Howland, John Reed jr., Jacob Bryant, Jacob Smith, John McGlathery, James McCaffrey, Ichabod Doughty, Ezra Harrow, Michael Fountain.¹

The first constitution of the state of Massachusetts was formed by a convention which met in Cambridge, in Sept., 1779, but

¹ Files, Secretary's Office, Boston: *Litt. Rep.* 1811, p. 157.

did not adjourn finally until early in the following year. The constitution agreed upon was subsequently submitted to the popular vote, article by article, each article to be considered adopted if two-thirds of the votes cast should be found in the affirmative. No particular day was named for the citizens of the towns to meet and vote upon the subject, but each one acted at his own pleasure. June 14th, it was found by returns from 186 of the 200 towns and plantations in the state, that a sufficient majority of the people had voted in favor of every article; and the constitution was therefore declared adopted, and the last Wednesday of October designated as the day when it should go into operation.

This town does not appear to have taken any action upon the question of the adoption of the constitution; but embraced the opportunity to vote for state officers, at the time appointed, (Sept. 4th,) and the record of the transaction is as follows, viz :

“ Voted the Honorable John Hancock, Esq., Governor, voted the Honorable James Bowdoin, Esq., Lieut. Gov., and Samuel Thwing, Esq., Senator.”

Such unanimity in these our times would be truly wonderful; but if the return to the state canvassers was made in the same style as the record, it is not probable that the vote of Bristol, unanimous as it was, availed anything for the benefit of their favorite candidates.¹

The spirit of reform was abroad in those days, as well as the present; and some of the people of Bristol deeming it proper to attempt something practical in a particular direction, caused an article to be inserted in the warrant for a town meeting, Oct. 3d, 1780.

“ To see if the town will choose a committee to instruct their representatives to get the order of lawyers entirely abolished.” The decision was in the affirmative; but whether the committee was ever appointed, or anything further done, we are not informed. But it is certain that “the order of lawyers” still survives.

The movement, inaugurated in 1785, to separate the counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln, then constituting the whole of Maine, from Massachusetts, and establish therein an independent state government, ultimately failed, as is well known; but the matter was kept in debate two or three years, during

¹ *Edon's Am. War.*, p. 171.

which time two conventions were held in Portland, both of them being attended by Wm. Jones, as delegate from Bristol. The people of the town never manifested any enthusiasm in its favor, but when the question was submitted to vote in town-meeting (Oct. 3, 1786), there were 19 yeas and 1 nay. The meeting was held at the house of Richard Jones.

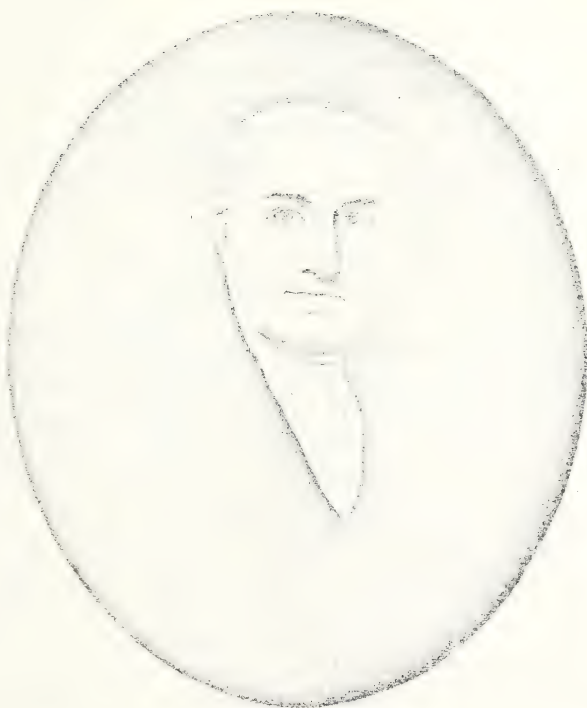
CHAPTER XXIX.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE WAR OF 1812.

Commodore Samuel Tucker—Jacob Eaton jr.—Rev. A. McLean—Murder of Cleary or McClary by John O'Neil—Trial and execution of the latter—Sheriff Goudy.

The revolutionary war produced only a few naval heroes; but there were several whose names will live for all time. Among these was Samuel Tucker, who ten years after the war came to reside in Bristol, in the part subsequently set off as Bremen, and spent here the rest of his life. He was born in Marblehead, Nov. 1st, 1747; and when a mere boy began the life of a seaman. He was in London when news of the battle of Bunker Hill was received there; and for a time was in great danger of arrest, because of some patriotic, but incautious words, but escaped by a stratagem, and found passage homeward on board a vessel belonging to Robert Morris of Philadelphia, and bound to that city. Morris gave him letters to Washington, then at the head of the army at Cambridge, to whom they were presented on his way homeward, near the close of the year, 1775. Having been married several years before this, he hastened to join his family at the old homestead.

Congress, in October, passed a resolve authorizing the fitting out of some armed ships, which were greatly needed in the circumstances of the country; and it may be that the matter was not forgotten when he had his interview with Washington. However this may be, a favorable impression had been made



Samuel Tucker ~

upon the mind of the great American leader, whose judgment of men at sight was almost miraculous; and when it was determined to fit out some armed vessels to prey upon the enemy, one of the first commissions issued was to our hero, Samuel Tucker. It was dated January 20th, 1776, and sent by a special messenger; it appointed him captain of the armed schooner Franklyn, then lying in the harbor of Beverly and nearly ready for sea. It was signed by Gen. Washington as commander of the American army.

Though this was late in the afternoon, early the next morning he was on his way to assume the command thus conferred upon him. He did so good service in the Franklyn that, Sept. 3d, he was transferred to the armed schooner Hancock, and at a later period to the frigate, Boston. This last commission was dated March 15, 1777. In his several commands he was very successful, and during his few years of service made a large number of prizes; but a full list cannot now be made out. Some of them were of great value, and his share of the spoils amounted to a large sum.

In 1778, while in command of the frigate Boston, he was ordered to convey the Hon. John Adams to France, to which he had been appointed minister, and successfully performed the duty, taking several prizes on the voyage. The late Dr. Benjamin Brown, of Waldoboro, was surgeon of the ship during the voyage. In the autumn of 1776, the Boston was ordered south, as one of Commodore Whipple's squadron for the defense of that coast; and with all the commodore's squadron, was obliged to surrender to the enemy in Charleston harbor, when that place was captured in the spring of 1780. Tucker was allowed to return home on parole, and very soon was exchanged for Capt. Wm. Wardlow, whom he had himself captured about a year before, in the Thorne.

There being now no vacant ship to which he could be appointed, he requested and obtained permission to take command of the Thorne which he had captured (commanded by Wardlow just mentioned), and which was now commissioned as a privateer, and in her did excellent service, making many valuable prizes, and greatly distressing the enemy. But fortune is not always propitious; the Thorne, with all on board, in the summer of 1781, was obliged to surrender to a superior force of the enemy, while on a cruise near the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

The prisoners were landed on Prince Edward's Island, from which Tucker and some others escaped in an open boat, and arrived safely in Boston.

When he returned from Charleston, in 1780, he found himself a rich man, as a result of the many prizes (probably as many as sixty at least) he had captured, and he removed his family to Boston, where they lived, "rather extravagantly," one account says, for a number of years. He had proved himself to be a bold and successful fighter; but he had no tact for business, and, at the same time, was generous to a fault. He lost largely in different ways, and especially by loans to pretended friends, whose solicitations he never could deny. To relieve himself from embarrassment he sold his property in Boston, and engaged in business in his native place; but with little success. He therefore sold out his interest there and purchased a farm in Bristol of Daniel McCurdy, on which he resided the rest of his life (this was in 1793). The farm is a little north of the mills at the outlet of Muscongus pond, and the house into which the family moved, was a small wooden building of a single story only. This he pulled down many years ago, and erected in its place a larger house of two stories, which in turn gave place to the one now standing there. The property some years ago passed entirely out of the family.

The people of Bristol received the commodore among them with great cordiality: and ever treated him and his family with the greatest respect, the forty years of his life spent among them. They also showed their appreciation of him by his frequent election to office; eight times he represented them in the legislature of Massachusetts, before the separation, and twice afterwards in the legislature of Maine. He was also a member of the convention that formed the first constitution of Maine. In 1820 he was chosen an elector of president and vice president of the United States, and was appointed messenger to carry the vote of Maine to Washington, where he was received with the honors due him for his former services. Having many years before received the thanks of congress for his gallant services in the war of the revolution, he was, by the rules of congress, entitled to admission at all times to the floor of both houses.

His public services in the troubles with the "Proprietors" and also in the war of 1812 will be related hereafter.

Other minor offices he often held, as that of selectman of Bristol, and of Bremen after the latter was incorporated, as his residence was in this town. He died at his home, after a short illness, March 10, 1833, in his 86th year, and was interred with others of his kindred in the rural cemetery of Bremen. His wife died less than two years before him. They lived together 63 years.

Knowing, as we do, the great services of the commodore in the revolutionary war, we are surprised that he was not remembered subsequently for some appointment in the navy or in the customs service. Having no tact for business he was always poor, and such a recognition would have been doubly welcome to him; and we experience a feeling of surprise, bordering on indignation, when we learn that even an appointment as captain of a revenue cutter was refused when applied for by his friends.

We are, however, obliged to make some concessions in regard to him. His qualities, as simply a *fighter*, were of the highest order, as his great successes in the revolutionary war clearly showed; but for cool judgment, that leads to a cautious adaptation of means to ends, he did not excel. His perfect dare-devil mode of fighting did, indeed, give him wonderful success, in many desperate fights; but it is very questionable whether a similar result could be expected to follow a continuation of the same tactics even by himself.

But though strangely neglected he was not utterly cast off by his country. By a general law of congress, passed about 1820, he afterwards received a pension of \$20 per month, or \$240 a year, and still later, about 1832, by another general law, he became entitled to a pension of \$50 per month; but he lived only a single year to enjoy it. Had such a pension been bestowed 40 years earlier it would have been only a *just recognition* of his services.¹

¹Sheppard's *Life of Samuel Tucker, Commodore in the American Revolution*, Boston, 1868. Most of the above facts have been taken from this excellent work, though many of them were familiar to the writer from early boyhood. Though generally very accurate in his statements, the respected author occasionally mistakes. Page 224, "In 1816, the town voted to choose no representative." The town record, on the contrary, says that Samuel Tucker was chosen representative May 16th, that year. The author also fails to inform us that Tucker represented the town of Bristol in the legislature, in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, as well as those years mentioned by him.

The author also entirely ignores one utterly inexcusable fault in the character of the old hero, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Throughout his long life,

Jacob Eaton jr., was elected selectman of Bristol in 1772, and afterwards filled several important trusts. He or his father occupied the farm in the very N. E. corner of the town, and his name is mentioned in the act of incorporation, or rather the amended act of incorporation. Joseph Eaton, probably another son of Jacob sr., married Jane McGlathery of New Harbor, Feb. 28, 1769.

Jacob Eaton (probably jr.) at the very beginning of the revolutionary war, was captured by the enemy and taken to Europe, but with another man, Joseph Berry of Topsham, made his escape as described below. The family soon after the war removed from town, probably to Camden¹ and little more is known of them.

All that is known of Eaton's capture and return is contained in the following joint petition of Eaton and Berry for aid, addressed to the Massachusetts legislature then in session. It is dated Boston, Jan. 8th, 1776.

They say "that they were taken by Men of War belonging to Britain, viz., the said Eaton, the 5th of November, 1775, and the said Berry in August, 1775, and brought into the Port of Boston, afterwards they were put on board the Boyne Man of War to help work her home to England, and they arrived safe in Plymouth, and from thence your petitioners ran away and got to France, where they entered on board a Continental vessel bound to America. That on their passage they were taken off the Capes

even in his old age, he was in the habit of using language grossly profane. At the time of the troubles with the non-resident proprietors, to be described hereafter, one summer, when much excitement prevailed, extempore meetings were occasionally held in the open air, and the various aspects of the subject discussed. Those familiar with political meetings, in times of high excitement, may form some idea of the character of the impromptu speeches on these occasions. Such fearful denunciations of the hated proprietors, and such hints at deeds of valor and renown, if an attempt should really be made to compel by force the running of the disputed lines, we will not undertake to record. At one of these meetings, after several had spoken, there were loud calls for "Tucker, Tucker," who, though seldom inclined to undertake such a performance, felt obliged to comply. So mounting the same rostrum the other speakers had used, a farmer's empty cart, that stood by the road side, he began his speech, "I'll be d—d." This was too abrupt to be endured, and a vociferous and long continued burst of laughter from the audience prevented further progress, and he retired from the rostrum.—*Hon. Arnold Blaney.*

For the accompanying portrait of the old commodore we are indebted to the excellent author of the *Memoirs*, the reading of which no student of American history can afford to omit.

¹ *Lo ke ; Hist. Camden*, p. 212.

of Philadelphia and carried into New Yorke from New Yorke, they got to New Haven, and there obtained a pass to get home.

And your petitioners, being now above two hundred miles from home, and neither money nor Cloathing, and being now in their own State, from which they were taken, having lived upon charity ever since they left New Yorke.

They humbly pray your Honors would be pleased to take their distressed Case into your compassionate consideration and to Grant them a Supply of Money and Cloathing to get home to their Families, or releave them in such other way as your honors in your known wisdom shall see meet."¹

Rev. Alexander McLean, whose name has already (p. 343) been mentioned, was the first minister regularly settled in Bristol; but before he came to the place different clergymen had been employed for limited periods by the selectmen or by committees appointed for the purpose, and their services paid for out of the treasury of the town. Thus, in 1771, mention is made of money paid to Mr. Niles, Mr. Potter, Mr. Austin and Mr. Jackson "for preaching." The Rev. John Murray, the very popular minister of Boothbay was also occasionally employed here, as in other places in the vicinity, at times when he could be spared from his own people.

Mr. McLean made his appearance here probably early in the year 1772; and as soon as the people had become a little acquainted with him, he was invited to become their settled pastor. This was done by vote of the citizens in town meeting, Aug. 5th. It was voted also to pay his expenses in coming to the place, and a committee was appointed to settle with him, and make such arrangements with him as might be necessary.

Previous to this, June 23, 1767, the citizens in town meeting had voted to adopt the "Westminister Confession of Faith and Presbyterian Rules," and now, May 1, 1773, in town meeting at the house of Wm. Burns, they voted "that the Rev. Mr. McLean be installed in the town," and that "the people of this town submit themselves to the Boston Presbytery." At the same time Patrick Rodgers was appointed "delegate to the presbytery with the minister."

Col. Wm. Jones entered a protest against the movement as not being legal.

¹ *Mass. Archives*, vol. 180, No. 281.

July 7, at a town meeting at Henry Fossett's, the installation was appointed at "Wm. Sproul's inn;" but a proposition to make an appropriation to pay incidental expenses, was refused, and Patrick Rodgers and Edward Young offered to entertain the ministers expected to attend on the occasion gratuitously, as before mentioned. The installation probably took place in accordance with the vote, but no record of the transactions has been found.¹

The records of the town indicate that no regular salary was established at first, but money was appropriated occasionally as was deemed necessary.

Born in the Island of Skye, as has been before stated, Alexander McLean entered Kings' college, Aberdeen, in 1758, probably in his fifteenth year, and graduated in 1762. He came to this country in 1770, and was cordially received by the leading ministers of the Presbyterian church in New Jersey, and by them recommended to this place.² After his settlement he preached successively in the three meeting houses of the town; and his public services were well appreciated by the people, though on account of some of his peculiarities he was never popular as a man.

January 9, 1779, he was married to Miss Sarah Given, daughter of Robert Given who lived at the Falls, and was probably at the time the most wealthy man in the town. She was a beautiful girl of seventeen; and her marriage to a man so much her senior (about 34) could not fail to occasion many disparaging remarks among his parishioners. Soon after his settlement

¹ The date is not mentioned in the record, but elsewhere it is said to have been August 18th, 1773.

² According to a tradition among his descendants his father was twice married, and had a family of more than twenty children, most of whom were sons, and were liberally educated. One besides Alexander, named Donald, entered Kings' College in 1763, and graduated in 1767; but no mention is made of any others in the college record. (*Letter from Rev. Dr. Campbell, principal of the University of Aberdeen, May 10, 1871.*)

Several of the sons were physicians, and three of them were surgeons on board of Nelson's fleet in the battle of Trafalgar. One of them was surgeon general of the fleet, and perished with his ship, which was sunk by the enemy.

Another son, Francis, was a general in the British army, and commanded the British forces in the siege of the Penobscot in our revolutionary war. After the close of the war, and before the British forces were withdrawn, his brother Alexander made him a visit, at his head quarters, and was kindly received. (Miss Hannah McLean, daughter, and Capt. Israel Cox brother-in-law of the parson, Mrs. Wm. Russell, Wm. Johnston, Wm. Hackleton, and many others.)

he had purchased a farm at Round Pond, of Joshua Soule, which is now owned and occupied by David Chamberlain. To this place they removed immediately after their marriage and it was his home the rest of his life. His wife died, Feb. 8th, 1791, at the age of twenty-nine; and his eldest daughter, Jenny, a very capable girl, then only 12 years of age, was entrusted with the care of the household.

June 6th, after the death of his wife, at a town meeting he requested permission to be absent until the next spring, in order to visit his friends in Scotland; and in the meantime the selectmen were authorized to "supply preaching." He accordingly made the voyage to Scotland; but the precise dates of his departure and return have not been ascertained.

It has been said (and probably with truth) that he originally left Scotland because of his failure to secure the hand of a fair lady to whom he had offered himself; and now, being a widower, he returned with the view of renewing the suit, but found, to his great mortification, that she had just been married to another. He had good reason to expect success in renewing the suit, as the opposition had been from the lady's friends, and not from herself.

Jenny McLean was fond of reading and had adopted the very objectionable practice of reading by the light of a candle after retiring in bed, and unfortunately lost her life in consequence. Having fallen asleep while thus reading on the night of May 25th, 1796, her bed clothes took fire from her candle and she was so badly burned that she died at 9 o'clock the next evening. Mr. McLean was absent but the Rev. Mr. Riddel, who was boarding in the family, hearing her screams rushed into her room, and carried her out in his arms; the others of the family were also rescued, but the house was entirely consumed, and with it Mr. McLean's library and correspondence, and also the records of the church.¹

On Mr. McLean's return from Scotland, sometime in the year 1792, he resumed his labors as pastor, but found them so severe that at a town meeting, May 6, 1795, he requested that an assistant should be provided; but not succeeding in this, he asked a dismissal, which after some hesitation was granted,

¹ *Tradition.* Rev. Mr. Parsons of Bristol, July, 1860. *Letter from Rev. Wm. Riddel*, Feb. 26th, 1847. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, [2] 1, p. 27. *Greenleaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches*, p. 68.

Sept. 30th. At the same time, himself with Thos. McClure, and Thos. Johnston were appointed a committee to "provide preaching." Another committee (Wm. McIntyre, James Sproul, and Thos. Johnston), was appointed to settle all claims he might have against the town; and his receipt in full, dated Nov. 24th, is to be found in the town record.

Subsequently, after much negotiation, it was agreed that Mr. McLean should withdraw his resignation, and retain his place as pastor of the church, but should have settled with him as colleague, Rev. Wm. Riddell, a brother minister with whom he had recently become acquainted. By McLean's generous offer he was to preach one half of the time in the town gratuitously.

After the settlement of his colleague, Parson McLean, as he was familiarly called, continued his labors according to promise, at the same time systematically supplying the pulpits of some of the weaker churches in neighboring towns, under the direction and pay of the "Society for propagating the Gospel." It is believed that, by agreement with his colleague, he made himself responsible for the due amount of service in the Broad Cove meeting house, while Mr. R. supplied the other two on alternate sabbaths. He died in Newcastle, January 11th, 1808; but his remains were brought to Bristol and interred with those of his wife and daughter in his own field, where a beautiful headstone was placed at his grave only a few years ago, by some descendants of his former parishioners. His age was 63 years.

Mr. McLean, when leaving college, it is said, inclined towards Unitarianism in his views, but his studies and reflections on his voyage to this country resulted in a considerable change; he became decidedly evangelical in his sentiments, so that he was cordially received in the Presbyterian church. He was a man of considerable ability; and his education more extensive and thorough than that of almost any of his brethren in the ministry, in this region of the country. Among his brother ministers his piety was undoubted, but he had some very objectionable peculiarities that greatly injured his popularity.¹ Trained among the aristocracy of his native country, he had high notions of the respect due to the clergy and of their authority over their flocks. In his intercourse with his people

¹ *Panoplist*, for February, 1808.

he was very severe in his censures, often even when no censure was required. Not unfrequently he carried this peculiarity so far as to be chargeable with a want of ordinary politeness. He could scarcely make any allowance for the weaknesses and follies of children; and those of the families where he visited frequently and familiarly (as one of them in his mature years remarked) "hated the sight of him." He treated his own family with the same severity, as is illustrated by the following anecdote.

Slavery at this period existed in Massachusetts, but it is believed slaves were held by only two, or perhaps three families in this town, and one of them was that of Mr. Given, Mrs. McLean's father. When the daughter was married, a colored girl of the family was given her as a servant. Years afterwards, late in the autumn, when there was considerable snow and sleet, the cows not coming home at night, the colored girl poorly clad was sent to find them. In the evening she came in declaring that she was not able to find them; but her master sternly ordered her to continue the search until she should be successful. The poor girl, "with the tears freezing upon her face," left his presence, and in the morning was found dead by the side of a fence, not far from the house. It was supposed that, being unable to find the cows, and afraid to enter the house, being much fatigued, she lay down to rest herself, and froze to death. A clergyman in whose family such an incident should occur, would not be tolerated at the present day; and at that time the affair did not pass by without much indignant remark and reprehension.

Sometimes he would take very singular liberties with the affairs of his intimate friends. When he visited Scotland he took with him a letter from Thomas Johnston, to his brother Andrew Johnston, then living near Edinburgh. Thomas Johnston was a very particular friend of the parson and an elder in his church; and his relations in Scotland, being previously informed of McLean's proposed visit, anticipated no little pleasure when the time should come to meet him. But when the old parson arrived in Scotland, in the autumn of the year 1791, he made no effort to see any of Johnston's friends, repulsed almost with rudeness some of the younger members of one of the families that had been sent some distance to meet him, and neglected even to give information where they might

write to him. At length, after several months had elapsed, Andrew Johnston met McLean in Edinburgh, and received from him a letter from his brother Thomas in America, with which he had been intrusted, and which he had retained until this time. But to his astonishment the seal had been broken; and McLean did not pretend to conceal the fact that he had taken the liberty to read it. Johnston's feelings had before been tried severely by McLean's heartless course, but now it was only with much effort he could restrain his indignation. It was late in the day; and Johnston left to attend to some urgent business, but called again in the morning. Their second interview, as might be expected, was short and very cold; and they parted to meet no more. Andrew Johnston's letter to his brother giving an account of the whole affair, is dated Cattle-shille [Scotland], April 17th, 1792, and closes thus: "And now, brother, however dear he (McLean) may be to you, he is not so to me; for I can pronounce him, without the smallest breach of charity, neither *laudable* or *praiseworthy*."

In February, 1788, a barbarous murder was perpetrated at Pemaquid Falls, that produced great excitement in all this region. Michael Cleary (or McCleary),¹ came from Ireland as a passenger with Capt. Wm. Nickels about 1764, leaving a wife and daughter, it is said, in the county of Cork. He came first to Boston, but soon found his way here, because of his acquaintance probably with Capt. Nickels. He was industrious in his habits, and economical in his expenditures, and gradually accumulated some property, and even purchased a small tract of land on the east side of the stream, which, on the settlement of his estate about 1796, was purchased by the late Thomas Miller. In religion he professed to be a Roman Catholic; but was a man of low and groveling views and tastes, and worse morals. He lived mostly by himself in a miserable and filthy hut, doing his own cooking, and having little intercourse with the people of the place.

¹It is believed that he called his own name McCleary, but in the record of his trial it is written Clary. After his death a will signed Michael McClary and properly executed was brought to light. It was dated July 14, 1784. John Costellow of Pownalboro was appointed executor of the will. The personal property was appraised by Robert Given, Henry Fossett and James Sprout at £312-2s.-6d., and the real estate at £115. Besides this he had in cash, which it seems his murderer had not found, £5-12s. There were also several notes for small amounts due him from Alex. McElathery, John Costellow, James Connor, Joseph Prouty, Joseph Boyd and Thomas Boyd.—(*Probate Record*.)

John O'Neil was another Irishman of a similar character, who came to the town the year previous to the murder, and worked several months on the farm of Deacon Win. Burns, at Muscongus, Wm. McClintock, Esq., then a boy, living in the same family, and often working with him in the field. Being discharged in the autumn he wandered down this way early in the winter; and Cleary out of compassion took him into his house. Gradually something of his previous history began to be known, and he was looked upon with suspicion and aversion. He had been convicted of some offense in his own country, and sent as a convict to Newfoundland by the government; but by some means had made his way to Machias and thence to Bristol.

When he had been with Cleary only a few weeks the latter began to have some fears for his own personal safety, which he intimated to a neighbor. Cleary carried in his pocket a few pieces of gold and silver; and the neighbor suggested to him that he might yet be murdered for them. Cleary replied that he was not in the least afraid in the day time. His fears however, increased and for two nights he left O'Neil at his house and slept at a neighbor's. Wednesday morning, Feb. 13th, he was seen going home; and shortly afterwards a person called at the house and found the two there engaged in an earnest dispute about a silver buckle. He left them still disputing; and not more than an hour afterwards, O'Neil was seen to ride by on Cleary's horse. It was afterwards ascertained that he was then dressed in the clothes of the murdered man, and that he rode to Broad Cove, nine or ten miles distant, and spent the night at the house of his friend, James Poor. Poor was an Irishman and a Catholic, an honest man and good citizen, and always friendly to his brother Irishmen. O'Neil informed him that their mutual friend, Cleary, was very sick and could not live long, complained of not being well himself, and said he could not sleep. In the morning he left, and returned home, and in the evening a negro boy spent two hours with him at Cleary's house, who he said had gone to attend to his horse.

Early the next morning, O'Neil again made his appearance in Broad Cove, having rode all the distance in the night, and informed Mr. Poor that Cleary was dead, and claimed that he had first fallen on the ice and injured his head, leaving it to be inferred that his death had resulted in consequence of the in-

jury. He said further that Cleary had by deed of gift left to him all his property, and moreover told him a little before his death to take what money he had and purchase for himself a suit of clothes, and six gallons of rum for the funeral, which, however, was to be strictly private, only a few choice friends being allowed to be present. He desired him not to mention his death to the neighbors, but first to inform his friends. O'Neil's design in this evidently was to account for his strange conduct in riding so far in the night, without first having made known the death of Cleary to his neighbors.

Poor's fears were excited by the strange story; and before starting with O'Neil, he told all the circumstances to some of his neighbors. Before night (Friday 15th) they, O'Neil and Poor, arrived at "The Falls;" and then the people there first learned of Cleary's death. Of course there could be but one opinion as to the matter; and O'Neil was arrested, and a coroner's jury at once summoned.

The body on examination showed several bruises about the head, and one deep cut, supposed to have been produced by an ax, or by a heavy shovel, or bar of iron. The wounds were found to have been carefully washed, and the shirt also which had evidently been removed from the body for this purpose, but by mistake had been put on again with the wrong side out. The money which he claimed the deceased had given him was found in his pockets, and also the silver buckles of which mention has been made.

O'Neil when charged with the murder, denied it, and told several inconsistent and contradictory stories to account for the facts, but the jury brought in their verdict of "wilful murder," and he was committed for trial at the next term of the supreme judicial court in Pownalboro [Dresden].

The court began its session July 8th, but the trial of O'Neil did not come on until the 11th. Three judges were present, Hon. Wm. Cushing, chief justice, and Hon. Nathaniel P. Sargeant, and Hon. David Sewall. Wm. Lithgow and George Thacher, Esqs., were assigned by the court as counsel for the prisoner.¹

The next week after the trial, an account of it was published in a Boston paper, prepared probably by Mr. Thacher, one of the counsel for the prisoner. The following is an extract.

¹ *Records of the S. J. Court, Boston.*

"This being the first capital crime in the county, it drew together a numerous concourse of spectators; the solemnity of the occasion was still heightened by the able and spirited defense of Gen. Lithgow, who was assigned by the court as counsel for the prisoner. The trial took up the most part of the day, and when the jury returned they declared they could not agree. One of them, a good man, seemed to think he ought not to give his voice against the prisoner, because there was no positive evidence. The chief justice then gave them some further instructions, after which they retired for a few moments, only, and brought in a verdict of "guilty." Before the close of the session of the court, he received his sentence, and was hung accordingly at Pownalboro, the very last of September or first of October.¹ No notice of the execution has been found.

Below is the pretended will or "deed of gift" from Cleary to O'Neil, which was produced by the latter a little time before the murder. O'Neil went some distance to a friend to obtain aid in writing it, saying that it was done at the request of Cleary. It is not known now who this friend was; it may have been Poor, but then it would seem that his suspicions ought to have been excited earlier.

"Bristol, the 9th day of February, 1788.

"Kind Sir,

You are my sister's son to be sure, *John O'Neil*, I am very glad to have one of my sister's sons along with me, now I deliver everything inside and outside that I have, to you *John O'Neil*, in consideration of you being my nearer Kinsman in blood, and other weighty motives inducing me to, do hereby voluntarily and by my own accord and good pleasure, and nature all my lands, Cattle, Stock of Cattle, and all real and personal Estate in your favor, and thereby giving you full and complete and immediate possession thereof, to dispose of at your pleasure, after my disease; only reserving for yourself a complete maintenance thereout, which you are hereby bound to give for the said possession and gift.

¹ *Hampshire Gazette* August 15th, 1788. The writer speaks of the able and spirited defense of the prisoner by Mr. Lithgow, but says nothing of Mr. Thacher, who we know, from the records of the court, was associated with him. We therefore concluded that Thacher himself was the writer of the communication, which was dated, Pownalboro, July 16, 1788, the day the court adjourned.

"David Given got my cattle, to work with them till Spring, and you will have them, there is some money due to me now at present. Here is all I want of you, to be careful in all you have in mind.

"MICHAEL CLARY."¹

The sheriff of the county at this time, whose duty it was to execute the sentence of death upon O'Neil, was Amos Goudy, Esq., who was born in Bristol, October, 1744, and died, June 22, 1824. His father, whose name was also Amos, came here from York and was one of the earliest settlers on the eastern bank of the Damariscotta opposite Pleasant Cove. He was largely engaged in the fishing business, and erected a saw mill at the place long known as Goudy's mills. He left two sons from whom have descended all of the name in this region. He had also three daughters.

Amos Goudy, the sheriff, was a man of much intelligence and firmness and, according to tradition, creditably performed the painful duty of conducting the first execution in Lincoln-county. His wife was Sarah Clark who was born in 1745, and died in 1834.²

Alexander Nickels jr. [*ante*, p. 313], who commanded a militia company employed as "scouters" in the time of the French and Indian war, settled at Pemaquid after war was over, and became a prominent and useful citizen. Sometime before the famous but abortive expedition of Arnold and his men up the Kennebec to Canada, in the autumn of 1775, Nickels with only a dozen men was sent on an exploring tour over the same route, and returned in safety. It was a task of great difficulty and danger on account of the hostile Indians. Somewhere on the upper Kennebec they surprised an Indian trapper, whom, though probably peacefully disposed, they were obliged to make prisoner, and compel his attendance with them through the rest of the journey to prevent him from giving information of their movements to the other Indians.

Several years before the revolutionary war he had received a commission as justice of the peace, but in the summer of 1775, the revolutionary authorities of Massachusetts, by ordinance duly published, forbade all such, not commissioned by them.

¹ *Mass. Spy or Worcester Gazette*, April 3, and Oct. 16, 1788. Some words appear to be wanting immediately before the phrase "all my lands, &c.," but the document is copied as it appeared in the paper referred to.

² J. H. Goudy, 1872.

selves, to discharge the function of their office after the 15th of September. He had given good satisfaction in the office, and was highly esteemed as a man; and the citizens, by a petition dated Sept. 15th, to the proper authorities, procured his restoration to the office. He served many years as treasurer of the town, and in the year 1782, represented the town in the legislature. He died Feb. 11, 1799, aged 78 years.¹ He left a family of three sons and several daughters, some of whom have been already referred to. His wife Sarah (.....), died Aug. 8, 1779.

CHAPTER XXX.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE WAR OF 1812, CONCLUDED.

The Jones, Huston, and Lermond families — Col Wm. Jones, James Huston, Robert Huston, Thomas Brackett — Survey and Map of the Town — Robert Given — Robert McKown — Rev. Wm. Riddel — Thomas McClure — Aaron Blaney — Hon. Arnold Blaney — Thomas Johnston — Town house built — Rev. Jonathan Belden — Quakers — Calvinistic Baptists — Free will Baptists — Methodists — Quarrels in regard to the Tax for the Support of the Gospel.

Though the town of Bristol was incorporated in 1765, no representative was sent to the legislature until 1775, when the choice fell upon Wm. Jones, an old and honored citizen who lived in the part of the town called Walpole.

The three families, Jones, Huston, and Lermond, came to this place about the same time and probably together. They were neighbors and friends in Ireland, but before coming here had resided some time in Boston.

Wm. Jones, the first of the name here, was born in Ballymoney, Ireland, and came with his wife and three sons, to Wal-

¹It is a matter of sincere regret that we have so few facts in the history of Capt Nickels, especially of his expedition to Canada. The author has sought aid in obtaining information from every source known to him, but without a satisfactory result. Application was made to his eminent grandson, Rev. Christopher M. Nickels, D.D., for a brief memoir of his ancestor, but none has been received.

The petition in his favor, above alluded to, with the 77 names attached to it may be given in an appendix if our volume does not become too large.

pole in 1730, and settled on the land still owned and occupied by his descendants. Both himself and wife died here; but little more is known of them.

Wm. Jones, better known as Col. Wm. Jones, son of the preceding, was born in Ireland, in 1724, and therefore was 6 years old when the family became residents here. He married, 1st, Margaret Huston, daughter of James Huston, and, 2d, widow Jane Young, daughter of Patrick Rodgers of Pemaquid. He was bred to the trade of a joiner, but was also much employed as a school teacher.

April 27th, 1747, when the Lermond women were killed by the Indians, he was at the stone garrison previously described, and at once, with his gun, rushed to the rescue. Seeing an Indian near, he discharged his gun at him, but without effect, and in return received the Indian's fire. But before the Indian fired he (Jones) had seized the body of one of the women, who it seems had been killed by the tomahawk, and was conveying it to the garrison, when the Indian's bullet struck him in the arm, producing a bad wound. He however saved the body from the Indian scalping knife.

The wound in his arm was thought so serious that it was necessary to have better surgical aid than the place afforded; and the first of May, with his wife, to whom he had not long been married, he sailed for Boston, and was gone two years. Their oldest son, James, was born during their absence.

In the revolutionary war he early received a commission as lieutenant colonel of a regiment of which the notorious Cargill of New Castle was colonel. In this capacity he did good service on several occasions; once with a portion of his command he was called to Wiscasset in a matter that required to be treated with delicacy, as well as courage. Very early in the war an English ship, the *Rainbow*, Sir George Colyer, came up the Sheepscott river, and seized two vessels which were loading with masts and spars, and other timber, for France. Jones demanded that they should be given up, which was refused, and there was much threatening and hard talk on both sides; but at length it was agreed that the Yankee vessels should be released, and the English ship allowed to leave the river without molestation.

The English captain evidently foresaw how difficult the task would be even to get his own ship out of the river if the Yankees should make serious resistance.

The Yankee vessels made the voyage in safety ; and on their return brought arms and ammunition that were of great service in the war.

The public offices he filled in the course of his life show very clearly the estimation in which he was held by his neighbors and fellow citizens. He represented the town of Bristol in the general court many times, and was also a member of the convention of Massachusetts by which the constitution of the United States was adopted. He took an active part in the convention, but was not pleased with the constitution as a whole, and finally voted against its ratification. He thought there ought to have been in it a more decided acknowledgment of God, and also some "religious test" required of candidates for office. He was accustomed to say, years after the constitution went into operation, that he "could have made a better constitution himself."¹

The church first organized in the place was Presbyterian in form, and he was elected an elder, a place which he long held. Often when the minister was absent he would hold service, reading a sermon, or making an extemporaneous address, and offering prayer. But he had his own opinions of Christian doctrine and usages, and did not always agree with the ministers. Fearless in expressing his own views ; and not a little inclined to be censorious towards others, the latter part of his life was rendered unhappy by his constant wordy quarrels with all the ministers with whom he came in contact.

The church at length determined to withdraw from the Presbytery and adopt the Congregational form, which greatly grieved him ; and he withdrew from its communion. When, near the close of the last century, the Methodists came into the place he connected himself with them ; but the connection was soon broken off. Just at the close of his long life he published a pamphlet of 93 pages, which he called "*A True Account of all the Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers*," who had preached in Maine between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers previous to that time, in which they are handled rather roughly. Subsequently he published a similar pamphlet against the Methodists, of 61 pages, entitled "*Jones' Second Free Gift*." Both were written after he was 80 years old ; and if they show something of the imbecility of age it is not surprising. But with all their crudities and vituperation, they record many un-

¹ Israel Cox, 1846.

doubted facts in the religious history of the time. He died Sept. 23, 1811, aged 86 years. He left several children, and his descendants are now numerous.

Richard Jones was a younger brother of the preceding, and like him was a carpenter by trade. He owned the grist mill at the centre of the town, and from this circumstance the place was long called "Jones's Mills." It is probable that he erected the first mill on that site. Matthew Jones was another brother who died quite young. There were also one or two sisters.

James Jones, above mentioned, son of Colonel William, was born in Boston, June 9th, 1747, and died in Bristol, July 6th, 1845, aged 98 years. He was never married.

Of the Lermond family, who were associated with the Huston's, and the Jones's, little is known, besides what has already been stated. One or more families removed early to the town of Warren, where, and in the vicinity, their descendants still reside.

At a very early period one of the family, Capt. John Lermond sailed as master of a ship to the Mediterranean, and had the misfortune to be captured by an Algerine pirate. The pirate put only a small prize crew on board, to take the ship into port, and kindly allowed Lermond and his mate occasionally to walk on deck. On a pleasant day Lermond and his mate by previous concert, at the same instant, each seized a man of the prize crew and by desperate effort threw him overboard; they then easily overpowered the others, and brought the ship home.¹

James Huston (Houston) and family consisting of his wife (Mary), and seven children — three sons and four daughters, came to this country from Londonderry, Ireland, about 1725, and first settled in Boston. According to a tradition among his descendants, the first of the name, a native of Cornwall, accompanied Sir Richard de Huston into Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth, and received for his services a grant of land near Londonderry, where many of the name, his descendants, still live. James Huston, the progenitor of those of the name in this region, was one of those. After residing a few years in Boston, induced probably by the liberal offers of Col. Dunbar, he with his whole family came to Pemaquid, and settled on the banks of the Damariscotta. The place had just then received from Dunbar the name of Walpole.

¹ Wm. Jones, grandson of Col. Wm., 1860.

In connection with this family, the following story is told, which if the Jones and Lermond families were associated with them, applies equally to them. Passing up the Damariscotta they landed on what is now called the Sugar Loaf, being only a bare rock, but which was then a small island some fifty rods from the shore. A sand bar that connected the island with the shore was entirely bare at low water; and as they walked over this to the main land and saw such evidence of the teeming life (clams) beneath their feet, some one of the company exclaimed, "call this an inhospitable shore, where a man has only to dig his meat from the ground over which he walks!" Their first meal was cooked by hanging a pot from the limb of a tree, and kindling a fire under it. A storm coming on before their first hut could be finished the women and children found protection under the empty hogsheads which had contained their scanty supply of cooking utensils and furniture. Dunbar assigned to each family a city lot of two acres, and a farm of forty acres, with a promise of one hundred acres more in due time. No charge was made for the land, except for each lot the occupant was to pay a pepper corn annually if demanded. James Huston married Mary Sloss. Their children were:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| William | who married | Nancy Lermond. |
| Robert | " " | Jane Bell. |
| James | " " | Fanny Rodgers. |
| Margaret | " " | Wm. Jones. |
| Jane | " " | John Stinson. |
| Elizabeth | " " | ———Dodd. |

About 1745, when nearly all the settlements were broken up, by the Indians, some of their number were killed and others taken prisoners, and the rest obliged to flee for safety. Most of them went to Boston or vicinity, but at the close of the war in 1759, nearly all found their way back to their old homesteads in Walpole.

They had received no titles to their lands from Dunbar, and the place was then entirely desolate; so they selected for themselves some 1200 or 1500 acres in a body, dividing it into lots to suit the number of families. Nearly all of these lands are still in the possession of their descendants.¹

¹ J. Gilmore Huston, 1859.

John Huston, in 1811, testified before the commissioners for settling the difficulties in Lincoln county, that he was a grandson of the first of the name that came to Walpole, and was born in Boston in 1748. Probably they had been settled here before this, but had been driven off by the Indians, and were now returning to their former possessions. He learned from his parents that they came to Walpole the next year; and he himself remembered "living in garrison." Before he was born an aunt and grandmother of his were killed by the Indians, and grandfather (he does not say whether on his father's or mother's side) taken prisoner. In 1757, a man was killed in Walpole and another taken prisoner; and the next day they killed two and wounded several in another part of the town. As early as he could remember, the country there was "considerably settled" on both sides of the river.¹

Several individuals of the family have distinguished themselves by holding important offices in the town, always performing the prescribed duties with fidelity.

James Huston, son of the first of this name, was a very estimable citizen, and was often employed in the public service (*ante*, pp. 347, 350). He was first elected on the board of selectmen in 1766, the second year after the town was incorporated, and subsequently many years, the last time in 1797. The time of his death has not been ascertained. He married Fanny Rodgers.

Robert Huston, son of Wm. and Nancy (Lermond) Huston, was perhaps as distinguished as any. He was for many years a justice of the peace and was familiarly known as "Squire Huston." From 1799 to 1812, both years inclusive, he was elected a member of the board of selectmen, and one or two years afterwards, and often filled other offices. The present Mrs. William Hackelton is a daughter of his. He died May 7th, 1824, aged 72 years.

The name of Thomas Brackett has been several times mentioned (pages 345, 346 and 355) in connection with important offices held by him. It is believed that he came here from Boston where himself or his father had kept a tavern. He married a daughter of James Sproul (*ante*, p. 334) and lived for a time, at least, on the place owned formerly by Arthur Child, and subsequently by James Blaisdell. He was a mem-

¹ *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 151,

ber of the board of selectmen in 1787; but as his name does not afterwards appear it is probable that he died about this time. All of the name in the town are probably descendants of his.

In the autumn of 1784, it was determined to have an accurate survey made of the territory of the town, in accordance with a previous resolve of the legislature. A map was also to be prepared; and the enterprise was committed to John Johnston and Caleb Turner, who engaged to do it for £42. They employed Thos. Boyd as surveyor; and the map made by him is still preserved in the secretary's office in Boston. By his report, dated, June 25th, 1795, it appears that he began at the northeast corner of the town, "and ran thence southerly by the shore as the shore lyeth to Pemaquid Point," and so on around the shores of John's river and Damariscotta river to the Nobleboro line, then on the line of Nobleboro and Waldoboro to the place of beginning. He mentions also as included in the survey "Rutherford's Island, and all the islands in Pemaquid Sound." He estimates the distance of the centre of the town "from the shire town of the county" [Wiscasset] to be 15 miles, and "from the metropolis of the commonwealth" (Boston), 190 miles.

The shore line with all the indentations of the sea, seems to be accurately laid down, and also the various ponds and streams but not the roads. The places of the three meeting houses are noted and those of the saw and grist mills, but nothing more.

Robert Given was the first town clerk of Bristol elected after its incorporation, and subsequently served as one of the selectmen of the town. He was born (it is believed) in Newcastle about 1732, and came to this place when a young man, and married Jane Nickels, a daughter of Alexander Nickels, commander of Fort Frederic, and sister of Alexander Nickels jr., who served as captain of the company "of scouts" as before related, (*ante*, p. 312). He purchased land at the Falls on which a saw and a grist mill were erected, probably before his time. He carried on the business of his mills and farm with much success, and became, before his death, the most wealthy man in the town. Having faithfully served his generation, he died Jan. 15th, 1796, aged 64. His wife died June 14th, 1819, at the age of 87.

A remarkable circumstance that happened in the family a century ago, is still preserved in the traditions of the place. Robert jr., one of his two sons, when about 10 or 12 years old, was sent to a distant pasture in the woods for some oxen, but on the way was frightened by a bear, and so confused that he became entirely lost, and unable to find his way home. The family and people of the neighborhood searched the country for him in every direction for many days, and were about to relinquish further effort when he was discovered nearly exhausted, by a company that had penetrated the woods from the Round Pond neighborhood. He was found some two miles from home near Boyd's pond; and a large rock in the immediate vicinity is still known as Robert's rock, or Given's rock. By careful nursing he recovered, though not fully until after considerable time. He afterwards died at sea as did also his brother, but on different ships.

There were four daughters in the family, one of whom, Sarah, as we have seen, married Rev. A. McLean. Jane married Israel Cox, Betsey married John Nickels, and Hannah married Thos. Miller.

Robert McKown of Boston married another daughter of Alexander Nickels sr., and early came with his family to Pemaquid. He had his residence on the west side of the harbor, where he purchased a lot of 12 acres of Shem Drowne, agent of the Pemaquid proprietors, Oct. 12, 1759; but it is believed that he had leased the same or an adjacent lot as early as 1727, at which time, as appears by the record, a dwelling house of some kind had already been erected on the lot. According to a gravestone, supposed to be his, in the Pemaquid cemetery he died April 1, 1776, aged 57 years.

John McKown, believed to be a brother of Robert, purchased a lot here with a dwelling house upon it of Shem Drowne, July 3, 1740, and probably lived here for a time, but afterwards removed to Boston. By his will, dated July 9, 1768, besides other bequests, he gave to his nephew, John McKown, then a minor, "all his real estate lying in Bristol in the county of Lincoln," thus showing that he still owned land here. The will was admitted to probate Oct. 11, 1771; and of course he had died previous to this date.¹

Sept. 26, 1776, Robert McKown who had previously been

¹ Certified copy of will in possession of the author.

appointed "commissioner for troops at Bristol" made a requisition for money upon the council in Boston, saying that he had made his first payment, and now needed more means "to meet the expenses for the next three months." As Robert McKown, first mentioned, had died previous to the date of the requisition, it is clear there was another man of the same name here, who at this time held the important office alluded to. Their relationship the author is unable to determine.¹

The name has now become extinct in the place.

Rev. Wm. Riddel (*ante*, p. 372), was born in Coleraine, Mass., about 1768, and graduated at Dartmouth college in 1793. Having spent some time in the study of theology, he came here in 1795, and was subsequently settled as colleague with Rev. Mr. McLean, as heretofore stated. His ordination took place Aug. 17th, 1796, according to the usual forms of the Congregational church. The exercises were as follows, viz:

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| Introductory Prayer | by | Rev. Mr. Gillett, Hallowell. |
| Sermon ² | " " | Emerson, Georgetown. |
| Consecrating Prayer | " " | Powers, Penobscot. |
| Charge, | " " | Bradford, Wiscasset. |
| Right Hand of Fellowship, | " " | Wallis, Bath. |
| Concluding Prayer. | | |

Mr. R. in his letter of acceptance reserved the right to be absent four sabbaths each year.

The church was originally organized according to the Presbyterian forms, but on the settlement of Mr. R., it was changed and became Congregational. According to the record "they therefore, without renouncing Presbyterian principles, but because the edification of the body at present requires it, mutually and unanimously agreed to change the constitution of the church, as to its government and discipline from Presbyterian to Congregational."

Soon after his settlement Mr. R. married a daughter of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Hadley, Mass., whose acquaintance he had previously formed. He was received here with some cordiality, but for some reason full sympathy between him and the people seems never to have been established, and his min-

¹ *Mass. Archives*, vol. 165, No. 289.

² Said to have been the same preached by him more than 20 years previously, at the ordination of the notorious Rev. John Urquhart. *Eaton's An. Warren*, p. 155.

istry was only partially successful. Therefore when he asked a dismissal in 1804, it was very readily granted.

Afterwards he returned to his native place, and was a few years settled as pastor over a church in Vermont; but most of his life was spent in missionary work in the vicinity where he resided. He died in South Deerfield, Mass., in 1849, aged 81 years. He is believed to have been a faithful minister of the Gospel, and sincerely devoted to his work. Though receiving only a small compensation for missionary labors, he was a liberal contributor to the various benevolent enterprises of the day. Two sermons of his delivered before his people in Bristol were printed. *Hoskins*, Wiscasset, 1800.

Thomas McClure came to this place probably from Boston, several years before the close of the last century, and opened a store on the Damariscotta river a little distance from the Walpole meeting house. He took an active interest in the affairs of the place, and was once elected treasurer of the town, and twice as representative to the general court. He was appointed postmaster when the first office was established in Bristol, probably in October, 1800, as he made his first returns to the general office, Jan. 1, 1801. He held the office until his removal from the place in 1806. Aaron Blaney was appointed to succeed him in the office May 15, 1806. He married Nancy Hunter, daughter of Henry Hunter before mentioned. She died May 28, 1800, and five or six years afterwards he removed to Boston. Rev. Alexander W. McClure (*Amherst Col.*, 1827), recently so well known for his spirited controversial writings was his son.

Aaron Blaney jr. became associated in business with Mr. McClure on the Damariscotta, about 1803. He came from Roxbury to Damariscotta as clerk to Oliver Gridley in 1793, but the next year engaged in the service of Kavanagh and Cottrill (or Coterel) who were at that time very largely engaged in trade with the West Indies. Subsequently, he became a partner with McClure in Walpole, and when the latter retired he continued the business many years.

Though carrying on a large mercantile business, especially during the first years of the century, before the war of 1812, he took a deep interest in the public affairs of the town; and from his knowledge of business made himself particularly useful in settling the difficulties with the non-resident landed proprie-



Arnold Blaney

ARNOLD BLANEY

tors, as will appear when the subject comes before us for discussion. Several years he was elected treasurer of the town, and later in life for four years successively (1824-27 inclusive) he represented the town in the legislature of the state. For many years he held the office of justice of peace.

His father, Aaron Blaney sr., who had come to reside in the place, was appointed in 1806, to succeed Mr. McClure as post master, and held the office until 1818, when his son was appointed to succeed him. He (A. Blaney sr.) died Oct. 24, 1824, aged 84 years. The son being in office as postmaster now dropped the "jr." from his name; and this being recognized on the records of the general office in Washington, one trusting to the records alone might be led to suppose that a new appointment had been made. He was greatly afflicted with asthma in the last years of his life, and died, July 31, 1834, aged 58 years. His autograph will be recognized at once by all the older people.

A. Blaney Jr.

Hon. Arnold Blaney, son of the above, was born in Bristol, and has always resided in the place. An active business man and politician, he has filled almost every office in the power of his fellow citizens to give him. Member of the board of select-



men many years, even through the recent war, though an outspoken democrat, treasurer of the town, and representative in the legislature, and for one term judge of probate for the district, no man more fully enjoys the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens.

Thomas Johnston, whose name has been many times mentioned, died, April 28th, 1811. He was born in the parish of

Longformacus, Berwickshire, Scotland, March 28th, (or 31st) 1735, O. S. and came to this country in 1753. Though only a boy, he had procured on credit a small package of goods of the value of about £5, and started on a peddling expedition in order to earn a livelihood. At the very beginning of his proposed tour, he had the misfortune to lose his whole stock in trade which was stolen from him in the night at the tavern where he had stopped. From the circumstances of the case a recovery of the goods he knew to be hopeless, and he was in utter consternation. Just at this time he met with Waldo's advertisement, inviting emigrants to his possession on the Muscongus patent, as it was called, in the state of Maine [district of Maine], and, without even returning to bid farewell to his friends, struck a bargain with Waldo's agent and embarked on board the vessel which was about ready to sail. This was the brig Dolphin, Captain Cooters, then lying in the harbor of Greenock. They arrived first at Piscataqua, and came thence to the St. George's river, and landed on the west side in the lower part of the present town of Warren, Sept. 1753.¹

There were on board, as emigrants, 14 families, consisting of about 60 persons, besides several young children, and two or more unmarried men. One or two years after his arrival he was in the employ of Waldo; but in those troublous times, the military service swallowed up all other employments, and in 1755, we find his name on the roll of Capt. John North, then stationed in Fort Frederic at Pemaquid. At the close of the war, in 1759, he was serving at the same place in the company of Capt. Alexander Nickels, and had probably been there the whole period intervening.²

April 13th, 1758, he was married to Mary McFarland in Pemaquid fort; she was a daughter of Solomon McFarland, and sister of Walter, previously mentioned (*ante* pp. 321, 333). A year after this marriage they removed to Broad Cove, and settled upon the farm, now owned by his grandson, James W. Johnston, where he lived the rest of his life. Johnston's wife died, Feb. 1, 1763, leaving three daughters, and he married, as his second wife, Anna Sproul of Harrington, July 26th, 1764. He had received in Scotland more of an education than most of those he was brought in contact with, in the then wilderness

¹ *Cyrus Eaton, Annals Warren*, p. 85, 121.

² *Mass. Archives*, vol. 94, p. 432 and vol. 97, p.

of Maine, and soon came into notice as a public man. He took an active part in the preliminary steps to secure the incorporation of the town of Bristol, in 1765, and in 1769 was elected on the board of selectmen. Subsequently he was elected to a place on this board, or the board of assessors every year, except in 1772 and 1781, until and including 1801. At the annual town-meeting in 1802, his name was omitted from the list and that of his son, John, substituted; and he made them a short speech, thanking them for the favor so long shown him and especially for the honor done him in electing his son to take his place.¹ According to tradition among his descendants he served six months in the revolutionary war, at St. Georges, in the commissary's department, but no record of it has been found. The fact that his name is not on the list of selectmen for the year 1781, indicates that it may be he was absent at this time.² In 1793 he represented the town in the general court.

For many years after Johnston came to the country there were no mail facilities extended to Maine east of Portland, and no correspondence passed between him and his friends in Scotland for about 36 years. About 1789 a Scotch gentleman by the name of Proctor interested himself in taking letters from him to his friends in Scotland, and a correspondence thus became established.

Learning that his brothers, for the credit of the family, had many years before paid the debt he owed, when he left the country so unceremoniously, he refunded the money with liberal interest.

He was first appointed a justice of the peace (this officer was then appointed by the governor and council) June 25th, 1789, and was subsequently reappointed three times at periods of seven years. According to the town record he officiated at a greater number of weddings than any other man, justice or clergyman, has ever done before or since. Next to him, in this respect, was the Rev. Enos Baxter. He became a member of the Presbyterian church, it is believed, at the time of its organization by Rev. Mr. McLean, and was subsequently elected to

¹ *John Clark, Bath, 1869.*

² The reason why he was not elected, either as selectman or assessor, in the year 1772, was probably because of the course he took on the meeting-house question, then raging.

the office of elder. He died April 28, 1811, aged 76 years. His wife died Jan. 9, 1869, aged 72 years.

John Johnston, eldest son of the above by his second wife, was born, May 11th, 1765, and in early life, followed the sea. He was elected selectman, as before stated, in 1802, and subsequently annually re-elected to the same office, until 1808, the year of his death. He was also five times (1803-1807) elected representative to the general court.

The town meetings for thirty years after the incorporation of the town were held in different parts of the town, as we have seen; but in 1797, it was determined to erect a house for the purpose, which, however, was not finished until 1799. The house was built by John Bugbee for \$295, on the same spot as that occupied by the present town house, the land being given by Elisha Clark jr. It was of sufficient size, but only a shell, without any inside finish.

It has since been replaced by another and greatly improved building.

A curious piece of furniture, which formerly occupied one corner of the audience-room, was the *stocks* for confining persons disposed to be disorderly. This piece of furniture, as many will remember, was made of two pieces of oak plank 10 or 12 feet in length, and probably 8 inches in width, with a strong iron hinge at one end, so as to allow the two pieces to open precisely like a carpenter's rule. Then supposing the rule closed, in the line where the two pieces came together three pairs of holes were made about 4 or 4½ inches in diameter, in which to place the feet of culprits. The feet were introduced by slightly opening the two parts; and when they were brought together again and secured by staple and padlock, at the other end from that on which the hinge was placed, the offender or offenders would be held very securely.¹

Rev. Jonathan Belden succeeded Mr. Riddel as pastor of the Congregational church, his installation having taken place July 26, 1807. He was a native of Wethersfield, Ct., but when a

¹ It is not easy to understand what position the body of the offender was expected to take when confined in the stocks, — whether he was to sit on the instrument with the feet protruding below, or whether he was to lie on his back upon the floor, the instrument being placed on one side, as is sometimes represented in the old pictures. In early times, in Massachusetts, towns were obliged by law to provide *stocks* and *whipping-posts*. (*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* II, p. 68).

child was received into the family of Deacon Jonathan B. Balch of West Hartford, who kindly paid the expense of his education at Yale College. He graduated in 1796, the late eminent Prof. Silliman being a classmate.¹ He was to preach only in the Walpole and Harrington meeting houses, the Broad Cove people not uniting in the arrangement. He came here from Winthrop, where he had been previously settled. He was a man of only moderate abilities, and had little influence and little success. He continued his services here about eight years, but, in the troubled times of the war with Great Britain, much of his salary remained unpaid, and he left in a rather informal way. Several years afterwards he, or some of his family, threatened the town with a lawsuit for the recovery of the part of his salary still due, and a sum was raised by subscription to pay the claim. He died in Augusta, or Hallowell, not many years ago.

The concerns of religion appear to have received little attention in the early history of the settlement here; and for a whole century the people were favored with preaching only occasionally as ministers of the gospel might happen to be in the place.

Rev. Robert Pike, of Portsmouth, in the autumn of 1692, was appointed chaplain of the fort at Pemaquid, and remained here nearly three years, being, so far as we know, the first resident clergyman in the place. Though appointed particularly as chaplain to the persons connected with the fort, the people of the vicinity were not neglected by him.

Subsequently when Dunbar, by order of the British government, came here in 1692 to rebuild the old fort, he brought with him as his chaplain Rev. Robert Rutherford, a Presbyterian clergyman of good character and superior ability. He remained here some five or six years, when he removed to Brunswick, where, and in Georgetown, he officiated regularly until 1742. He was a warm friend of the Dunbar family, and after the death of Dunbar, and the marriage of his widow with Thomas Henderson of St. George, he removed there with his family, and died there October 18, 1756, aged 68 years. Though never attempting to organize a church in any of the places where he resided, his influence as a moral and religious man was always good.

Religion was supported by law in Massachusetts, as we know, until some time after the beginning of the present century; and immediately after the incorporation of this town we find that

¹ Letter from Rev. Myron N. Morris, West Hartford, Ct., January 24, 1865.

money was occasionally appropriated from the treasury to pay for "preaching," though they had no settled minister. Very probably they had, long before the time mentioned, supplied themselves with occasional "preaching" in the same way.

Though at first the people here were cordially united in supporting the gospel by this mode, ministers of other denominations besides that established by law soon made their appearance, and the usual train of difficulties and strife succeeded.

About 1792, a considerable revival of religion occurred at Muscongus and vicinity under the labors chiefly of Rev. Job Macomber a Calvinist Baptist minister;¹ and a church of this denomination organized which, in form at least, is still preserved by some members living on Muscongus island.

A few years later than this, about 1795 or 1796, a more extensive revival occurred, in the lower part of the town, including Rutherford's island. It was chiefly under the direction of Rev. Ephraim Stinchfield, a minister of the Freewill Baptist denomination. Among his people he was generally known as Elder Stinchfield. This revival numbered among its converts some of the most substantial men of the place. A church was organized according to the usages of the denomination numbering nearly fifty male members.² For some reason the organization was not long maintained; and many of the members were transferred to the Methodist and other denominations.

Rev. Jesse Lee was the first Methodist preacher to visit this place; he passed through this country from Portland to Thomaston in 1793, but made his first visit here two years later, Nov. 23, 1795, by invitation of Col. Wm. Jones. He came down from Newcastle, probably no further than the house of Colonel Jones, where, or in the immediate vicinity, he held a single service, and returned to Nobleboro to preach again in the evening at the house of a Mr. Russ. This was the beginning of the Methodist society in the place which rapidly increased in numbers and influence.

The Friends or Quakers appear to have been the first to move in the strife that followed before the "ministerial tax" was abolished.

¹Letter of Rev. W. S. Spaulding, June 10, 1871.

²January 20th, 1800, Elder Stinchfield prepared a list of the male members of the church, which was subsequently entered upon the town records. Among the names are those of William McIntyre, long known as Squire McIntyre, and James Hackelton, father of our respected fellow citizens Wm. and James H. Hackelton.

The first reference on the town record to the presence of Quakers or Friends in the place is in 1784, when at a town meeting (April 5th) an article was inserted in the warrant to test the question whether they should be excused from paying their proportion of the regular ministerial tax; and it was decided in the negative. The subject appears not to have been again discussed in town meeting until May 3d, 1798, when the Baptists were also included in the petition for an abatement of this tax; but the decision was the same as before.

At a town meeting, April 6, 1801, an attempt was made to remit the "ministers' tax" to all persons "professing themselves Methodists," but without effect. Subsequently several times during this and the following year the same question in different forms, was brought forward in town meeting, but the article in the warrant was invariably "dismissed" by decided majorities. But now, by union of the different sects that had sprung up, the opposition was becoming strong, and much feeling was beginning to be manifested. Once or twice an effort was made to have the money raised by the town for the support of the gospel divided among the different denominations, in proportion to their relative numbers, but this too was refused.

By the close of the year 1802, the Methodists had so increased in numbers that their proportional share of the public money would be quite appreciable; and it was thought by many that by a proper interpretation of the law then in force the Methodist ministers who had been actually employed in the town could legally recover payment. Therefore, by advice, the Rev. Joshua Taylor, at that time presiding elder of the Kennebec district, in which Bristol was included, brought an action against the town to recover payment for himself and colleagues for the two preceding years; and at a town meeting, May 2, 1803, it was voted to offer his agent \$30, as payment in full of the claim. Whether or not a settlement was thus effected has not been ascertained.

But other troubles connected with this subject, though of a different character, now began to threaten the town. After the dismissal of Rev. Jonathan Belden in 1804, the town was several years without any regularly settled minister of the "standing order," and after Mr. Belden's settlement in 1807, it was found exceedingly difficult to raise the money needed for his support. As there was in existence an express statute pro-

viding a penalty for such a state of affairs, some one entered a complaint against the town for not providing properly for the support of the gospel, and an action was begun against them in proper court. In due time a bill was found against the town for neglecting to raise money for the support of the Gospel, by the grand jury, and at a town meeting, April 1, 1811, Enos Baxter was chosen agent of the town to make the proper defence. At another town meeting two months later, June 3d, it was voted to take the case to the Supreme Judicial Court; but it is not known how it was disposed of.

Jonas Fitch, ancestor of the several families of this name in the place was born in Boston or vicinity in June, 1718, and came to this place in 1753. About this time he was an officer under Gen. Winslow, who was employed in building the forts, Halifax and Weston, on the Kennebec river. Subsequently, in the years, 1756, 7, 8 and 9, he served, first as lieutenant, under Capt. Goodwyn, and afterwards as captain of a militia company, sent here against the Indians. A part of the time the company served as "scouters" and ranged from Brunswick to George's river. His father, Joseph Fitch, married Margaret Clark, a daughter of Timothy Clark, and sister of Mrs. Shem Drowne, and was equally interested with Mrs. Drowne in the Pemaquid Patent. Jonas Fitch as son of Joseph, and grandson of Margaret (Clark) Fitch was therefore by inheritance entitled to a share in the Pemaquid Proprietary claim, but he declined to take any action in the matter, saying he thought the actual settlers had the best title.¹ He was chosen a member of the board of selectmen several years, the first time in 1785; and subsequently, John Fitch, a son of his, served the town in the same capacity many years.

As we have seen (p. 346), the citizens of the town, by a spontaneous movement in 1775, organized three militia companies of 60 men each, exclusive of officers, which were ever afterwards maintained. At the beginning of the present century James Young was captain of the Harrington company; and at a general training or muster at Newcastle, in 1805 or 1806, led his men in an act of insubordination which occasioned considerable reprehension especially in military circles. On the day of the muster the three Bristol companies

¹ *Lincoln Rep.*, 1811, p. 160.

took their proper places in their regiment, and all went well until the middle of the day when the general officers leaving their men in line, without any explanation, went to dinner at a hotel near by. The company officers, when they ascertained the cause of the delay were highly indignant, and Capt. Young, first ordering his men to load their pieces and fix bayonets, led them from the field to a place at little distance where refreshments were provided. The Walpole company, under their lieutenant, Mr. Hatch, left at the same time, Capt. Huston of the company refusing to join in such an act of insubordination. One other company of the regiment (name not ascertained) joined in the rebellion.

In the afternoon the rebellious companies returned but were not admitted to their places. The rebellious officers were subjected to trial by court martial, in the ordinary mode. Capt. Young was deposed from office, and a new election ordered which resulted in his reelection unanimously. As might be expected the election was declared void and another ballot ordered, in which, however, the same man was unanimously reelected as before. The general officers, not choosing to contend longer, now prepared and forwarded to him his commission, but Capt. Young died a few days subsequently.¹ This was in 1807.

Capt. Young belonged to the family several times alluded to heretofore, who lived on the neck between the Pemaquid and Damariscotta rivers (*ante*, p. 276), but the relationship has not been traced. He married Polly Clark (publishment Nov. 21st, 1792) who in 1817, married Samuel Jackson, as a second husband and removed from the town.

During the early years of the present century, among the aged people of Bristol, the wild horses that roamed the woods in this region were a common topic of remark. It is supposed they were descendants of horses left here by the early settlers a century before. Occasionally some of them were caught and appropriated; and not unfrequently when guilty of breaking into fields and destroying the growing crops, they were shot down without mercy. Some few remained in the woods until very near the close of the last century. Mrs. Alexander Fossett, who died in 1860, remembered to have seen at one time, about 1783, a dozen or more of them feeding together near the head of Long Cove.²

¹ *Tradition*. John Fossett, Wm. Hackelton.

² *Ilist. Gen. Reg.*, vol. xxiv, p. 106.

Bears and other wild animals were not uncommon until about the beginning of the present century. James Sproul, who died in the Long Cove district only a year or two ago, when a child, was once caught by a bear and considerably injured. He was about six years old, and in company with a sister and another girl, both older than himself, was passing through the woods in the Fountain neighborhood, when their attention was attracted by the squealing of a large pig which a bear had caught and was holding fast. Sproul, supposing the animal to be a big dog rushed at him to drive him off, when Bruin leaving the pig caught hold of the boy, and probably would have done him more serious injury but for the interference of his small dog, which opportunely joined in the fray! The bear jumped at the dog, at the same time dropping the boy, who then made his escape. Though considerably injured he soon entirely recovered. The occurrence probably took place about 1794.¹

CHAPTER XXXI.

BRISTOL IN THE WAR OF 1812.

War declared against Great Britain—Feeling in regard to the war—War ships and privateers on the coast early in the spring, 1813—The war ships, *Bream* and *Rattler*—Coasters captured—The sloop *Increase* fitted out as a privateer, Capt. Tucker, she captures the privateer *Crown*—"Distress in Maine"—The privateer *Young Teazer*—The war ships *Enterprise* and *Boxer*—Perilous condition of affairs in 1814—Attack of the enemy in the *Sheepscott*, and at *Pennaquid* and *New Harbor*—Seizure of *Eastport*, and *Castine*—Two of the militia companies of Bristol ordered to *Wiscasset*—Smugglers.

War was declared against Great Britain, June 18th, 1812; and news of it reached the city of New York, at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, by express from the secretary of war to Gen. Bloomfield, then in command of this division of the United States army. It was announced in the *Commercial Ad-*

¹ Statement of Mr. Sproul to the author.

vertizer of that day under the heading "Awful Calamity;" a fact which may be taken as faintly indicating the feeling with which the announcement was received by a large proportion of the people of New England, as well as New York. When the president's proclamation was received in Providence, R. I., the bells of the churches were tolled, most places of business were closed, and the flags of ships at the wharves displayed at half mast. A similar spirit was manifested in many other places.

The people of Bristol could not be without anxiety at such a time, situated as they were directly on the coast, and exposed to assaults from the ships of the enemy; but they made no factious demonstrations. Many of them did not sympathize with this act of the administration, but the general feeling was that the country must be sustained.

The first entry in the records of this town on the subject is August 10th, when a town meeting was called to consider the condition of affairs, on the petition of Samuel Tucker and others. It was decided to petition government for a supply of arms and ammunition, &c. Following the example of the fathers in the revolutionary war, they also appointed a "Committee of Safety and Correspondence," consisting of Samuel Tucker, James Yates, Simon Elliot, Thos. Dockendorf, Wm. Russell, Israel Cox, John Sproul, John Dickey, Wm. McClintock, Samuel Porter, Aaron Blaney, Wm. Rodgers, Philip Crooker, Samuel Reed, and Miles Thompson. At a meeting a month later, it was decided to erect a building for the storage of arms and ammunition, and a committee appointed for the purpose.

May 12th, this year, the line between this town and Nobleboro was carefully surveyed by John Gleason, Esq., of Thomastown, the selectmen of both towns being present.

The line between this town and Waldoboro was surveyed June 24th, 1813 by Wm. McClintock.

After war was declared the people were in constant apprehension of danger from ships of war and privateers of the enemy; but none seem to have made their appearance here for the remainder of the season. This is the more remarkable as an English fleet, under the command of Admiral Warren, arrived at Halifax as early as September. It consisted of three ships of the line, besides several frigates and gunboats.

In the interior the war was begun in earnest, and for us with

disaster, not to say disgrace. Aug. 17th, Gen. Hull, who had invaded Canada, by crossing Niagara river, without any very serious fighting, surrendered to the commander of the British forces his whole army of 2500 men.

Early in the spring of the next year, 1813, the people were made aware of their danger by the appearance of a number of British cruisers at different places on the coast, of which the *Rattler* and the *Bream* became subsequently the most noted. They were sloops of war, the former carrying 16 guns, and the latter 8 guns. They suddenly made their appearance off Pemaquid point, the last day of March, and at once gobbled up 5 schooners and sloops, on their way to Boston, loaded with wood and lumber. Prize crews were put on board of the vessels which were ordered to the eastward; but one of them was recaptured two days afterwards by 3 boats, manned by 20 men, and sent out from Boothbay harbor. At this time she was entirely becalmed, and the day before had been unable to make headway against the east wind that prevailed. Only two days later a privateer, called the Liverpool Packet, made her appearance and captured 3 sloops and a schooner in sight of Boothbay harbor. The men were put in one of the sloops, a small craft from Cape Cod, and sent into the harbor.

A little time after the recaptured prize had been secured in the harbor the *Rattler* came in from the westward, and anchored near Squirrel island. An alarm was fired by Captain Read, who was in command of the militia there, which soon brought to their assistance Captain Rose with a company of soldiers from the Damariscotta fort. In the night a boat from the *Rattler*, landed some men at a place on the west side of Spruce Point; but when fired upon they made haste to escape.¹

The beginning thus made by the enemy upon the coasting trade of Maine was followed up vigorously during the summer, and a large part of the sloops and schooners engaged in it captured and destroyed or sold for the benefit of the captors.

Sunday, April 25th, the same ships of the enemy captured two sloops and a schooner near George's islands, putting the men ashore. About the same time the sloop *Lucy*, of Salem, was captured by the *Bream*, a few miles west, or southwest, of White Head light, and 4 schooners seized in Tennant's

¹ *Bost. Pat.*, April 13th, 1813; Letter from Capt. W. M. Read, Boothbay, April 5th.

harbor, and 2 schooners loaded with wood captured near Seguin island, and some or all of them burned.¹

Soon after the Bream made her appearance on the coast, a number of gentlemen having accidentally met together on a Sunday afternoon, some one ventured to raise the question whether it would not be possible to capture her by such a force as could be raised on the spot. The suggestion was favorably received, and Commodore Tucker, being called in consultation, strongly advised that such an enterprise should be instantly started. The proposition being once named there was no lack of volunteers for the service; and before 24 hours, the sloop Increase had been engaged for the enterprise, and a crew of 45 men. Subsequently the crew was somewhat increased and the old commodore, Samuel Tucker, chosen captain. The sloop was only of about 100 tons burden, and lay near by partly loaded with cordwood, which would answer well for ballast. Soon the necessary papers were obtained from the Custom House, and the sloop was ready to sail, the men having provided for themselves the necessary rations. Each man also supplied himself with arms and ammunition. Some boarding pikes were provided, but the only gun they had, larger than a musket, was a small swivel.

Thus prepared, the sloop without Capt. T., passed down from Muscongus, where she lay, and around Pemaquid point to Boothbay harbor where they came to anchor, and sent to Wiscasset for a couple of cannon and a brass field piece with the proper ammunition. Here the commodore came on board and assumed the command; some thirty men of the guard stationed there also joined the expedition, and one of the original crew left the sloop for home.

Everything being in readiness they passed out of the harbor and steered east, in the hope of meeting the Bream or some privateer of the enemy, but only to be disappointed. After sailing east a distance they tacked ship and stood again to the west; but met no vessel of the enemy. At the end of two days their supply of provisions became scanty, and they concluded to return; indeed they had been out as long as

¹ *Bost. Pat.*, April 28th, 1813. The writer, then but a child, distinctly remembers to have seen two vessels burning at one time in the night, between Pemaquid Point and Monhegan, and a third at another time; being loaded with wood or lumber, the fires continued some time.

they had at first contemplated. They ran into Boothbay, discharged the soldiers who had joined them there, returned the cannon and field piece they had borrowed, and prepared to make their way home, a little discouraged at their want of success.

As they had passed around Pemaquid point in going out with no other arms than the muskets in their hands, so now they must return in the same manner, though outside the point they would be exactly in the track of the enemy's ships of war and privateers. This had not been unthought of; but they did not hesitate to run the risk. As they came around the point they saw a sail some distance to the east, but kept on their way as if heading for St. George's river, and at the same time eyeing the stranger closely. Soon the stranger changed her course as if designing to intercept them, and they were then fully satisfied of her true character. Previous to this, Tucker had ordered all his men below, except the regular sailors to manage the vessel, and shaped his course as if aiming to make his escape.

But soon tacking ship he suddenly bore down on the craft, at the same time ordering the American flag to be hoisted, and all his men to take their proper positions on deck, the object being to oblige the enemy to fight at close quarters, which in his condition was an important point to be gained. The enemy fired the first shot, but the firing was soon returned by the Increase, and with such effect that the enemy's men were soon obliged to seek a place of safety below decks. The captain, whose name was Jennings, threw himself upon his back on the quarter deck, and reaching up with his hands to the helm undertook to steer his vessel out of the range of the Yankee's guns, but it was of no avail. He was obliged to strike his colors, and the Yankees soon had possession of his vessel. Though there was much firing on both sides, and the sails and rigging of both vessels were considerably damaged, no person on either side was injured. Capt. Jennings found, by a hole in his hat, that a bullet had passed in very close proximity to his head, but he suffered no bodily harm. This occurred April 26th. It has been said that the perforation of the hat was by a bullet directly aimed at the captain as he lay upon the deck, but the story is questionable.

The prize proved to be the Crown, a privateer from Halifax,

of about 35 tons burden, and 20 men. She had been only 8 days out from Halifax, but had captured an American brig and had a number of Americans as prisoners on board. Her surgeon and one or two men had been left on Monhegan before the fight, but fortunately the services of the surgeon were not needed.

The position of the vessels at the time of the fight was a mile or more east and a little north from the extremity of Long Cove point. After the capture both vessels were taken into Round Pond. The prize was found to have on board a considerable quantity of ammunition and other stores, intended for the supply of some of the enemy's ships, all of which was sold for the benefit of the captors. The Crown was sold to a party living at Gloucester, or vicinity, and was repaired and long used as a packet between that place and Boston.

The men of the Crown, being prisoners of war, were sent to the jail in Wiscasset, and it is presumed, were in due time exchanged. Capt. Jennings, the commodore at first took with him to his own house; but he was afterwards sent to Wiscasset jail, from which he made his escape in disguise.¹

During the summer many vessels, coasters and fishermen, were captured in this vicinity, and some of them again recaptured by American privateers that occasionally visited these waters. Among these, were the Fox, belonging to Wiscasset, and the Teazer and Young Teazer of New York. Of the latter, especially, we shall soon have occasion to speak more particularly.

The next month after the capture of the Crown, Commodore Tucker was elected representative to the legislature, and with more boldness than discretion, as some thought, ventured to take passage by sea to Boston, though it was well known that the enemy's armed cruisers were constantly on the coast. He sailed in the sloop, "Penobscot Packet," Capt. Elliot, of Waldoboro, which was so fortunate as to make the passage in safety, though not without great danger. As they were off Cape Ann, in company with several other coasters, loaded mostly with lumber and wood, a British armed brig suddenly

¹ Shep. *Life of Tucker*, 216; *Com. Adv.* (N.Y.) May 7, and 12, 1813; *Tradition*. The newspapers of the time say she had twenty American prisoners on board. Three of these belonged to this town. James L. McIntyre, Andrew Sproul, and — Plummer. The first two were really prisoners, but many were suspicious that Plummer was voluntarily serving as pilot. But when put on trial the court failed to convict him. *James L. McIntyre*, 1833. *Capt. J. Sproul*. *John Fossett*, 1872.

came upon them, and captured several of the fleet, but Capt. Elliot, and one or two others put about, and ran into the harbor of Portsmouth. The commodore himself witnessed the capture of two sloops and a schooner, one of which was afterwards burned.¹

Much of the business of all this region was at this period closely connected with the navigation interests and the fisheries, both of which were for the time nearly destroyed, and the people suffered seriously in consequence. They could neither send their wood and lumber to market, nor obtain the necessary supplies they were accustomed to receive in return. Besides this they were kept in constant alarm, especially those living immediately on the coast, where marauding parties seeking plunder occasionally made their appearance. But though the inhabitants suffered many privations, their condition was not quite as deplorable as was often represented by the papers.

The following extract is from the *Com. Advertiser* (N.Y.) May 12, 1813.

"*The District of Maine.* We are assured by gentlemen best acquainted with that part of the state (of Mass.) that the situation of the poor inhabitants in regard to the supply of provisions, is deplorable, having neither flour, nor corn, nor even potatoes to live upon. The general poverty of the people, produced by the anticommercial policy, and restrictive measures of the government, has been greatly increased by the short crops of the last season, and has, at the same time, rendered provisions scarce and dear, and reduced the means of the country people so low that they could not pay for them even if they were plenty and cheap." The writer then goes on to urge that means may at once be devised to send the needed supply.

Of course we cannot fail to see in the extract a little of the partisan spirit of the time. The writer desired to make a point against the government.

Nor did the people of Maine alone suffer in consequence of the war; June 5th, less than a month after the above date, flour in New York was \$22 per barrel and Indian corn \$2.50 per bushel. (*Boston Pat.*, June 9, 1813.)

The Young Teazer, Capt. Dobson, was a privateer hailing from New York, which made her appearance in these waters early in

¹ *Bost. Pat.*, May 29, 1813.

the season, and for a time had wonderful success in capturing many prizes from the enemy, but eventually came to a disastrous end. In one cruise she is said to have made nine prizes from the enemy, several of which arrived safely in port, but others were retaken. In the early part of June she was off the port of Halifax, and captured several English vessels in sight of the Light House. At one time she was chased quite into the harbor of Halifax by a British ship, but escaped by hoisting a British flag, and thus deceiving the Englishman, who put about and stood out to sea, leaving the American to follow, as soon as it was safe.

One of the prizes of the *Young Teazer* which arrived in Portland harbor in safety was the English schooner, *Grey Hound*, of 100 tons burden, loaded with fish and lumber. She belonged to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and was bound for the West Indies, and had been out but a day or two when captured. A prize crew was put on board, who were ordered to take her into Portland; but soon *La Hogue*, an English 74 gun ship, hove in sight, and they saw there was no hope of escape, except by stratagem.

So it was hastily arranged that when the English officers should come on board they should claim to be the proper officers and (the Yankees the crew of the craft),¹ named in her papers just taken from a Halifax office. This they actually did, the captain and crew for the time assuming the names upon her papers; and so well all acted their parts that the schooner was allowed to pass and arrived safely in port.²

The *Young Teazer* closed her career by the explosion of her magazine, under circumstances which led to the belief that the match was applied intentionally by her lieutenant, whose name was Johnson.

He had been a prisoner in the hands of the enemy a little time before this, and by enlisting again in the *Young Teazer*, had broken the parole granted him; and of course had little reason to expect mercy if he was again captured. They had been cruising several days at the eastward, and had taken several English merchant ships near the mouth of Halifax harbor, being constantly in great danger from the enemy's ships of war, but avoiding capture by persistent vigilance, and adroit management. At length, as they were passing the mouth of a small bay, a few

¹ *Bost. Pat.*, July 7th, 1813.

² *Com. Adv.*, (N. Y.), June 4th, 1813. *The War*, July 20th, 1813.

miles west of Halifax, early in the morning, a British 74 gun ship hove in sight, and to avoid her the Young Teazer put in near an island where the water was too shallow for the heavy Englishman to follow, who therefore sent after them several of her barges. As the latter drew near and it became apparent that they could not escape, Lieutenant Johnson suddenly went below and the explosion occurred in a very few moments. There were on board in all 37 persons, of whom only 8 escaped. Capt. Dobson and Lieut. Johnson both perished.

A boy, who was one of the 8 that were saved, was said to have told a story a little different from the above. He said that just before Lieut. Johnson went below, Capt. D. reprimanded him sharply for some disobedience of orders in regard to the manner he had loaded the large gun on board; and it is left to be inferred that in his rage he blew up the ship in consequence. Both stories may be substantially true. Seven of the 8 that were saved were in the fore-castle at the time of the explosion, and the other was in a boat alongside, and they all made their escape to the shore near Malagash, in the boat, but some or all of them were afterwards arrested and sent to Halifax as prisoners of war. Among those that were lost was Wm. Sproul (ante. p. 335) brother of the late Capt. John Sproul of Pemaquid, who had shipped on board in Portland.

The most important naval action that occurred in this region during the summer of this year (1813), or indeed during the war, was the capture of the British brig Boxer by the United States brig, Enterprise, on Sunday, the 5th of September. The action took place in a line nearly midway between the extreme end of Pemaquid Point and the island of Monhegan, and was witnessed by many of the inhabitants of the south part of the town.

This heroic naval contest has been too often described, and everything connected with it is too well understood to require a repetition of the details. The Boxer had been lurking in these waters several months, and had made many prizes and done considerable mischief; and it afforded the people much relief when it was known that she was out of the way.

A few days before the battle the British ship had boarded a schooner showing the Swedish flag, which had come in and anchored in Pemaquid harbor. She was really a Yankee craft commanded by Captain Thos. Child, of Bristol, but had been put under the Swedish flag because of the neutrality of that nation at

the time. Saturday afternoon, Sept. 4th, the Boxer came in and anchored near John's island, and the next morning sent a flag of truce up to the harbor, requesting permission to board the foreign ship. The Harrington militia company, Capt. Sproul, had been called out that afternoon for drill; and word being sent them of the appearance of the British ship in the mouth of Pemaguid Harbor, Capt. S. with a part his men repaired to the site of the old fort, and were there on the approach of the flag. Capt. S. after consultation thought proper to grant the request, and the British officer proceeded on board the schooner. Soon signals were made from the Boxer, and the boat made haste to return; and in a very little time, the big ship, as she appeared to the people on the shore, with all sails set was heading out to sea. About the same time the United States ship, Enterprise, made her appearance at a considerable distance outside, coming from the west; and it became evident to the people on shore that a fight was probable. Many left their homes to seek better places of observation, and multitudes on the shores and hills waited with anxiety the result of the contest. The firing did not begin until about 3 p.m.

The afternoon was perfectly clear, with only a gentle breeze from the N. N. W., so that the movements of the combatants were not rapid. During the fight the people on shore could know nothing of the comparative damage received by the combatants; therefore when, at the end, the ships were seen to turn their prows to the west, there was great rejoicing.¹

The Enterprise had one man killed and 13 wounded. The loss of the Boxer is believed to have been much greater, but is not accurately known.

The two ships after the battle, made their way to Portland harbor, and a week afterwards the British brig, Ratler, appeared off the mouth of the harbor, with a white flag at her mast head, and sent a boat ashore requesting to exchange the prisoners

¹ *Bost. Pat.*, June 26th, July 7th, 28th; *The War*, Sept. 23, 1813; *Cooper's Hist. of the Navy* II, p. 169; *Hadley's Second War with Eng.*, I, p. 249.

The event is distinctly remembered by the author, who, with his parents, was a witness of the fight from the high land near Long Cove. The wind was light, and occasionally for some time neither ship could be seen for the smoke that enveloped them. Soon after the firing ceased the two ships turned their prows to the west, and the people on the shore then first knew which party had gained the victory.

taken in the Boxer; but the authorities had received no authority to act in such matters, and were therefore obliged to decline.¹

When the capture of the Boxer became known in England it produced a profound sensation. The following extract is from a London paper of the time.²

Among the American news which is to be found in the papers just received from that country, it pains us to find a full confirmation of the loss of his majesty's brig *Boxer*, which has added another laurel to the naval honors of the United States. The vessel which was captured is represented (falsely we believe) as of only equal force with herself; but what we regret to perceive stated, and trust will be found much exaggerated, is that the *Boxer* was *literally cut to pieces, rigging, spars and hull*; while the *Enterprise* (her antagonist) *was in a situation to commence a similar action immediately afterwards*. The fact seems to be but too clearly established that the Americans have *some superior mode of firing* and we cannot be too anxiously employed in discovering to what circumstances that superiority is owing.

The three militia companies organized in the town at the very beginning of the revolutionary war (ante, p. 357), it is believed had maintained their organization until this time, Capt. Robert Day now having command of the Walpole company, Capt. Sproul of the Harrington company, and Capt. Samuel Yates of the Broad Cove company. They belonged to the 2d regiment, 2d brigade, 11th division of the Massachusetts militia. They appear not to have been called out, or only for discipline, the first year of the war, and though Capt Sproul and a part of his company were present at Pemaquid fort when the Boxer came in there, Sept. 4th and 5th, 1813, they probably were acting as volunteers. August 24th, 1813, the town voted to make application for two twelve pound cannon, and two fourteen pounders, the latter to be for the use of an artillery company about to be organized. They petitioned also for 150 stand of small arms and the necessary ammunition.

In the autumn the proposed artillery company was duly organized, with Marius How as captain, and Barry G. Pomeroy lieutenant. In the course of the winter two brass field pieces were obtained, and on the opening of spring the "Independent Washington Artillery," about 40 in number, in their new uniform, as they frequently met for drill and parade, made no mean appear-

¹ *The War*, Sept. 13, 1813.

² *The War*, April 26, 1814.

ance, and attracted no little attention. An armory was erected for the use of the company, and the organization was continued according to the records until 1840. The last meeting recorded was held October 15, 1840.

In the spring of 1814, two six pound iron cannon were obtained from the government, and some small arms and ammunition. One of the cannon was kept at the Falls and the other at Round Pond. Some 50 stand of arms were sent on by government, a part of which was distributed between the Broad Cove and Harrington militia companies, and the rest committed to the custody of Aaron Blaney for safe keeping.

The capture of Napoleon, in the spring of 1814, and subsequent banishment to the island of Elba, was an event that boded nothing but evil to the people of this country, as it permitted the English government to bring much of the force heretofore employed in the mighty contest with him, into action against the United States. No attempt had as yet been made by the enemy to seize upon any of the territory of Maine; but nothing could be more probable than a movement of this kind. His ships ranged this coast almost unobstructed; and attempts to land troops at available points might be expected at any time.

To guard against surprises constant watchfulness was required and as a warning to the militia companies, it was ordered that two cannon reports, one immediately succeeding the other, should be considered a signal of the approach of danger.¹

This preparation for self defense in the spring of 1814 was not without sufficient reason, as the sequel will show. Early in the season several British war vessels appeared on the coast, among them the *Bulwark*, a 74 gun ship, with smaller vessels and barges for running into the bays and harbors. April 25th, Admiral Cockrane, having his head quarters at Bermuda, declared

¹ Mrs. Wm. Yates, and a sister of hers, both of whom lived near Round Pond, had a brother, Mr. McCobb, who lived on the upper end of Londs or Muscongus island opposite the harbor, and the sisters were accustomed occasionally to make a signal to their brother, who would come in a boat and take them to his house. In the time of the war they thus on a pleasant day signaled to their brother from the north point by raising a red shawl and waving it to and fro to attract his attention. Soon a gun was heard on the opposite or southern point and then another in another direction, and another still, and another, and it was not until the militia men began to come together from all directions with their loaded guns that the ladies were aware of the alarm they had so innocently created.—ALEXANDER YATES, Esq. July, 1868.

the whole coast of the United States from Eastport to the mouth of the Mississippi in a state of blockade, no vessels to be allowed to enter or depart from any one of the ports. Admiral Warren, Nov. 16th, 1812, being then at Halifax, issued his proclamation declaring certain of our ports to be in a state of blockade, and then it was extended to all our ports—on paper.¹

But the aggressions of the enemy were not to be confined to the ocean; in the month of June, the Bulwark made several attempts to land troops from her barges in this vicinity. Six of them, Monday, June 20th, entered the Sheepscott, river and effected a landing, though opposed by some 40 of the militia. A field piece left by the militia was disabled, and thrown into the river and then they commenced their march inland, intending, it is supposed, to reach the village of Wiscasset. When they had marched about 7 or 8 miles they were met by a larger force of militia, and, in their turn, obliged to retreat. Marching back to their boats, they reembarked and passed out in safety, only making some demonstrations opposite the fort in Georgetown.²

Several of the enemy's ships were now constantly on this coast; and one of them, June 27th or 28th, sent some barges into the harbor of Boothbay; but being fired upon by the militia assembled there they soon retreated. The militia of the whole region were frequently called out for drill, and in all respects were kept in readiness for action. June 29th the fog was very thick along the coast most of the time, and the evening quite dark but the practiced ears of the inhabitants and soldiers of Captain Sproul's company, many of whom had been temporarily stationed at the old fort, could readily detect the sound of the oars of boats making their way carefully up towards the harbor. They could not be seen; but it was deemed best to fire upon them though they could aim their guns only by the sound. This was done, and the fire returned, but probably without effect on either side. Certainly no harm was done to those on the shore. The firing lasted only a little time, and the unseen enemy retreated.

¹ The papers of the day affirm that Capt. Dobson, of the *Young Teazer*, lying off the port of Halifax, early in July, 1813, declared that port in a state of blockade. If he did so—which may be doubted—it was of course, intended, as a farce upon the previous action of Admiral Warren. Considering the magnitude of the work that Warren proposed for himself, if a real blockade was intended, and the means at his command, his declaration was scarcely less farcical than that of Capt. Dobson. (*Boston Pat., July 1, 1813*).

² *Bost. Pat., June 25th, 1814*.

But before it was over Arthur Child was sent up to the Falls to fire an alarm, the cannon assigned to this neighborhood for this purpose being kept in the barn of Captain John Fossett. It was past midnight when he reached the place, with some others, boys and men. They were in a great hurry, but it took some time to get the heavy iron piece out of the barn and load it, and in their excitement neither men nor boys observed that the piece was pointed exactly towards Capt. F's house, so that when the gun was discharged nearly every pane of glass in one side of the house was broken. A second discharge of the piece immediately following the first, gave the people of the whole region decided intimation of their danger.¹

After it became evident that the enemy had left the region of the fort, there was much discussion between Captain Sproul and his men as to the course the enemy's boats might be expected to take, many predicting that they would pass around the point and make an attempt to land at New Harbor. This feeling soon became so strong that some that were only spectators or perhaps volunteers started to walk across; and they were soon followed by Captain Sproul and his men.

Several nights previous to this guards had been stationed at several points on the coast, one of which was on the north side of New Harbor near its mouth, where a small guard house had been erected. Some remains of it were still to be seen only a few years ago. It was occupied at this time, it is believed, by a detachment of eight or ten men from the Broad Cove company, Captain Yates.²

The morning of June 30th had but just dawned when three of the barges probably the same as were at the fort the night previous were suddenly discovered just entering the mouth of New Harbor. The fog probably had before concealed them. In fact only two of them actually entered the harbor, the third remaining outside as a guard, and for observation. Though the hour was early Wm. Rodgers, whose house was very near, with a loaded gun, had walked down on the shore; and was hailed by an officer on board, and with a threat ordered not to fire. He advised them to be off, as there would presently be a hundred

¹ Tradition. John Fossett, 1872.

² Considerable effort has been made to determine their names without success, the orderly book of the company having been lost.

men there; and in spite of the threat fired his piece by way of alarm.

This seems to have been the first intimation the men on guard had of the enemy's presence, but they now rushed down on the shore; and soon a rather heavy fire of musketry was pouring into the barges, especially the forward one. Each man on the shore took care to protect himself as much as possible from the shot of the enemy, and loaded and fired as rapidly as possible, several, it is said, firing as many as nine or more times.

The enemy returned the fire with much spirit from small cannon as well as muskets; and for a few minutes the pattering of the bullets on the rocky shore was lively and also the whistling of the cannon shot in the air, the aim being mostly too high to strike the men on shore. Soon the men in the forward barge began to show signs of discomfort, and the next instant were actually backing out of the scrimmage; but the other barge for a few minutes showed a disposition to take the place of her consort and continue the fight. But it was kept up only a few moments, and both the barges made haste to get outside of the harbor, some of the men following down on the shore and continuing their firing at the enemy, even after he was far beyond the reach of their bullets.

Quite a number of men were killed, and many wounded on board the barges, but the exact number was never ascertained. On the Yankee side one man, Daniel Richards, was wounded in the thigh, either by a wad or a spent ball. Though the flesh was only bruised, the shock brought him to the ground.

The fight was but just over when the fastest runners from the fort began to arrive, and very soon after them Captain S. and his men, who had just reached the bridge over the stream running into the head of the harbor, when the first shot was fired.¹

Besides the guard house at New Harbor there were several others erected and nightly occupied for some time in the summer and autumn of 1814, as at Round Pond and Rutherford's island.

¹ *Tradition.* Capt. Sproul, 1859, Wm. Hackelton. Mrs. Wm. Russell, who saw the barges as they were entering the mouth of the harbor before the first shot was fired. She saw them from her residence on the high land north of Long Cove. Early in the forenoon, a number of men and boys, coming from the harbor, called at Mr. Hackelton's at Long Cove, and among them was Wm. Elliot of Round Pond, with his face and hands well blackened with gunpowder. It is believed that he belonged to the Broad Cove company, and was one of the guard (previously men-

The condition of affairs in eastern Maine was now becoming decidedly interesting, not to say precarious, as we shall soon see. July 11th, a strong British force took possession of Eastport under the pretence that it belonged of right to Great Britain, having, with other islands in the Passamaquoddy bay, been improperly given up by the treaty of 1783. There can be no doubt that it had already been determined to seize upon and hold as large a part of the territory of Maine, as they might be able to conquer, but it was deemed best for the present to conceal this part of their real intentions, and hence the pretence was resorted to to blind the eyes of the inhabitants. But all was soon made plain by the course of events. The people of Bristol, as well as other adjacent towns, well understood the disasters that portended them; but we, their descendants, cannot now well appreciate the feeling that for many weeks pervaded the public mind.

The enemy having made himself secure, on Moose Island, on which Eastport is situated, and collected there a large force of war ships and transports, an expedition with some 3000 troops was fitted out, which made its appearance at the mouth of the Penobscot the first day of September. As resistance to the strong force of the enemy would evidently be vain, the commander of the fort at Castine at once spiked all the cannons, blew up the magazine, and, with the few troops under his command, fled for safety up the river. Next the enemy took possession of Belfast, and quartered there a considerable part of his force, assuring the inhabitants if they were quiet and orderly no harm should be done to them. A considerable force was then sent up the river quite to Bangor, and all the territory of Maine, east of the Penobscot, was declared by right of conquest to be subject to the British Crown.¹ A proclamation to this effect was issued by Lieut. Gen. Sir John Sherbrooke, K. B., commander of the British land forces, and Edward Griffith, Esq., rear admiral of the White, commanding the British (tioned) stationed at the harbor the night previous. All were greatly excited as a matter of course, and Elliot perfectly furious. He said he had been having the best sport he ever had in his life, shooting Englishmen.

It is believed that Col. Robert Day sent to Gen. King a full report of the affair at New Harbor, and that it was made use of in Washington 12 or 14 years ago, in establishing some soldiers' claims; but at the author's request search was made at the proper office and the document could not be found.

¹ *Post. Pat.*, Sept. 19, and Oct. 19, 1814. *Will. Hist. Maine*, II, p. 50.; *Locke Hist. Can.*, p. 117; *Niles's Register*.

squadron in the Penobscot. It was published in the Boston papers, Sept. 10th.

Next came the following general order from the commander of the British ship *Endymion*,

“*Endymion*, at sea, Sept. 15, 1814.

“GENERAL ORDER. The territory lying between the bay of Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot river having been taken possession of by His Maj. forces; All vessels clearing out from any of H. Mas. North American Provinces for any port or place within this territory, including the port of Castine, and the port and places situated on the east side of the Penobscot river, are to be allowed to pass free and unmolested, to bring back return cargoes of lumber and provisions, also any vessels being from the port of Castine with a license from the Commanding Officers of H. Mas. land and naval forces at Castine.

“EDWARD GRIFFITH”

The enemy succeeded in his Penobscot expedition quite beyond his own most sanguine expectations; and it was confidently expected that another similar expedition would soon make its appearance in this region, prepared to attempt a landing at some favorable point. What place would be selected for the purpose? Would it be Portland, or some place on the Kennebec, or Wiscasset, or some place more to the east? Those were the anxious questions the civil and military authorities asked each other, and the people earnestly discussed.

To be in readiness for the enemy, whenever he might make his appearance, Gen. Wm. King, of Bath, ordered out his whole division of the militia; and establishing his own headquarters at Wiscasset, stationed his troops mostly in Edgecomb but some in other exposed places.

Of the three companies in this town the two at Walpole and Broad Cove were ordered to Wiscasset, but the other, the Harrington company, Captain John Sproul, was allowed to remain at home for the protection of the exposed places on the coast. Capt. Hiscock's (Walpole) company received their orders Sept. 7th, and the next day 67 men answered to their names at Sheepscott bridge, from which place they marched to Wiscasset, and were quartered in the Court House. On the 9th, they were transferred to Edgecomb where they remained some two weeks, except that several of them at different times were detached for special duty elsewhere. The last of them broke up their camps

on the 25th. The Broad Cove company, Captain Yates, was ordered to Wiscasset at the same time, but it is believed were allowed to return to their homes sooner than the other.¹ Sept. 30th twenty men were detached from Captain Hiscock's company and sent to Squam Island (Westport) for 15 days.

Captain Sproul's company had it for their special duty to watch the coasts in the southern part of the town, and to give the alarm in case of danger. Sept. 12th, they were called out and stationed at Pemaquid falls, and guards, of 7 or 8 men each, stationed at New Harbor, Pemaquid harbor and Rutherford's island, their countersign being "liberty." The next night the countersign was "union," but further than this the record saith not. Sept. 15th, they were dismissed to their homes, but required to be ready at a moment's notice.

The number of men in Captain Sproul's company, Sept. 13th, present and ready for duty, was 75. Captain Yates's company probably contained about the same number.²

During these movements of the militia all eyes were turned eagerly to the eastward, to watch the actions, and, if possible discern the intentions of the hostile force which had been so successful in that direction; and no little relief was felt by the people when information was received that the hostile fleet on leaving the Penobscot, had turned to the eastward. This took place Sept. 19th, but could not be fully known here until several days later. The favorable season was now fast passing away, and the assurance became general that the great danger for the present at least had passed, and the militia companies were at length formally dismissed.

During the British occupancy of the eastern territory, a glorious opportunity was afforded for smugglers; and it was not neglected. English goods at that time commanded very high prices and were brought in in abundance, some paying a high duty but more without paying any. At the same time beef and other articles needed by the British forces were in great demand, and were readily paid for when they reached the lines. The temptation to engage in an illegal traffic was too great to be resisted, and many yielded to it who would be very indignant to be charged with dishonesty. Droves of cattle were sent through the country,

¹ *Captain Hiscock's Orderly Book. Tradition.* Hiscock had been elected in the place of Robert Day, promoted colonel.

² *Captain Sproul's Orderly Book. Tradition.* Captain Sproul, July, 1860.

even from the western part of the state; and the people in some sections so far sympathized with the traders that they were allowed to carry on the wicked traffic almost unmolested. The British goods were generally sent west in wagons, the drivers, to avoid arrest, resorting to all sorts of contrivances; but some were also brought along the coast in boats; and many curious stories were formerly told of mysterious adventures in this vicinity.

In those days sheriffs were appointed by the governor and council, and of course in politics were in sympathy with the federal party then in power. The sheriff of Hancock county was of this character; and having been detected in a smuggling operation, the opposite party showed him no mercy. Passing through Wiscasset with a peculiar wagon, he was arrested by the collector there; and his vehicle on being searched was found to have a *double bottom* in which was concealed a quantity of English goods that had not paid the duty. They were of course seized and confiscated; and it was a long time before he heard the last of his "Double Bottomed Waggon."

The following is an extract from a communication to the *Boston Patriot*, for Nov. 9, 1814.

"*The Double Bottomed Waggon.* The next trip Mr. Sheriff ADAMS takes to *Castine*, we would advise him to make use of an *Air Balloon* as there appears to be no safety in travelling on the land. The *double bottomed waggons* are not safe from the gripe of James Madison's sentinels; but in an *Air Balloon* there will be perfect safety, as the officers of government are not permitted to travel in the air, nor to make seizures there." * * "But he must take care that when he commences his aerial voyage from *Castine*, he must not have it published in the papers, as the *Government Sharks* may be looking out for him at his landing-place in *Boston*."

The treaty of Ghent, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States, Dec. 24th, 1814; but the news did not reach Washington until some time in February, arriving there almost simultaneously with the news of Gen. Jackson's victory at New Orleans, January 8th. An express messenger was at once despatched with the joyful tidings of peace to New York, which he reached in twenty-three hours; then the news was again expressed to Boston which required thirty-two hours.

Everywhere the announcement of peace was received with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and in the larger cities public meetings were held to commemorate so important an event. It was the last of February before the news reached this place; but the people, not to be outdone by their fellow-countrymen elsewhere, appointed a meeting at the Town House for the exchange of their mutual joys and cheerful congratulations. No record of the meeting has been preserved; but it was held, it is believed, early in March, and was largely attended, several clergymen of the place taking part in the exercises.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE WAR IN 1815 TO THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF BREMEN IN 1823.

Enterprise of the citizens after the restoration of peace—Support of the Gospel ministry from the town treasury discontinued—Propositions for dividing the town—Question of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts—A satinnet manufactory—Support of the poor—Dr. Marius How—Wm. McIntyre—Thomas Child—Wm. Burns—Rev. Jesse Lee—Formation of a Methodist Society—Progress of the society—First Methodist church erected—Ordination of Rev. Nathaniel Chapman—Alexander and Ninon Erskine—Hon. James Erskine—Samuel Saunders—The Friends or Quakers—Religious revival under the Freewill Baptists—Enthusiastic celebration of Anniversary of Independence.

The war with Great Britain (1812–1815) being chiefly a maritime war, the great interests of navigation and commerce suffered enormously; but it was upon these most of the people of Bristol depended for their living, either directly or indirectly. Therefore, though they rejoiced on the return of peace, they could not but feel poor, yet a commendable spirit of enterprise soon began to manifest itself chiefly in the way of ship building, in which many of them had formerly been engaged. Before the year had closed, several small vessels, designed chiefly for the coasting trade had been launched or were projected.

During the war they had kept up nearly their usual appro-

priations for schools, for improving the roads and for other public purposes. Even a proposition to establish a grammar school at the centre of the town was started at a little later period, but it failed through fear that it would not receive sufficient patronage to support it.

Up to this time the support of the gospel was considered a proper charge of the town, as much as the support of the schools; and the expenses were met by a tax upon the people; but the minority opposed to this practice was continually increasing until in 1816, when it was abolished. This year, May 6th, an appropriation of \$300 for this purpose was voted, but two weeks later, May 20th, the vote was rescinded, and the subject seems never again to have been brought before the town meeting.

The spring of this year was cold and wet, and vegetation unusually backward. As a consequence, the farmers were delayed in their planting; and certain of their crops, as Indian corn, was so backward that an early frost quite destroyed them. It is believed there were some frosts on the low grounds in the town every month of the year. On the evening of June 6th (or 8th) snow fell so as to fairly whiten the ground.

By authority of the General Court, the question whether it was expedient to separate the district of Maine from Massachusetts, in order to form an independent state, was this year (1816) twice brought before the people of the several towns, and on both occasions the people of Bristol gave their voice in the negative. May 20th the vote was 13 for, and 37 against separation, and Sept. 6th, 76 for, and 142 against separation. To determine the result of this vote, and form a constitution, if the decision should be in the affirmative, the law provided for holding a convention in Brunswick; and Wm. Chamberlain was chosen delegate. The convention was held, but the separation was not effected.

The territory of the town being extensive, and many obliged to travel a great distance to reach the centre, many plans for dividing it had often been talked of, but one of them was for the first time submitted to a vote of the citizens, Oct. 15, 1817, but it was rejected by a vote of 42 in favor, and 60 against it. The next year, Nov. 2, 1818, a proposition to divide the town by the old parish lines of Walpole, Harrington and Broad Cove was submitted to vote and rejected.

This year the town voted to send no representative to the General Court, for the reason, probably, that each town was now required to pay its own representatives, they having been paid several years before this by the state.

The question of separation from Massachusetts again came up, July 26, 1819, and the decision in the town was in favor of the measure by 80 yeas, and 50 nays. The reason of this change in the public sentiment, is found in the fact that by a recent change in a law of congress, vessels sailing from one state to another were not required to make regular *entries* and *clearances*, as they had formerly been, though not when passing from port to port in the same state.

The business between the seaport towns and Boston was immense, and those engaged in it under the old regulation derived an advantage from their political relations to Massachusetts. By the new regulation this was done away with.

The question of separation having been decided by a sufficient majority of the voters of the state, delegates to form a constitution for the state were chosen Sept. 20th, the individuals selected being Samuel Tucker, William McClintock, and John Fossett.

Plans for dividing the town were again agitated and twice rejected in the year 1821.

A *Satinet manufactory* that was established at the mills in 1822, by Messrs. Benjamin and Oakman Ford, two gentlemen of enterprise and experience from Massachusetts, richly deserves to be commemorated, though the enterprise was not ultimately successful. The article turned out by them was considered of good quality; and considerable business was done for some time, but the manufacture was not found to be sufficiently remunerative to become permanent.

Previous to this time, ever since the incorporation of the town, the poor had been supported in separate families in different parts of the town, as might be agreed upon, but at the April meeting of 1823, it was decided to keep them together; and John Bearce contracted to support and clothe them, and also supply them with tobacco and snuff for \$550. The number to be supported is not known.

Dr. Marius How died Nov. 30th, 1822. He was born in Worcester, Mass., April 9th, 1773, and studied medicine there with Dr. Willard. He came to Bristol before the close of the

last century, and taught a school for some time, until his medical practice was sufficient to yield him a support.

April 30th, 1801, he was married to Betsey Sproul daughter of Wm. Sproul, of the neighborhood called "The Meadows," and established his residence near the old meeting-house in Walpole. He was rather a portly gentleman, as the writer remembers him, with an agreeable person and manner, and was considered an excellent physician, until he allowed the love of strong drink to get the mastery of him. It is believed he was the first regularly educated physician who came to reside permanently in the place, unless Dr. Foster be an exception, who resided some time at the Mills, but of whom little is now known. Dr. How's popularity as a man and citizen was shown by his election as the first captain of the artillery company, as before mentioned (p. 408).

Dr. John F. Gardiner came here from Massachusetts some time before the death of Dr. How, and resided at the Mills. He was popular as a physician, and interested himself in the public schools, occasionally serving as a member of the superintending committee of the schools, but continued here only a few years. He removed with his family to Lynn, Mass.

The summer of the year 1823 was exceedingly dry; and late in the season a disastrous fire occurred in the northern part of the town of Wiscasset, which spread over many acres, destroying the crops in the fields, and many buildings, and greatly distressing the people thus "burned out." The selectmen of Bristol, in view of these facts, called a town meeting to consider the subject; and by almost a unanimous vote it was decided to appropriate \$200 for the benefit of the sufferers, and places of deposit were also appointed to receive donations of produce for the same purpose.

Wm. McIntyre usually known as Squire McIntyre, died about this time. His father, Wm. McIntyre sr., came here from the St. George's river, and settled on the neck, formerly called Orr's neck, and recently owned by James Blaisdel.¹ Little is now known of him except that he died at comparatively an early age, and that his widow subsequently married Thomas Fletcher, and continued to reside on the same place.

Wm. McIntyre (second of the name) was born probably be-

¹ Eaton's *Annals Warren*, 48, 410.

fore 1750, and was married to Susan or Susanna Simonton, Sept. 28th, 1773. In the revolutionary war he acquired some military distinction, and was often called Major McIntyre. In 1796 he represented the town in the general court, and in 1799 was appointed a justice of the peace, and was twice reappointed to the same office at intervals of seven years, as was then the custom. He continued to perform the duties of the office to the general satisfaction until debilitated by age. He was a man of excellent character and good standing in society; and became deeply interested in the religious movement under the Freewill Baptists, just at the close of the last century. Yet the following anecdote was told of him by Mrs. Susan (Child) Fox in New London, Ct., in 1848, she being then in her 80th year.

It is given as illustrating one phase of society at that time.

Mrs. Fox's father, Capt. Thomas Child, was engaged in the West India trade, and his family resided at the Falls. Her mother being out of health, it was determined that she should accompany her husband in a voyage to the West Indies; and the family was left in the daughter's care, she being the oldest of the children. One evening, on a stormy night in mid-winter, some gentlemen in the neighborhood were having a "drunken frolic" (her own words) and something was said about giving Susan Child a little fright by way of sport. Some said she could not be frightened; and the result was a bet in regard to it, and Major McIntyre and Major McKown volunteered to make the experiment. She had with her an Indian boy, named Ned, and the children of the family, her brother Arthur, then but a child, being sick. It was near midnight when the two men on horseback, riding up rapidly stopped before the door, and demanded to be admitted. She refused, saying, she had a sick child in the house, and they could not come in. They boisterously insisted; but she called earnestly for "Ned to bring the pistols," declaring "by the powers" "she would make an eyelet hole through somebody" if they did not desist. They were obliged to leave; but how the bet was decided she did not know. The gentlemen named sought to keep the thing secret as possible; but were greatly mortified as it gradually became known.

Mrs. Fox, at the same interview, gave the following account of her father, Capt. Thomas Child, mentioned above. At her

earliest recollection the family lived in Newport, R. I., and her father held some office in connection with the British army or navy, though his sympathies were altogether with his country. For some reason they removed to Bridgewater, Mass., and Capt. C. engaged in business as a merchant.¹ He had acquired a large property, and at one time loaned the government \$10,000, "in silver dollars," receiving therefor continental bills, which soon became utterly worthless, and Mrs. F. and sisters afterwards used many of them in "doing up their hair." Subsequently the family removed, first to Wiscasset and then to Pemaquid.

Deacon Wm. Burns died May 13th, 1821, aged 87 years and 6 months. His father, and family came to Pemaquid under Col. Dunbar, about 1729 or 1730, and received from him a lot of land there when the general distribution was made, as before described. Being dissatisfied with the land assigned him he purchased a lot of Waldo at Muscongus harbor, on which the family afterwards lived, except for limited periods, when driven off by the Indians. At one time, about 1743 or 1744, to 1748, the family lived in Scituate, Mass., but returned in 1748. He (the father), was present at the capture of Louisburg as captain of a transport (p. 290). He died in Dec., 1750 and his wife in March, 1755.

Deacon Wm. Burns was born, Nov. 12th, 1733, and Jan. 11th, 1763, was married to Mary Maxwell, who died just four years afterwards, on the anniversary of their marriage. He then married, as his second wife, Sept. 23d, 1767, Elizabeth Young of Harrington, who was the mother of most of his children. For his third wife, he married Mrs. Margaret (Fullerton) McClintock, mother of Wm. McClintock, Esq., who still (1873) survives at the age of nearly 95 years. Deacon Burns was a man of much prominence in his day, and served the town many years, as clerk, treasurer, and selectman. He lived on the old homestead at Muscongus harbor, and, it is believed, owned the grist and saw mills there, which probably were erected by his father. In early times the travelled road from Round pond followed up the shore to Muscongus harbor, and thus by Burns's house to Greenland cove, where the old meeting house stood, and so on to Broad cove. As late as 1816, this road from

¹ He died, October 19, 1794, in his 53d year.—(Tombstone.)

Muscongus to Broad cove was much used. The town meeting was often held at his house.

A few very old apple trees still standing on the place may have been planted by the senior Burns, but it is believed by many that they belong to an earlier period. Other trees of a similar character are found on the place of David Chamberlain, Esq., at Round pond. A few years ago, apples from these trees were exhibited at an agricultural fair.

Joseph Burns, brother of the above, was born March 23d, 1737. During the Indian wars, he raised a company for the general defense, of which he was appointed either captain or lieutenant, and his commission (it is believed) is still preserved. According to a tradition in the family, he was killed in the time of the revolutionary war at a place called Mare's Brook, by an Indian who was concealed among the thick branches of a tree near which he was passing.¹

The first Methodist society in the town was formed a little before the close of the last century, but the names of the members are not now known. That famous apostle of New England Methodism, Rev. Jesse Lee, was the first preacher of the denomination who visited the place. According to his journal, his first visit to this place was made Nov. 23d, 1795, though he had passed from Portland by way of Newcastle to Thomaston two years before, preaching frequently as he had opportunity. At the date just given, he came down from Newcastle, probably on the invitation of Col. Wm. Jones, who had become much disaffected towards his Presbyterian brethren.² Probably he came down no further than the residence of Col. Jones (in Walpole) where, or in the vicinity, he preached a sermon from the text 2 Peter, iii, 14. He tarried not even for a night, but returned to Nobleboro to preach again in the evening at the house of a Mr. Rust. The next day he preached at New Milford (Alna) and then continued his journey westward.

The "Bath and Union circuit" is first mentioned in the Conference Minutes of the church in 1798, in which it is believed this town was included; and "a class" had been formed in Bristol at least as early as this. Robert Yallaley and Aaron

¹ Town Record; Burns Family Record; Joseph Burns, McClintock Family Record; *Lincoln Report*, p. 162.

² Letter of Rev. Wm. Riddell, 1847.

Humphrey were the preachers in charge of this circuit. The number of members for the circuit is given as 100.

The name of this town first appears in the Minutes of 1803; and from the fact that it is credited with 200 members, we conclude they belonged to a "circuit," and not to the town of Bristol. The minister of the circuit was Comfort C. Smith. The number of members reported in 1804, was 188. Samuel Hillman being the preacher in charge. In 1805 the number reported was 158, and in 1806, only 149. At this time, and for many years afterwards, the town-house at the Mills was used as a place of worship; and here persons still living remember to have heard Jesse Lee and Joshua Soule, and other prominent preachers of that day.¹

From 1797 to 1801, Joshua Taylor was presiding elder of this district, and the events occurred in regard to salaries before described (p. 395). During this period an earnest pamphlet controversy took place between Rev. Nathaniel Ward, Congregational minister of New Milford [Alna] and Rev. Mr. Taylor, on the respective merits of the Calvinistic and Arminian creeds. Both sides were well sustained; and to students of Divinity the pamphlets four in number are worth reading at the present day. Mr. Ward, who began the controversy, was a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1792, having as classmates the two distinguished men, Rev. President Appleton of Bowdoin College, and Rev. President Porter of the Andover Theological Seminary. After closing his ministry in Alna, he returned to New Hampshire, where he was greatly respected, and for many years before his death, which occurred at Brentwood, Feb. 24th, 1860, was familiarly known as "father Ward." His age at the time of his death was a little over 90.²

Mr. Taylor was born in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1768. He early became connected with the Methodist church, and in 1791 was received into the conference, and in the regular course of his ministry came to this district as stated above. In 1806 he located and opened a private school in the city of Portland where he ever afterwards resided. He usually preached in some neighboring church on the sabbath, and as a citizen was greatly respected. In 1824 he was chosen one of the electors of president and vice-president for Maine, and cast his vote

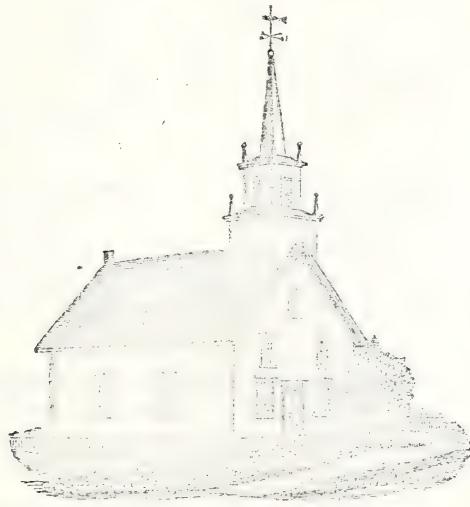
¹ Hon. James Erskine.

² *Independent*, March, 1860.

for John Quincy Adams. He died March 20th, 1861, at the great age of 93 years.

Though a Methodist society was thus early formed in the town, and had never been left for a single year without a minister, they were content for many years to worship, in the town house, in private houses, school houses, or other places, as occasion might offer.

Late in the summer of 1823, the first Methodist church in the town was dedicated by the Rev. David Hutchinson, presiding elder of the district, Rev. James L. Bishop being the preacher in charge. The enterprise was begun some two years before by Mr. Elijah Crooker, and others.



METH. E. CHURCH, BRISTOL MILLS.

The house was in the old meeting house style of New England, and stood on the high hill a mile north of the Mills village. Of course it was soon found that a great mistake had been made in the location; but it was not until 1868, that a decided effort was made for its removal to its present position. This year, under the superintendence of the Rev. S. H. Beale, then preacher in charge, it was taken down and removed, or rather a new church was constructed from the materials of the old, where it now stands in the north part of the village.

Many years before a substantial parsonage had been erected in the immediate vicinity for the minister in charge of the station. The new church was dedicated in 1869 by the Rev. Charles B. Dunn, presiding elder of the district.

After the dismissal of the Rev. Mr. Belden, in the time of the war of 1812, for some ten years, there had been no settled pastor of the Congregational church; but one or the other of the two pulpits at Harrington and Walpole was supplied, much of the time, by different ministers from abroad, some of them being sent for limited periods by the Maine missionary society.

Rev. Nathaniel Chapman, a graduate of the Bangor Theological Seminary, began his labors here in 1824, preaching alternately at Walpole and Harrington; and was ordained as regular pastor of the church, Sept. 15th, 1825.¹

The following churches were represented in the council at the ordination, viz., Chesterville, Hallowell, Bath, Waldoboro, Alna, Boothbay, and Thomaston. The services at the ordination were as follows, viz.—

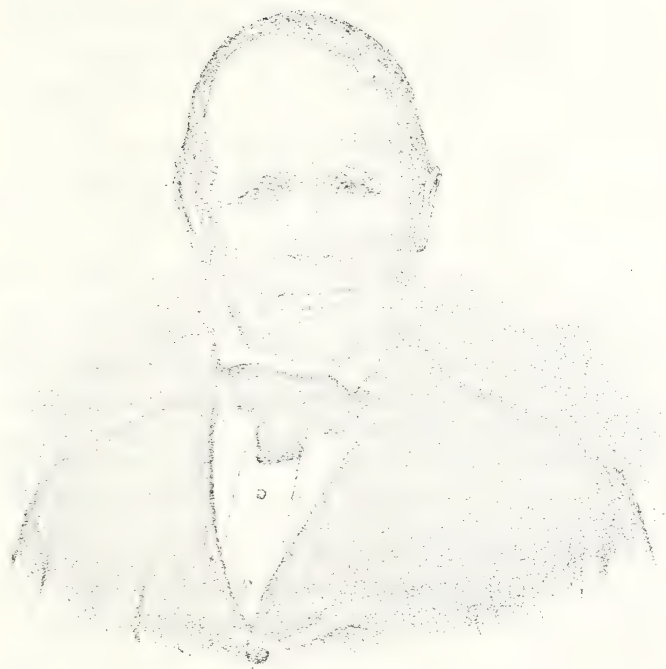
| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Introductory Prayer by | Rev. Jotham Sewall. |
| Sermon by | Prof. John Smith. |
| Right Hand of Fellowship by | Rev. D. M. Mitchell. |
| Address to the church by | “ J. W. Ellingwood. |
| Charge to Pastor by | “ S. Johnson. ² |

Mr. Chapman's services were very acceptable to his people and to the citizens generally; and he added much to his popularity by the interest he took in the public schools, often serving as chairman of the superintending committee of the town, and, as such, aiding in the examination of teachers, and visiting the schools in the different districts. He was dismissed, at his own request, in April, 1833. Some time before this he was much injured in one knee by a kick from a horse, and was for many weeks entirely laid aside from his labors.

After leaving Bristol, he preached in several other places, always maintaining the same elevated character as an earnest and judicious Christian minister. He died in Gardiner (it is be-

¹ A letter from Rev. W. S. Spaulding (May 28th, 1871), gives the date of Mr. C's ordination as Sept. 14th, 1824, but in the author's notes, copied several years ago from the church record, it is as given above.

² Records of the Church which begin July 23d, 1796.



Respectfully Yours
James Esquire

lieved) only a few years ago, but was brought to this place and interred in the Walpole burying ground; in the midst of many of his former parishioners.

Alexander Erskine came to Bristol from Boston with Shem Drowne in 1747, to assist in making a survey of the Pemaquid Proprietor's claim, and through his influence, not long afterwards came his brother Ninon;¹ and from these have descended all of the name in the place. Ninon died, June 15th, 1795, at the age of 90 years. It is believed they were born in the north of Ireland.

The present Hon. James Erskine is a grandson of Alexander; and himself and two sisters, aged respectively 95 and 90, are all that are now living of a family of 11 children.

He has long been a prominent man in the town and active in all its affairs, political, military and civil. In the militia, having attained the rank of colonel, he has long been familiarly designated by that title by his fellow citizens. In town affairs, he has at different times, filled nearly every office, has served as county commissioner, and commissioner of state valuation, and has been elected to both branches of the state legislature. In 1872 he was chosen elector of president and vice-president, and cast his vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

Two of his brothers, Alexander and Ebenezer, married daughters of Samuel Saunders of whom the following interesting story is told. These daughters were his only children.

Saunders was an Englishman, born probably in London, but came when quite young to this country. He was a man of little energy or force of character, but became notorious for a singular adventure that happened to him in the Indian wars.

During the French and Indian war, the same day the Hiltons were attacked by the Indians at Broad Cove (ante, p. 247-249). Samuel Saunders and a young man by the name of Hutchins, both of them belonging to Capt. Nickels Miller's garrison on the west bank of the Damariscotta river, were at work in the woods at a distance, and were attacked by some Indians, and Hutchins killed and Saunders taken prisoner. Taking him with them they travelled some distance towards Broad Cove,

¹ Pronounced Ninyon. The name is always now written Erskine, but formerly it was often written Askins. It is thus on Ninon's tombstone in Walpole cemetery. In the first mention of Alexander's name we have met with it is written Erskine. (*Lincoln Rep.*, 1811, p. 59).

when the report of guns was heard in the direction of the latter place, and the Indians greatly desired to hurry on so as to share in the expected plunder. Placing Saunders with his back against a tree, and binding his hands, they tied him fast by means of a blanket, and then hastened onward. Probably their work was not very well done, for after being left alone he soon found means to free his hands, and release himself. Many years afterwards, he delighted to tell the story of his adventure, and would laughingly remark, "they thought they had a fool in the halter but found him to be a rogue."¹

A brother of Saunders, named William, was a merchant in London, and at one time largely interested in the fisheries on the coast of Nova Scotia. He became very wealthy and in his will made provision for the payment of an annuity of £60 (about \$300) to his brother in America, or his widow or children, so long as any one of them should live. It is pleasant to be able to add that the annuity was paid regularly according, to the will, during the life of Mr. Saunders, and afterwards continued to his daughters, the two Mrs. Erskine, and ceased only when the last one died a few years ago. During the war of 1812, payment was necessarily suspended, but, on the return of peace, the whole of the back payments was received at one time.

The Friends or Quakers first made their appearance at Broad Cove soon after the close of the revolutionary war; and in 1784 they caused their presence to be recorded by petitioning to be released from paying the ordinary "ministerial tax." They were not successful. Aaron Lancaster, David Sands, and John Wigham, the latter, a man from the north of England, were greatly instrumental about this time in disseminating their principles in various parts of the state; and the two last named were probably here. In 1795 their numbers here had so increased that a meeting for worship was regularly organized. The first meeting was held at the house of Isaac Lincoln, Sept. 9th, 1795. Three years later, in 1798, they were strong enough to erect a small meeting-house, the land for the house and a graveyard adjacent having been purchased of George Rhodes. In 1801 the society was constituted a preparation meeting by the proper authority, and seemed to be in every way prosperous. At this

¹ This story of Saunders, which was never before committed to writing, is told with many variations as to the attending circumstances, but the above is probably substantially true.

time, or a few years later, it numbered more than fifty members; but never made any further advance. Soon by deaths and removals from the place, their numbers began to diminish, and about 1826 their meetings entirely ceased; and for many years there has not been a single member in the place. The meeting-house having greatly decayed, was taken down many years ago, but the graveyard is still cared for by the society in Vassalboro. As it was not their custom to place gravestones or monuments of any kind at the last resting places of their departed ones, even the graveyard possesses little interest, and attracts little attention. Ezekiel Farrar, Wm. Keen, Hannah Farrar, John Donnell, James Warner, Wm. Hilton and wife, and Peter Hussey were prominent members of the society during the latter years of its existence. Peter Hussey was a man of considerable influence in the community, and was a member of the board of selectmen for several years (1820-1822).¹

The Freewill Baptist church which, it is believed, was formerly organized in the town, (p. 380) was not very efficiently supported nor long maintained; but their numbers were considerably increased by another revival in the spring and summer of 1822, under the ministry chiefly of Rev. Mr. Pratt. But for want of pastoral care, or proper organization, the flock was again soon scattered, many of the members connected themselves with other denominations, particularly the Methodist; and the Freewill Baptist church was no more heard of.

Early in the summer of the year 1824, by a spontaneous burst of patriotism, it was resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the nation's birth in a manner worthy of the occasion; but as July 4th fell on a Sunday, the public services and dinner were very properly appointed for Monday the 5th. Preparations were begun sometime beforehand, especially for the public dinner to be served in the town-house. When the day arrived it was ushered in by the usual honors, and at the proper hour a large audience assembled in the Methodist church near the Mills, when after prayer by the Rev. Nathaniel Chapman, and reading the Declaration of Independence by Arnold Blaney,

¹Town Records. Tradition. Letter from Joseph H. Cole of Vassalboro, (dated 11th month, 14th, 1859) who kindly searched the records of the monthly meeting, and thus supplied most of the information above given. *Greenleaf's Eccles. Sketches*, p. 258.

Esq., Dr. Albert S. Clarke, who had then recently come to the place, gave an eloquent address carefully prepared for the occasion.

After the conclusion of the exercises at the church, a large company collected at the town-house, and did justice to the dinner there provided. In the mean time a detachment from the artillery company, with one of their pieces, stationed on the hill a little south of the town-house, honored the occasion in the usual authorized mode. The dinner was served by Mr. Elisha Clark, who kept a public-house at that time.¹

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM THE INCORPORATION OF BREMEN IN 1828 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Temperance Societies—The Washingtonian movement—Erection of Churches at Round Pond—Several ministers of the Congregational church—Hon. James Drummond—Division of surplus funds by the government—The Aroostook war—Rev. Enos Baxter—Rev. Moses McFarland—Hon. John Fossett—Israel Cox—Wm. Chamberlain—Patrick and Roger Hanly—Dr. Joseph Washburn—Robert Paul—Vote on proposed changes in the Constitution of the state—Incorporation of Damariscotta—Samuel L. Hinds—James Yates—Mrs. Ruth Barnaby.

No place in all the country in the early times probably suffered more from the giant evil of intemperance than this town of Bristol; and the fact had long been felt and mourned; and when in the spring of 1828 the formation of temperance societies began to be generally advocated, very many here hailed the plan with joy, and immediately resolved to lend their aid to the cause. Meetings were held by the friends of the movement several Sunday evenings at the Mills for the public reading of

¹Of some dozen or more persons who remembered the occasion here referred to, and were inquired of as regards the *year* in which it occurred, there was found a perplexing disagreement, nearly all putting it *one or two*, and some *four* years later than here given. The fact that it occurred on Monday, July 5th, determines the year beyond controversy, to say nothing of other evidence in possession of the author. *Samuel W. Johnson, M. D. Hon. E. Clark, Both.*

Dr. Lyman Beecher's sermons on intemperance, then recently published; and at the close of these readings, a meeting was called for the formation of a *temperance society*. This meeting was held about the last of August in the town-house, and was opened by prayer by the Rev. Enos Baxter. Several addresses were made, and a paper offered with a proper pledge of total abstinence, which at the time received 32 signatures, and many more at a later period. The following are the names of the first signers. Phillips Hatch sr., Wm. Hunter, James Drummond, Phillip Crooker, Albert S. Clark, Samuel Bearce, Wm. Erskine, Henry Erving, Andrew Baker, Phillips Hatch jr., Waterman Hatch, James Blunt, Samuel Erskine, Wm. Baker, John Hanly 3d., Thos. Baker, Henry Hunter, John Johnston, John Hatch, James Varney, John E. Baxter, Samuel McCobb, Jacob T. Little, Wm. McClintock, Sewall Pearson, Alex. Erskine, Erastus Jones, Aaron Hatch, Prince Crooker, Henry Wentworth, John S. Pearson, and Henry Erskine.

The movement thus begun proved the beginning of a great reform in this, as in other parts of the country; meetings for the promotion of the cause were held very frequently, and persons solicited to sign the pledge until the list of "cold water men" or "teetotallers" included not a small part of the citizens of the town. Here, as elsewhere, it was found that to sign the pledge did not always save the person from subsequent ruin; yet a new and purer public sentiment was created which has been of inestimable benefit.

At a later period, about 1840, occurred the *Washingtonian movement*, which had for its special object the recovery of such as had already yielded themselves more or less to habits of intemperance; and for a time it had good success, and accomplished much good, even if all that was expected by the zealous leaders was not secured.

The effect of the first movement on the public sentiment was manifested Sept. 10th, 1832, by a vote of the citizens *recommending* to the selectmen to grant no licenses for the year ensuing for retailing ardent spirits; and the next year, April 10th, their *recommendations* were changed to *instructions*. At the same time they by vote promised to sustain their faithful public servants, if they should be put to any trouble in consequence of their doings. Since that day very many in the town have continued their interest in the cause; and, probably, no place in

the whole country has profited more than this by the great temperance reformation.

Besides the Methodist church at the Mills, there are two others in the town, one at the Falls village, and the other at Round Pond. That at the Falls was erected in 1837, and dedicated to the worship of God in October of that year, by the Rev. Mark Trafton.

The Round Pond Methodist E. church was erected in 1853; when the enterprise was begun it was the wish of many of the



UNION CHURCH, ROUND POND.

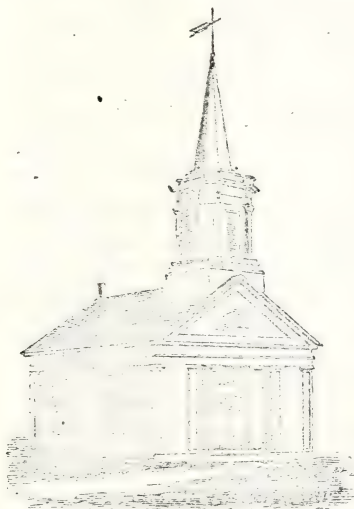
other denominations in the place that all should unite in building a single union house; but the Methodists chose to act separately, and proceeded to put up their house. It was dedicated by the Rev. A. Church.

The members of other denominations in the place the same year, emulating the zeal of the Methodist people, erected in the immediate vicinity another, called a Union church. It was dedicated late in the year 1853 by the Rev. Wm. A. Drew.

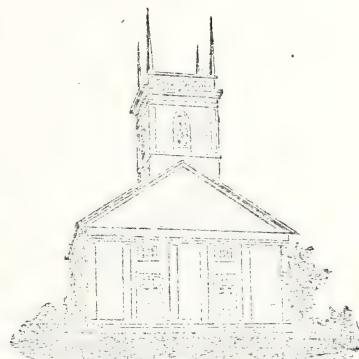
The old Harrington meeting-house (page 342) was taken down and remodeled the same year, and its location slightly changed. It was rededicated in January 1854, sermon by Rev. Wm. A. Drew. Like the preceding it is a Union church.

The church at New Harbor is also a Union church; that is, it is owned and controlled by a union of the several denominations in the place, and is not under the control of any particular one. It was built in 1856, and dedicated by the Rev. Mr. Merrill.¹

After the dismissal of Rev. Mr. Chapman in April, 1833, the Congregational church was several years without a pastor, but in May 1837, Rev. Dan. Kendrick was employed as "stated supply," and continued nearly three years. It was under him



METHODIST CHURCH, ROUND POND.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BRISTOL
MILLS.

that the present Congregational meeting-house at the Mills village was erected in 1839.

Mr. Kendrick was followed by Rev. L. L. Gould, who was ordained as pastor of the church, Oct. 23, 1839; and his pastorate was continued with much efficiency and usefulness until Feb. 9th, 1848, when he was dismissed at his own request.

He was followed by Rev. A. Vinton, who served as acting pastor two years. Besides performing the duties of his office, he interested himself in the history and antiquities of the place, especially the region around the old fort; and several valuable ar-

¹ Letter of Rev. Joseph King.

ticles on the subject from his pen appeared in a Boston paper. Latterly he has resided in South Boston; and his great work, entitled the "Gyles Memorial," is well known, and admired.

Mr. Vinton was succeeded by Rev. Charles Morgridge, as "stated supply," who continued his services until the summer of 1854.

The first church in the town, we have seen, was Presbyterian in form, and probably in communion with the Boston Presbytery, but subsequently (p. 381) became Congregational. Its records were lost in the burning of Rev. Mr. McLean's house, in May 1796; and their present records begin July 23d, of that year. It was of course for the whole town, but towards the close of the year 1854, (Dec. 14) the members of the church living near the Mills village took measures for calling a council and organizing a second church, to be located at that place. The council decided in favor of the movement, although there was considerable opposition from some of the members of the church in Walpole; and the new church of thirteen members was duly organized. The following entry upon the record of the church is sufficiently explicit, as it regards the feelings and views of those most active in the movement.

"The members of the Congregational church in Bristol, residing at the Mills, having succeeded, by the assistance of persons in this community, and with some aid from the missionary society, in sustaining Congregational preaching all the time for more than three years; and feeling assured that the continuance in this place of the ordinances of the gospel by our order depends upon the continuance of this effort, and seeing no prospect of their returning to worship with the church in Walpole, we are desirous of being organized into a church by ourselves; and at a meeting of several of the members of the church residing at the Mills on the evening of Dec. 14th, they voted to apply to the church for a dismissal and letter of recommendation to the council that they may be organized into a Congregational church."

The organization of the church was effected Jan. 31, 1855; and the same day Rev. Ralph Fairchild was ordained as an Evangelist and constituted regular pastor of the church. He had already supplied the pulpit several months. He was a faithful servant of his master, but was called to resign both his labors and his life the July following.

The expectation that the new church and society would be able to sustain a pastor with little or no aid from abroad, was destined to disappointment; and very soon we find the two churches were obliged to unite in the support of a pastor, who preached alternate sabbaths at Walpole and the Mills. A part of the time while the church at the Mills were able to maintain a separate pastor, the old church united with the church in Newcastle for the support of a preacher. Rev. Mr. Cushman was employed in this way. Other ministers that supplied the pulpit at Walpole and the Mills, employed at different times and under different arrangements, were Rev. T. A. Merrill, J. M. Parsons, Rev. H. E. Russell, Rev. Mr. Campbell, Rev. S. W. Pearson, and Rev. W. S. Spaulding.

The organization of the second church at the outset was a matter of doubtful expediency, as has been fully shown by the experiment; and in January 1871, after much consultation, it was determined to unite the two Bristol churches in one; to be called hereafter the Congregational church of Bristol.¹

Hon. James Drummond, a native of the town and a much esteemed citizen, died, after a short illness, January 5, 1837, aged 63 years. His father, a Scotchman, has already been mentioned (ante p. 353). The son was born March 13, 1774, and received such an education as the very poor schools of that day and that place, were able to give. The chief opening for earnest and ambitious young men of the place at that time was to engage as seamen, and for this business he offered himself when about nineteen or twenty, and made his first voyage before the mast to the West Indies with Capt. Thos. Johnston, son of the Scotchman of this name.

By industry and fidelity to every trust, and especially by avoiding all the common vices of sailors, he early secured the confidence of his employers and prepared the way for a rapid promotion in his chosen employment. While yet quite young he attained the position of captain of a small vessel, of which he had made himself owner in part; and so much success attended his efforts that he continued in the business many years. In 1812 he was engaged in building a small vessel, chiefly on his own account; and the declaration of war that year seemed likely to involve him in financial ruin. Late in the autumn, the hull, not yet entirely finished, was sunk in a convenient

¹ Letter of Rev. W. S. Spaulding.

place in the Damariscotta river, and remained there until the close of the war. In the spring of 1815, peace being again restored, the vessel was raised and put in good order; and he took charge of her as captain. Proceeding southward in her to Savannah he engaged in the carrying trade between that place and Liverpool, and continued it almost without interruption some seven years, until 1822. At this time, finding himself in possession of a moderate competency, he returned home, and engaged in the business of his farm and mills, which he had purchased many years before, and spent here the rest of his life.

He died at his home surrounded by his family in the midst of one of the most furious snow storms ever known in this region; and the roads were so obstructed that only a few persons were able to be present at his funeral. Indeed it was said that many of his neighbors did not even hear of his death until after the funeral.

Mr. Drummond's character as a man and a Christian gentleman was one of rare excellence; and he is probably better remembered in the place than any other man of that day. With an impressive person and ready address, he would grasp the hand of a friend, on an accidental meeting, with a heartiness that could be inspired only by a kind and generous nature; and the people of the place, after he came to reside permanently with them, showed their appreciation of him by frequent elections to the various offices of the town as selectman, treasurer, overseer of the poor, etc. He was always ready to engage in any judicious enterprise for the improvement of the place, contributing freely of his time and money. For many years he was a member of the board of trustees of Lincoln Academy at Newcastle. His regard for justice and right was a feeling ever present with him; and amid the dreadful sufferings of his last sickness, when near his end, he remembered a small debt which he owed a poor neighbor, and specially charged his son who stood by his bedside, to attend to it.

In the division of political parties of the day he was an earnest and outspoken whig, and, as such, was several times elected a member of the state senate, in which he served with credit to himself, and advantage of his constituents. He held to his political opinions with the same earnestness that he manifested in everything else, but he indulged in no mere partizan bitterness towards his opponents. He was long an active and influential

member of the Congregational church, and contributed liberally towards its support, and that of the various benevolent enterprises connected with it; but was always ready to appreciate true christian character under any other name.

His education obtained at school was limited, but by subsequent reading and study, and a large intercourse with the world, he had stored his mind well with useful knowledge, and attained a high degree of mental culture. His views on any subject were always remarkably definite and clear; and when occasion required, in a deliberative assembly, presented with much force and vigor; though, while a member of the senate, he never chose to make any special display of his talents.¹

He was three times married, and at his death left a widow and several children. Three sons graduated at Bowdoin College, Thomas, in 1830, now Judge of the United States circuit court in Illinois, James jr., in 1836, and Joseph P., in 1843. James jr. studied for the ministry, and was many years pastor of a Congregational church in Maine, but subsequently removed to Springfield, Mass., where he died greatly lamented, in 1861, aged 47. Joseph P. also became a clergyman, and died in 1857, aged 33.

In the early part of the year 1836, the United States treasury was found to be so plethoric that some extra mode of depletion was needed, and June 23d, it was decided to distribute the surplus among the several states, according to their population, the states binding themselves to make return whenever the money should be called for by the general government. The legislature of Maine decided to accept the money thus falling to the state; and passed a law to distribute it among the several towns of the state, according to the population, on condition that it should be returned, if called for, on sixty days' notice.

An agent was appointed to act in behalf of the town in receiving the money and giving a receipt for the same. It was at first intended that the money thus received should be loaned on proper security, and the interest applied for the benefit of the schools; but eventually it was distributed *per capita* among the people of the town, in accordance with a resolution of the legislature.

¹ The author remembers well a copy of *Rees's Cyclopedia* in his library, which used to command his admiration, as the only large work of the kind he had ever seen. *Letter from Hon. Thos. Drummond.*

The "Aroostook war," which occurred in the latter part of the year 1888, and beginning of 1889, though fortunately not attended with bloodshed, was the occasion of no small excitement in all this region. The troubles began two years earlier, by the unjustifiable interference of the New Brunswick authorities with the agents of this state who were in the discharge of their duties on a portion of the disputed Aroostook territory. First the New Brunswick authorities arrested the agent of Maine who was engaged in taking a census of the population; and the matter was scarcely settled, when it was discovered that trespassers from New Brunswick were actively engaged in cutting and removing valuable lumber from a part of the territory in dispute. The people of Maine naturally thought this a little too cool;—and measures were at once taken to assert the rights of the state. When the facts came to the knowledge of the governor of the state, Hon. John Fairfield, he addressed a communication to the legislature then in session; and means were taken to arrest the trespassers without delay. This provoked opposition from the other party and several arrests were made on both sides, many hard words were spoken by the officials representing the two governments, and real war seemed likely to ensue. The legislature of the state passed a resolution for the better protection of the public lands, and appropriated \$800,000 to carry out its provisions; at the same time a general order was issued for drafting 10,000 of the militia of the state to be held in readiness for a forced march at any moment.

The draft was made here, Feb. 27th, and was attended with much excitement. It called for every ninth man of the whole militia of the state. The following names were drafted from the Harrington company, viz: Asa Thompson, John Thorp, Eliphallet Thorp, George McFarland, Austin Jones, Benj. Gammage, Wm. Martin jr., John Blunt, Hiram Sproul, Zacheus Norwood, Franklin Bailey, Robert Davis, John Curtis, Morton Johnston Isaac P. Fosset, Solomon D. Yates, Samuel Lord, Michael Thompson, Wm. J. Russell. Afterwards, Enos Jones was substituted for John Curtis.¹

In Augusta, the capital of the state, a volunteer company was hastily formed, and actually began their march to the seat of

¹ Orderly Book of the Harrington company. The old orderly book of the Walpole company has no record on the subject, and no information has been obtained of what was done in Bremen.

expected war, followed by some companies of militia; but those drafted from this region were never called out. After several weeks of suspense the whole force was discharged, the difficulty in regard to the Aroostook territory having been temporarily adjusted by the proper authorities. The whole matter in dispute was afterwards settled by the Webster-Ashburton treaty between England and the United States in 1842.¹

Rev. Enos Baxter died, Sept. 8th, 1853, aged 74 years, a local preacher of the Methodist E. church.

Mr. Baxter, was born in Methuen, Massachusetts, near the present site of the city of Lowell, May 2d, 1774, but came to this town when about 20 or 21 years of age, and afterwards resided here. His father and elder brother died in the army during the revolutionary war, and his mother very soon afterwards. The children, of whom there were five or six, were left very destitute; and Enos, the subject of our notice, was indentured to a farmer in the neighborhood, who wishing to make as much as possible out of his ward, treated him with much severity and even cruelty, allowing him only three weeks to attend school, all the years of his service, and this at a time when he was nearly disabled by an accident and almost blind from an injury to one of his eyes. Feeling himself thus deeply wronged, when about 20 years old he took the responsibility of leaving his master, and proceeded to Salem where he embarked on board a coasting vessel bound for Bristol, commanded by Capt. John Elliot. Finding employment here he remained in the place, and in 1796 was married to Jane Elliot, daughter of Capt. Simon Elliot, and soon afterwards purchased a farm near Round Pond, on which his family continued to reside the rest of his life.

Very probably he would have been little known but for the deep religious character he afterwards developed, and his zealous labors continued through life in behalf of the cause he had espoused.

On the introduction of Methodism into the place, just at the close of the century, he was one of the earliest converts, and very soon connected himself with the church and entered upon a religious life with a fervor and earnestness altogether becoming a follower of Wesley. He took an active part in every thing pertaining to the interests of the church, and as early as

¹ North's *History of Augusta*, p. 593,

1802 was licensed to preach.¹ This office he ever afterwards held, discharging the duties it required conscientiously and thoroughly without fee or reward from man, though to do so often required no little sacrifice. He preached almost constantly on the sabbath in some schoolhouse or other convenient place in the vicinity, and his consistent Christian life gave him no little influence. He had his farm to manage, and from it by incessant toil obtained the means to support his family, but was ever ready to attend to funerals even for families who had no claims upon him whatever, and this without expectation of reward in any form. It was known to his neighbors that in some instances he did this when he felt obliged to hire a man to take his place in the field, or himself subsequently spend in the field hours that ought to be devoted to sleep and rest. Once, in the latter part of his life, having attended a funeral in the family of a friend a few miles distant, he was astonished a few days afterwards by receiving a bushel of wheat. The fact that it was remarked indicates the singularity of the incident.

His first license as a local preacher, was given him, as we have seen, as early as 1802; and he was ordained deacon by Bishop Asbury at the Monmouth conference in 1809, and elder by Bishop George in 1820.

Working industriously on his farm six days in the week, we should do him great injustice to expect him to excel in his pulpit performances on the sabbath. His sermons — perhaps more properly his exhortations — were, however, delivered with such earnestness, and more than all, were supported by such a transparent Christian life, known and read of all men, that they frequently produced very considerable effect upon the minds and hearts of his hearers. With much native shrewdness, and a determined will, he went forward in the discharge of what he considered his duty in total disregard of any popular clamor or idle talk of the world. When the first temperance society in the town was formed, he was present, and made the opening prayer, though for some reason, not now remembered, his name does not appear on the list of those who that day signed the pledge.

Occasionally his conscientious adherence to duty, as he understood it, worked a little to his disadvantage.

At a time when hay was scarce, and the price high, he sold

¹ Jones's *Second Free Gift*, p. 23.

a considerable surplus he had on hand at ten dollars a ton, which he said he always considered a fair price for the article, and he would take no more because of the present scarcity. If afterwards, in a time of hay-famine, he had been a buyer of the article very probably he would have discovered the falsity of his theory of the true relation of buyer and seller.

He was too industrious to be particularly social; but was esteemed as a good citizen, and a kind and obliging friend and neighbor.

Habitually serious and earnest as he was, "rude fellows of the baser sort" did not often attempt to annoy him, but if sometimes an individual ventured to do so, he was likely to get the worst of it. James Gwin, a neighbor of Baxter, manifested little regard for any kind of religion, but professed to believe in the doctrine of transmigration of souls;—meeting Baxter one day on the road, as he was driving a team with rather a heavy load, he thought to have a little sport, and, as he approached the team, began to pray in a loud voice "Good Lord, when thou callest the spirit of thy humble servant to pass to some other animal let it not be an ox, to be driven by Enos Baxter." Baxter instantly replied, "Amen, I always hated a lazy ox." Gwin was noted for his laziness and inefficiency, to say nothing of his love of strong drink.

Mr. B. was three times married, and left several children, one of whom, John E. Baxter, is well known in the western part of the state as a man of business and a local preacher of the Methodist E. church. Many years ago he represented his native town of Bristol in the legislature, several years successively.¹

Reverend Moses McFarland, of Monville, died in the early part of the year of 1866, at the age of 84. He was born in Bristol in 1782, and belonged to the family of this name before mentioned, (pp. 329, 331.) In the religious revival under the Freewill Baptists, at the close of the last century, he became interested in religious things and connected himself with the Freewill Baptist church, organized about that time. He at once began to take an active part in the religious meetings, and in 1805, was duly authorized, according to the forms of that church, to preach the gospel.

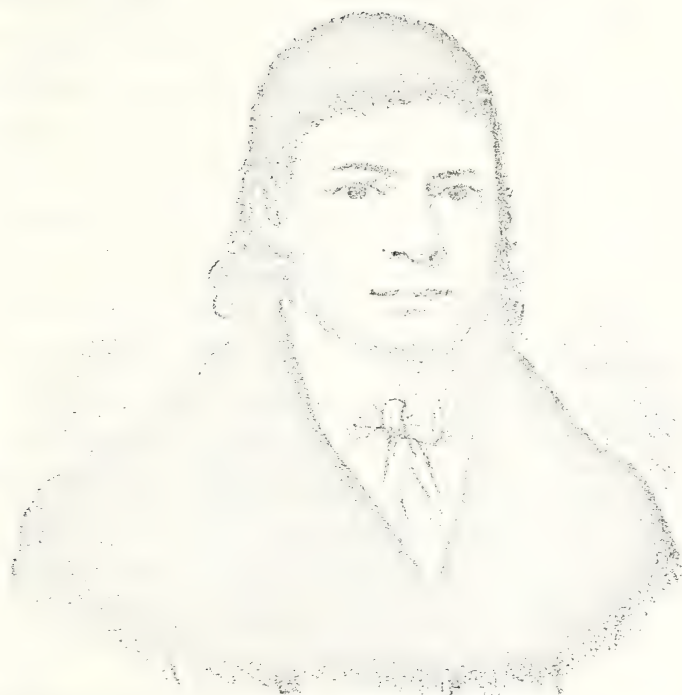
¹ Rev. S. H. Deal, *Zions Herald*, Oct. 18, 1848. Letter of Rev. John E. Baxter. Personal recollection of writer. Wm. McClintock. Horatio N. Fossett.

About this time, or perhaps a little earlier, he made his way northward, far into the woods, and began the clearing of a farm, within the limits of the present town of Montville, which however was not then incorporated. Having provided himself with a log-house, he married a lady of his native place, Patience Curtis (Oct. 20, 1805), to whom he had been previously engaged, and began life in earnest. Subsequently he removed a short distance to a place on the direct road from Belfast to the Kennebec, where in time a small village grew up and is now known as McFarland's corner. Here he spent the rest of his days, carefully cultivating his farm during the week, and preaching the gospel freely on the sabbath, to such as were pleased to hear him. His education was poor, but he had some ability as an extemporaneous speaker, and became in time very familiar with the simple text of the English Bible, so that his discourses or exhortations were often interesting and effective.

Having lived some twenty years or more in communion with the Freewill Baptist church, about 1826, a considerable change took place in his religious views, and he became a Universalist. This change being recognized, a year or two afterwards, he became formally connected with the convention of this denomination, and continued his labors on the sabbath as before, his parish extending from the Kennebec on the west to the Penobscot on the east. His services were always performed without stipulation as to payment; but he gratefully accepted the free offerings of the people. Always and everywhere he maintained the same elevated Christian character; and was greatly respected and beloved even by those who were not of his own party or creed. He died at his home, his last hours being solaced by the presence and attention of children and grandchildren, and more than all, of his aged companion, with whom he had lived more than sixty years.¹

John Fossett, son of Alexander Fossett, was born March 4th, 1778, in the Long Cove district, and in early life followed the sea; and having acted as captain of several vessels at different times, he was usually designated by this title. His education was only moderate, but being distinguished for his practical common sense, he was often called to fill important offices in the town. He was a member of the convention to form the constitution of the state in 1819, and 12 or 13 years a member of the board of

¹ Rev. Wm. A. Drew in the *Gospel Banner*. Personal Recollections.



John Fossett

CAPT. JOHN FOSSETT,
FROM A PAINTING AT THE AGE OF 20,
(1798.)

selectmen, and three times a member of the legislature of the state. He also often filled other important trusts. He was married to Polly Hanly, March 20th, 1800, and died March 20th, 1848, leaving several children and grandchildren.

He was a grandson of the Scotchman, Alexander Fossett, previously mentioned, (*ante*. p. 830).

Henry Fossett, son of the first Alexander, and uncle of Capt. John, was a man of considerable distinction in his day. He was several years one of the selectmen of the town, and often filled other offices of trust. He died, Aug. 24th, 1823, aged 74 years. His place of residence was at the "Meadows."¹

Israel Cox was for many years a prominent man in the affairs of the town. He was a descendant, probably in the fifth generation, from Wm. Cox, one of the witnesses to the Indian deed to John Brown, in 1625. He was accustomed to say that Wm. Cox, witness to the Indian deed, was his great grandfather's father. He was born in this town in 1755, but the family removed to Beverly, Mass., when he was an infant, on account of the Indian troubles. They returned to Bristol, in 1767, and he spent the rest of his life here. He early followed the sea, and having attained the rank of captain, was afterwards always honored by the title. He married Jane Given, daughter of Robert Given, about 1787, (published May 28, 1787,) and took up his residence at Brown's Cove, in the Long Cove school District.

Though inclined to be skeptical in his religious views, he was a man of very equable temperament, and honest and upright in his intercourse with the world. He was well read in the history of Maine and New England generally, and indeed of the whole country, especially considering the scarcity of books, and the little interest taken in such subjects among his neighbors. He was first elected on the board of selectmen of the town in 1802, but was many times re-elected, the last time in 1825. He died April 3d, 1850, at the age of 94 years and 6 months.

Wm. Chamberlain died Dec. 18th of this year, 1851, at the age of 86. He was born in Charlestown, Mass., near the spot where the Bunker Hill monument now stands. He was nearly eleven years old when the Lexington fight took place, and well remembered many incidents in connection with it, which came under his own observation. His father and one or two bro-

¹ Formerly the name was sometimes written Fassett.

thers were under arms the whole day. After the battle the British forces retreated into Charlestown, much to the terror of the families occupying the few houses then standing on the peninsula. As they came in, a shot was occasionally fired without any apparent object and without being noticed by the officers. His mother thought it best to seek some safer place for herself and the children she had with her, and all of them embraced an opportunity that offered to cross over to Malden. As they were passing to the boat a little boy was shot dead near him on the shore, and, further off, an old man.

He came to Bristol near the close of the last century as clerk to Thomas McClure, but subsequently purchased the farm in Round Pond, now occupied by his son David.

He was a man of sound mind, and the strictest integrity; and having received a good business education, he was often elected to office by his fellow citizens. From 1806 to 1824, inclusive, he served as town clerk, and for an equal or longer period, as treasurer of the town. Once or twice he represented the town in the state legislature.

He had a ready ear for music, and learned many of the tunes played by the bands of the British army in Boston, at the time of the revolution; and during a few of the last years of his life would occasionally be heard humming some one of them that he had not probably thought of before for half a century.

He married Sarah, daughter of Henry Hunter, who died several years before him, leaving a large family of children to perpetuate the name.

Patrick and Roger Hanly, came to Bristol before the revolutionary war, and became permanent citizens of the place. They were brothers, born in Tipperary Co., Ireland, and engaged early in the fishing business on the coasts of Newfoundland, sailing out of Waterford. From Newfoundland they came to the Kennebec in the service of Gen. Lithgow, and thence to Bristol. They were honorable and useful citizens in their day, and left a numerous posterity.

Patrick, probably the older of the two, was born Noy. 29, 1742, married Agnes Erskine May 1, 1777, and died Sept. 9, 1812. They had a family of twelve children. His widow died Sept. 7, 1845, aged 88 years.

Dr. Joseph Washburn was born in Bridgewater, Mass., and began the practice of medicine in Bristol about 1812—14. He

married in 1816 Mrs. Jane (Drummond) Dockendorf, sister of Hon. James Drummond before mentioned. He was esteemed as a good physician, and for many years had a large practice. He died—

Robert Paul, ancestor (probably) of all that name living in this region, was a native of Ireland, but came to Boston before 1747, for in this year he came to Bristol in the employ of Shem Drowne, to assist in surveying the lands claimed by the Pemaquid proprietors. John North was the surveyor, and had for assistants Lieut. (Patrick ?) Rogers,¹ George Caldwell, Alexander Erskine, Nathaniel Bull jr., Robert Paul and John Forbush.

Robert Paul (as also Caldwell and Erskine), settled on the east bank of the Damariscotta, all of them probably receiving grants of land from Drowne. Paul left two sons, Hugh and James, the latter of whom removed to Camden many years ago, and is represented there by a numerous posterity. Hugh left three sons, one of whom still occupies the old homestead.

The legislature in 1841 caused two questions to be submitted to the people of the state, viz :

I. Whether the constitution of the state should be so amended that the legislature, and also the governor and other state officers, should be chosen only once in two years ; and,

II. Whether it should be amended so as to limit the whole number of representatives to 151, instead of more than 200, as then authorized by that instrument.

These questions were submitted to the citizens here, September 14th, and the first received 24 affirmative votes and 145 negative.

On the second question there were 144 votes in the affirmative, and none in the negative.

The present town of Damariscotta was incorporated by the legislature, July 23, 1847, being composed of territory formerly belonging partly to Bristol and partly to Nobleboro. The movement was begun the year before, but was earnestly opposed by a great majority of the people of Bristol. The commission-

¹ Patrick Rogers, in a deposition given in 1773, mentions "seventeen hundred and thirty-six or seven" as the time when John North was employed by Drowne in making a survey of this claim. North may have been employed in this service at both the dates mentioned, (1767 and 1787,) but if not then the latter is the true date. (*Lin. Report*, 1811, p. 59-63.)

ers appointed to fix the boundaries of the new town, were Edwin Smith, A. G. Dole, and B. C. Bailey, Esqs.—they had a meeting and attended to the duty assigned them May 15th, 1848.

The “temperance reformation,” which, begun here in 1828, though only a few comparatively joined heartily in it at first, in a very few years, produced gratifying results plainly visible to all; and the good cause was much strengthened by the Washingtonian movement of 1840.

The prohibitory liquor law, afterwards enacted, under the leadership of Hon. Neal Dow, of Portland, was favorably received in the town, but we may not claim that it was universally obeyed. In 1858, at a town meeting, June 7, it was voted by a decided majority that no licenses for the sale of liquors should be granted. What the occasion was for the action at this particular time does not appear.

Samuel T. Hinds, was a grandson of Commodore Tucker, with whom he was brought up. He was born September 27th, 1798, and died in 1870. He was a man of good abilities and excellent character, and early secured the public confidence which he afterwards retained. In the militia, when comparatively young, he had attained the rank of colonel, and was afterwards very generally known by this title, as his grandfather was by that of commodore. Living a part of his life in Bremen, and a part in Bristol, various public burdens were laid upon him in both towns, the latter of which he several times represented in the legislature.

He married Nancy Nickels, daughter of Thomas Nickels, and grandaughter of Capt. Alexander Nickels, who commanded the company of “scouters” in the Indian war. Mr. Hinds left a family of several children, one of whom, Benjamin Hammond Hinds, graduated at Tufts’s College in 1860.

The name of James Yates has been mentioned (p. 290) as one who joined the Louisbourg expedition from this place. Probably he was an Englishman from Yorkshire, but came to this country when very young. In Boston he became acquainted with Jane or Jeannet M’Nay whom he married. Their first child, Elizabeth, was born Jan. 10, 1739, and in 1742 they removed to this place, selecting for their residence a place on the north shore of Round Pond. Some of his descendants have claimed



Sam^l J. Hinds

that he planted on his farm the first Indian corn ever raised in the town of Bristol.¹

They had a family of nine children, seven daughters and two sons, and from the latter have sprung all of the name in the place.

In time of special danger from the Indians, the family was accustomed to flee by boat to New Harbor, and walk across to the fort. Once in her husband's absence Mrs. Yates, with four of her children, the eldest only ten years old, made the passage to New Harbor unaided, though the south wind blew so fresh as to make the task severe and difficult.

Mrs. Ruth Barnaby was born in Marblehead in 1664, but when only a few months' old the family moved to New Harbor, where they lived until the first Indian war in 1676. When a hundred years old, Sept. 6, 1764, she gave a deposition in Boston concerning affairs here in her childhood, having personally known John Brown sen. and jr. and the Pierces, Stilsons and others, then residing in the place. When driven off by the Indian war the family returned to Boston, where she was living in 1764, as just stated. She died Feb. 12th, 1765. She practiced midwifery in Boston some forty years; and was remarkable to the last for her strong physical constitution and retentive memory. Once when the small pox prevailed in her neighborhood she removed from town, but on its occurring again in the spring of 1764, being then in her 100th year, she determined to be inoculated and remain at her home. The precaution of inoculation was not taken, and the disease visited the family where she lived—but she escaped, to die of old age a few months afterwards.²

¹ Mr. Monroe who married a daughter of Solomon Dockendorf. This of course supposes that this grain was not cultivated by the early inhabitants before the Indian wars began.

² *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 120. Drake's *Hist. Boston*, p. 688. Probably her maiden name was Sergeant or perhaps Berry. (See p. 233).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BRISTOL IN THE CIVIL WAR. FROM 1860 to 1872.

Offensive interference of slavery in the politics of the country — War not expected when the Presidential election was held in 1860 — The attack upon Fort Sumter aroused and united all parties — Response to the President's first proclamation — Effect of the President's proclamation after the failure before Richmond — The "enrollment act" of 1863 very unpopular — Liberal bounties offered by the town for men enlisting in the army — Result of the first draft — The commutation fee allowed by government — Price paid for substitutes — More men called for, and liberal bounties offered for men to enlist in the service — Names of those who entered the army and navy from the town during the war — Whole number of men supplied by the town — Hospital and other stores forwarded from Bristol Dr. A. S. Clark — Revival of business after the war — Wm. McClintock. — Wm. Hunter.

The great slave power of the country first began to manifest itself offensively in the politics of the country about the time the state of Maine was admitted into the union, and never afterwards abated anything of its pretensions until utterly overthrown. Though territorially far removed from the slave states, yet connected with them by such close political ties, the citizens of Maine could not but watch with deep interest the progress of the great slavery discussion, protracted as it was through the first forty years of their existence as a separate state. Whatever phase the discussion might take at any time the great practical question underlying the whole subject was, as to the extent to which concession should be made to the demands of the slave power. The moral aspect of the subject of course was never forgotten; but while all believed slavery to be an evil and a wrong, it had been tolerated — yea, established — by the fathers, and it is not strange that good and wise men should differ in opinion as to the practical treatment the question should receive, which were constantly coming up in connection with the great subject.

In this town, as in other parts of the state, the slavery question seems not to have affected the great political parties until

after the passage of the fugitive slave law in 1850. Very many considered the passage of such a law by far too great a concession to the slave power; and very soon it became an important element in fixing the dividing lines between the parties of the day.

Probably few here or elsewhere, when voting for the republican electors in Nov., 1860, really believed that the success of the ticket would result in a civil war. In times past, means of settling all difficulties without bloodshed had ever before been found, so they were confident it would be in the present case, though, at the same time, almost any one knew well that the difficulties connected with the great slavery question, were of a more formidable character than any the country had ever before been called to face. However reluctant any may have been to believe at the time of casting their votes, that there really was danger of civil war, the course of the people at the south, and especially the people of South Carolina, soon dissipated all doubts. That war must inevitably result was clearly seen; but even now few, if any, were able to fully estimate the gigantic proportions it was destined to assume.

Political parties in this town, as everywhere else, were at this time well defined; but when the war was once begun by the firing upon Sumter in April, 1861, all differences were, for a time, laid aside, and the universal feeling was that the government must be sustained. The first call for men was by the president's proclamation of April 15th, and was for 75,000 to serve for three months, only one regiment being required from the whole state of Maine. April 22d the legislature convened by proclamation of the governor, and immediately authorized him to call out 10,000 volunteers, to serve for three years, and appropriated \$1,000,000 to pay the necessary expenses. A proper response to this was made by this town May 11th, by a vote authorizing the selectmen to make provision for the families of men who should enlist in the army, and appropriated \$4000 for the purpose; but for some unexplained reason the resolution was rescinded the next year, March 24th.

The calls for soldiers by the government the first year of the war were simply for volunteers; and though a definite number was assigned to each state, yet in this state an apportionment among the towns was not considered necessary. The list hereaf-

ter to be given will show the number who enlisted this year (1861) from this town.

After the failure of the loyal army in front of Richmond, July 1st, 1862, President Lincoln, by proclamation, called upon the country for 300,000 more men to be raised by voluntary enlistment, if possible; but if this method failed, a draft was to be made from the militia. The quota assigned to the state of Maine was 7000; and these being distributed among the towns by the state authorities, Bristol was called upon for 33 men. A bounty of \$27 was offered at this time by the general government to which the state added \$30, but it was soon found that this would not be sufficient to insure the required enlistments, and the cities and towns, to avoid the necessity of a draft were under the necessity of offering additional inducements. August 2d, the citizens of Bristol were called together in town-meeting to consider the subject; and after considerable discussion a vote was passed authorizing the selectmen to offer a further bounty of \$100 to each man enlisting in the service, and to borrow the money needed for the purpose, not to exceed \$3,300. Before the quota of this town was full another call was made for 300,000 more men to be drafted from the militia for nine months' service unless sooner discharged; and at a town-meeting, Aug. 27th, it was voted to continue the same bounty of \$100 to each volunteer enlisting in the service. Dec. 15th the same year the citizens voted to raise a fund of \$1,000 to be appropriated in aid of the families of soldiers in the army, that were in need.

But the worst had not yet been reached. The war still continued to develop its gigantic proportions; and more men must be supplied. Therefore in March, 1863, congress passed the "enrollment act," which provided for the enrollment of all the able-bodied male citizens of the country between the ages of 21 and 45, with certain exceptions, and from those thus enrolled all drafts were thereafter to be made for the supply of the service. It was provided in the law that a drafted man might furnish a substitute, or by paying \$300, he could be discharged from further liability under that draft.

Such an enactment could not fail to excite a deep interest in all parts of the country, and with a considerable part of the community it was decidedly unpopular. The enrollment was soon commenced, and some anxiety was felt as it gradually progressed.

The men required must be forthcoming;—this was the universal feeling in this town, as everywhere in this region; but there was considerable difference of opinion as to the duty of the town in the premises. The country wanted men rather than money; and yet it was felt to be a great hardship that a man should be seized and marched off to the war for want of \$300 to pay his commutation fee. A rich man could pay the money at once and purchase his exemption, but not so the man without means, with perhaps a family dependent upon him. At a town meeting, July 9, 1863, it was voted to pay every drafted man \$300, and the selectmen were authorized to borrow the money needed for the purpose.

Whatever the motive for such a course may have been, to very many this seemed too much like an attempt to thwart the government in its efforts to obtain the men needed for the army; and at a subsequent meeting (Aug. 17th), the vote was rescinded.

The enrollment being completed for this congressional district, of which Bristol, and Muscongus and Monhegan islands constituted the twenty-sixth sub-district, the order for the draft was given, and the drawing took place in Augusta, where headquarters had been established.

This, the third congressional district, was called upon for 2409 men, and this, the twenty-sixth sub-district, for 86. The result here, as in other places over the whole country, was, to put considerable money in the treasury, but not to supply men for the army. October 13th, therefore another call was made for 300,000 men, but it was for *volunteers*, with the proviso attached, that if the quota of any district was not filled in due time, a draft should be made to supply the deficiency, January 4th, 1864.

The commutation fee (\$300), previously fixed by the enrollment act, naturally fixed also the price to be paid for substitutes, which down to this time had prevailed; but now it was evident that to induce men to volunteer for the service, much higher rewards would be required. The regiments mustered into the service in the preceding autumn, were to serve only nine months, and many of them were returning to their homes. To such the government now offered a greatly increased bounty, to which the various cities and towns were glad to make liberal additions, rejoicing that even by this expensive method their duty to the country could be fulfilled, and of course a way of

escape found from the embarrassing condition in which all were placed.

December 15, 1863, the citizens being again called together, in view of the situation of affairs, it was voted to authorize the selectmen to raise \$12,000 on the credit of the town and to pay each man enlisting in the service \$300 in addition to the bonuses of the general and state governments. A committee of three was appointed to solicit enlistments, who were authorized to pay an additional ten dollars to each man who should enlist previous to the 20th of the month.

January 11th, 1864, at another town meeting it was voted to pay to each man enlisting from the town a further bonus of \$150; and an appropriation of \$1000, was made for the families of soldiers already in the service. Another call for troops being made, late in the season (July 18th), and a draft ordered in September, at a town meeting, August 27th, the selectmen were authorized to borrow \$30,000, on the credit of the town for the purpose of procuring enlistments to be credited on the quota of the town, which was 50 men. Bristol now constituted a separate sub-district, as did also Muscongus and Marsh Island. Monhegan is not named in the report, but the reason of the omission is not known. The draft in Bristol was to take place, Sept. 21st, but when the time arrived it was found that the number of men required had been secured by means of the enormous bounties offered.

By a law passed this year (1864), men enlisting in the navy received the same bonus as those enlisting in the army;—and, it was also provided, that in filling the quotas of the several districts, all sailors should be allowed who were actually serving in the navy at the time. This just and fair provision operated greatly in favor of this town and others lying on the coast.

Only one more call for men was made during the war, and this was in Dec., 1864, and for 300,000 men. It was also provided that if any districts failed to raise the quota required, by Feb. 15th, 1865, all deficiencies should be supplied by draft on that day.

Whatever may have been the reason the draft did not take place on the day named. March 4th, 1865, the people of Bristol authorized the selectmen to borrow \$20,000 for raising men to

supply their quota for the present draft, and to supply any deficiencies that might remain in their quota in any previous drafts.

It is presumed that the same bounties were paid, as at the last preceding draft. The war was brought to a close very soon after this by the capture of Richmond, and the surrender of Jefferson Davis and the rebel army he commanded.

The following list is intended to contain the names of all from the town of Bristol who served in the army during the war, with the regiment and company to which they severally belonged, and also of those who served in the navy. It has been prepared almost entirely from the various reports of the adjutant general of the state. Much time has been spent upon it; and if it should be found that omissions have occurred, it is because of the extreme difficulty of collecting the names from the many thousands contained in the reports. The same abbreviations are used as in the reports.

1861.

Edwin D. Bailey, Private, Co. K., 1st Cavalry. Taken prisoner January 9, 62, and afterwards exchanged.

Harvey Bearce, Corp. Co. E., 4th Inf. Disch. Feb. 5, 62.

David Bryant jr., Sergt. Co. K. 1st Cavalry. Killed at Middleborough, Va., June 19th, 62.

Linsdale Burnham, Private, Co. F. 1st Cavalry. Discharged for disability, June 30, 62.

Albert S. Clark, Surgeon 11th Inf. Resigned Nov. 4, 1861.

J. S. Clark, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf. Prom. Hospital Steward.

Orvill H. Clark, Corporal, Co. K., 1st Cavalry. Discharged for disability, Sept. 16, 62.

John T. Dyer, Private, Co. B. 8th Inf. Discharged for disability July 4, 62.

Arnold B. Erskine, Corp. Co. C., 2d Inf. Not accounted for by Adj. Report.

James H. Erskine, Private, Co. G., 20th Inf. Transferred from Co. C. 2d Regiment, but in the record of that Co. is credited to "Eddington."

James D. Erskine, 1st. Lieut. Co. E. 4th Inf., promoted Capt. of same, resigned on account of ill health, Nov. 29, 62, died at home, Jan. 1863.

Charles W. Ford, 2d Lieut. Co. K. 1st Cavalry, promoted 1st Lieut. of same. Must. out Nov. 25, 63.

Eugene H. Ford, Private, Co. G. 15th Inf., "dropped from the rolls," Aug. 1, 62.

Ambrose A. Foster, Private Co. C. 10th Inf. Transf. to Co. H.

Isaac W. Fountain, Private, Co. E. 4th Inf. Must. out with Regt. July 19, 64.

- Louis S. Gallup, Private, 2d Battery Mounted Artillery. Disch. March 20, 62.
- Timothy F. Goudy, Private, 2d Battallion, Mount. Artillery, discharged for disability Jan. 30, 63.
- Henry G. Goudy, Private, 2d Bat. Mounted Artillery, Disch. April 9, 62.
- Donald M. Hastings, Private, Co. E. 4th Inf. Procured a substitute and left the army July 17.
- Phillips Hatch, Private, Co. K., 1st Battal. Cavalry; discharged for disability, Mar. 3, 63.
- Wm. M. Herbert, Sergeant, Co. K., 1st Battal. Cavalry mustered out Nov. 25, 63.
- George W. Hysom jr., Private, 1st Battery Mounted Artillery. Reinlisted Dec. 5, 63.
- Cyrus F. Jones, Private, Co. K., 1st Cavalry; deserted, Feb. 16, 62.
- Samuel Jones, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf.; deserted Jany. 5, 62.
- Solomon Lain, Private, Co. C., 10th Inf. Transf. to Co. H. Died at Harp. Ferry Oct. 31, 62.
- Thadeus Little, Adjutant Co. K., 1st Cavalry; entered the service as a Private but was subsequently promoted, 1st, as Serg. then 2d Lieut. then Adjutant.
- Frank H. Lailer, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf.; promoted Sergeant and then Corp. Oct. 1, 63.
- Edward D. McClure, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf. Prom. Sergeant. Died July 11, 62.
- Parker Mears, Private, Co. K., 1st Cav.; disch. Oct 29, 62.
- Joseph E. Mears, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf.; disch. for disability, February 4, 63.
- Benj. Quinby, Private, Co. B., 11th Inf. Transf. to Co. K.; disc. for disability March 31, 62.
- Bedfield Sproul, Private, 2d Battery Mounted Artillery; discharged for disability.
- Charles E. Sproul, Private, Co. B., 1st Cav.; disch. for disability, August 5, 62.
- Charles M. Thomson, Private, Co. E., 4th Inf.; deserted, Dec. 15, 62.
- Licius B. Varney, private, Co. E., 4th Inf.; sometime connected with amb. corps., must. out with Reg. July 19, 64.
- Nathaniel Wentworth, Private, Co. F., 1st cavalry.; disch. for disability April 4, 63.
- 1862.
- Nathaniel P. Baker, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 5, 63.
- Arad Barker, Corp., Co. E., 20th Inf.; discharged Dec. 12, 62.

Briggs G. Besse, Private, Co. G., 15th Inf.; reenlisted as a private in 7th Battery Mounted Artillery, Dec. 30, 63.¹

John M. Bryant, Corp. Co. I, 21st Inf.; promoted Sergeant; must. out Aug. 25, 62.

Francis A. Bracket, Private, Co., E., 20th Infantry. Trf. to Inv. corps Sept. 1, 63.

Josiah J. Brown, Chaplain 15th Inf.; resigned May 30th, 63.

Elribidge R. Bryant, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. prom. Sergeant., disch. by order 94.

Timothy F. Brown, Private Co. E., 20th Inf.; trans. to navy.

Orin Carter, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25th, 63.

George B. Caswell, Private, Co. E., 30th Inf.; disch. by order 94.

Levi Cudworth, Private, Co. E, 20th Inf.; wounded; disch. Dec. 31, 64.

Austin Curtis, Private, Co. E. 20th Inf.; died Jany. 31, 62.

Alvin Cutler, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; taken prisoner July 10, 63.

Andrew J. Erskine, Capt. Co. I, 21st Inf.; mustered out August 25, 63.

Lemuel Erskine, Private, Co. G., 15th Infantry; died at Pensacola, Nov. 27th, 62.

George F. Emerson, Private, Co. G., 15th Inf.; reenlisted.

John H. Erskine, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; died Jany. 21, 63.

Wilson T. Erskine, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; deserted, never left the state.

John Irvine, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.

Joseph B. Fitch, 1st Lieut., Co. E., 20th Inf.; promoted Capt. of Co. D. same regiment, March 26th, 63.

Atwood Fitch, Corp., Co. K., 16th Infantry; promoted Sergeant and 2d Lieut. and subsequently 1st Lieut. Co. D.; mustered out January 5, 65.

Samuel H. Fitch, Corp. Co. E., 20th Inf., died April 27th, 63.

Aug. H. Ford, Sergeant, Co. E., 20th Infantry; transf. to invalid corps. Sept. 7, 63.

John H. Ford, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; disch. for disability, Feb. 4, 63.

Thomas H. Fossett, Co. I., 21st Inf.: wounded in action, May 27, 63.

Samuel L. Foster, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; discharged, March 30, 63.

Thomas A. Foster, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; discharged, for disability, Feb. 4, 63.

Thomas Foster, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; died Jan. 18, 63.

Orrin I. Gaul, Musician, Co. I., 15th Inf.; reenlisted Corp.; died Feb. 3, 66.

John Goudy, Private, Co. 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Albert Hatch, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. discharged, Dec. 30, 62.

Enoch Hatch, Private, Co., E., 20th Inf.; " "

Robert Hanly, 2d, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63..

¹ In the Adjutant's Report of 1863, he is said to have "deserted Feb. 27, '62."

Lyman Hanna, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Robert Henry, Private, Co. I. 21st Inf. ; died Feb. 1, 63.

Albert H. Herbert, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; died, Nov. 29, 62.

Nathau Hodgdon, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf. ; mustered out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Randall E. Humphrey, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf. ; promoted Corporal.

Edward A. Humphrey, Private, Co. E. 20th Inf. ; disch. for disability, March 2, 63.

Abel C. Huston, Sergt., Co. I, 21st Inf. ; mustered out with his Regiment, Aug. 25, 63.

Elbridge R. Huston, Private, Co. B. 21st, Inf. ; discharged, March 30, 62.

Elbridge Huston, Private, Co. E. 21st Inf. ; discharged Feb. 7, 63.

Henry C. Huston, Private, Co. E. 21st Inf. ; discharged, Feb. 28, 63.

David Hysom, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf. ; reenlisted, 7th Bat. Light Artillery.

Robert S. Hysom, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf. ; reenlisted, 7th Bat. M. Artillery.

Zebard F. Hysom, Private, Co. K. 1st Cavalry, on detached service at last Rep.

John E. Johnston, Private, Co. K. 1st Inf. ; disch. May 11, 64.

Wm. I. Kelsey, Private, Co I, 15th Inf. ; promoted corporal.

Alonzo Lawton, Private, Co. G., 15th Inf. ; reenlisted and discharged July 9, 66.

Daniel W. Little, Private, Co. E. 20th Inf. ; died, Jan. 21, 63.

Thomas C. Little, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; wounded July 3, 63.

Patrick Mann, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; promoted Corporal. Reenlisted Jany. 25th, 64.

John J. McIntyre, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; transf. to invalid corps.

Reuben R. McFarland, private, Co. I, 15th Inf. ; reenlisted, 1864 and prom. Corp. and Serg.

Joseph McIntyre, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; disch. by order 94.

Wm. H. McIntyre, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf. ; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25th, 63.

Wm. D. McKim, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf. ; wounded Nov. 7, 62 ; disch.

Joseph N. Myers, Private, Co. I, 21st Inf. ; died, March 3, 63.

Wm. Nash, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf. ; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

James E. Nichols, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf. ; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Joseph Odham, Private, Co. G., 15th Inf. ; died at Brasos Isl. Nov. 2.

George Palmer, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; discharged for disability Feb. 18, 64.

Stephen Palmer, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf. ; discharged by order 96.

Freeman Peasley, Corporal, Co. I., 15th Inf.; reenlisted Corp. January 25, 64.

John Pool jr., Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; disch. by order 77.

Julian B. Perkins, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. August 25th, 63.

Geo. W. Prentice, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Enoch O. Richards, Private, Co. I., 15th Inf.; died in Texas, Jany. 64.

Montgomery Richards, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. Aug. 25, 63.

Calvin C. Robbins, Serg. Co. E., 20th Inf.; discharged, Nov. 28, 63.

Marion Simmons, Private, Co. I. 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. August 25, 63.

Ephraim Stevens, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. August 25, 63.

David P. Sproul, Private, Co. I. 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. August 25, 63.

Aug. M. Sproul, Corp. Co. I., 21st Inf.; must. out with Reg. August 25, 63.

Simeon Tarr, Private, Co. E. 20th Inf.; died, Nov. 6, 62.

Bradford Thompson, Private, Co. E., 20th Inf.; disch. for disability, Feb. 4, 63.

Samuel F. Tarr, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; wounded in action, May 27.

Everett A. Wentworth, Private Co. I., 21st Inf.; reenlisted Corp. 7th Battery Mounted Art., Dec. 30, 63.

Wilson J. Yates, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; died, Feb. 8, 63.

Enoch Wentworth, Private, Co. I., 20th Inf.; discharged for disability May 23, 63.

1863.

Stanley C. Alley, Private, 7th Battery Light Artillery.

Henry H. Goudy, Private, 7th Battery Light Artillery.

John Goudy Private, 7th Battery Light Artillery.

Charles G. Kinny, Private, 7th Battery Light Artillery.

Henry H. Webber, Private, 7th Battery Light Artillery.

1864.

George H. M. Barrett, Private, 1st Dist. Col. Cavalry.

Franklin H. Bell, Private, 1st Dist. Col. Cavalry.

Wesley K. Bell, Private, 1st Dist. Col. Cavalry.

Patrick Burns, Private, 1st Dist. Col. Cavalry.

John Conner, Private, 2d, U. S. Sharpshooters.

Henry B. Richards, Private, 1st. Dist. Col. Cavalry.

Charles H. Robinson, Private, 1st Dist. Col. Cavalry.

Wesley Scott, Private, 1st Dist. Col., transf. Co. A. 1st Cav. Died in rebel prison Jany. 1st. 65.

Richard H. Short, Private, 1st Battery Heavy Artillery.

Franklin B. Tarr, Private, 2d Battery Heavy Artillery.

John Taylor, Private, 2d U. S. Sharpshooters.

John Welch, Private, 2d U. S. Sharpshooters.

1865.

Ambrose Foster,¹ Private, Co. A. 15th Inf.

John M. Gamage,¹ Private, Co. 15th Inf. ; mustered out June 26, 65.

Joseph Hanscomb,¹ Private, Co. 15th Inf.

John McManus,¹ Private, Co. A. mustered out March 29, 65.

Freeman Peasley,¹ Corporal, Co. I., 15th Inf.

Albert L. Wiles,¹ Private, Co. G. 14th Inf.

Edwin W. Merrill, 2d Bat. Mounted Artillery, (year of enlistment unknown.

Enlistments in the United States Navy during the war of the rebellion not including those transferred from the army.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Gilbert P. Brown, | James Burns, | Liman Curtis, |
| Abdon Davis, | Van B. Fountain, | Marcus A. Hannah, |
| Gilbert Hammond, | Geo. W. Hastings, | Geo. W. Huston, killed at N. |
| John A. Johnson, ² | Charles Johnson ³ | Richard Keyes, |
| Thomas King, | Lavoir Mansen. ⁴ | Wm. B. Perley, |
| Leander M. Reeve, | James Rice, ⁵ | Alonzo Richards, |
| Willot Russell, | Joseph W. Sproul, | Wm. E. Thompson. |
| Thomas Wentworth, | Joseph Willet, | |

According to the adjutant general's *Report* for 1864—5 (vol. 1. 24,) Bristol, in reply to the several calls of government, sent into the field 337 men, being a larger number than supplied by any other town in the county, except Waldoboro, which, under the same calls, turned out 457. Whole number supplied by Lincoln Co. 2,973; by the state of Maine 72,945.

¹ The war having closed, they never joined the regiment to which they were assigned.

² Substitute for J. N. Fossett. ³ Subs. for Charles P. Tibbets. ⁴ Subs. for

⁵ Subs. for Aurnaus M. Miller.

Natives of Bristol who are known to have served in regiments of other states.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Wm. Davis, 32d Mass Inf. | Jacob Day, 32d Mass, Inf. |
| James Erskine, 103d N. York Inf. | Charles E. Foster, 32d Mass. Inf. |
| Joshua Gammage, 32d Mass. Inf., | James Gray, 14th Mass. Inf. |
| Charles Hanly, 103d N. Y. Inf., | Wm. Lane 2d, 32d Mass. Inf. |
| John L. Martin, 32d Mass. Inf., | Augustus McClain, 14th Mass. Inf. |
| Llewellyn McClain, 32d, Mass. Inf., | Elliot Pierce, 32d Mass. Inf. |
| Charles Swain, 7th N. H. Inf. | |

We have heretofore seen that appropriations from the treasury of the town were several times made for the support of the families of soldiers who were in the field; but besides this the towns were authorized to draw upon the state treasury for the same object. For this purpose, at the close of the year 1864, there had been drawn from the state \$1,960,801,99, of which Lincoln county had received 54,003,84, and the town of Bristol, \$3,214,80. Whole number of families aided in the town 64, whole number of persons in these families, 202. This wise bestowal of the public bounty greatly favored the enlistments.

It is well known that hospital and other stores, to an immense amount, were forwarded by voluntary associations to the various armies during the war, but only partial returns were ever made of their value. In the adjutant's *Report* for 1864-5, we find that Bristol is credited with having sent during the war in goods and money to the Sanitary Commission, \$350; Christian Commission, \$300; soldiers in camp, \$175; to general hospital \$200; to regimental hospitals, \$315; to hospitals at New York, Boston and Philadelphia, \$175; making in all \$1,515.

Dr. ALBERT S. CLARK enlisted as surgeon of the 11th regiment¹ the first year of the war, but soon resigned on account of ill health. He was born in Tinmouth, Vt., and established himself as a regular physician here about 1823, having then just completed his medical education. He soon established a good reputation as a physician and secured a good practice; but was too decided in his political opinions, and too much of a partizan to be universally popular. He was prompt to enlist in the country's service early in the war; but his declining health obliged him to resign before his regiment went into

¹ In the adjutant general's *report* he is credited to Augusta.

active service. Subsequently he removed to Waldoboro, where he died, June 6, 1854.

The situation of the town of Bristol directly on the sea coast, and having plenty of good harbors, at once determines the chief employments of the citizens, as being connected with the navigation and fishing interests. In the early times it supplied large quantities of lumber for domestic and foreign markets, and at a later period much timber for ship-building, but the supply long since ceased. But the woods still afford some logs to be manufactured into building material for home use. Some business has also been done in the manufacture of tubs and casks.

A special branch of the fishing business has of late been undertaken quite largely here, as at other places on the New England coast, called the "porgey fishery." The fish are taken in seines, usually several miles from the coast, and are used for the oil they produce, and for manure.

These fish, the common *manhaden*¹ of the coast, have been caught for use as bait in the cod fishery from the earliest times; and at first the new branch of industry, in which such immense quantities are consumed, was viewed by the old fishermen with no little suspicion, as likely to interfere with the important and older branch of the fishing business by depriving them of bait. Some riots were at least threatened, and one oil factory was actually destroyed, as was believed, by the old fishermen, or at their instigation; but the opposition has ceased, and the general opinion seems to be that it is best to foster such an extensive branch of business, giving profitable employment for a part of the season as this does to so many men, even though it may be attended by some disadvantages, which in the end may prove to be more imaginary than real.

A "Field Meeting" of the Maine Historical Society, held on the site of old Fort Frederic, Thursday, August 26th, 1869, was an occasion which will long be remembered by the citizens of the place and others who were present.

A committee of the citizens had made preparation for the meeting by removing the earth from some of the ruins so as to expose them better to the view, and erecting a stand for the speakers. A large delegation from the society, many of them with their wives, arrived the evening previous and were quar-

¹ These fish, under the name of *white fish*, were formerly taken in Long Island sound, and sold for manure, but they are now applied to the same purpose as above.

tered among the inhabitants. They had spent the previous afternoon in examining the oyster shell deposits and other ruins at Damariscotta, and were thus the better prepared to study and appreciate those in this place.

Early in the morning the people began to assemble from every direction, some coming in boats but more on foot and by carriages, and lastly by two carts drawn by oxen, in the manner often practiced at agricultural fairs. About 9 o'clock a bell summoned all to the stand, where were seated the delegation of the Historical Society, the committee of arrangements and others to listen to the expected addresses, Hon. Arnold Blaney having been appointed as presiding officer.

After prayer by Rev. Mr. Bean, and a short address of welcome, with a brief outline of some of the principal events in the history of the place by Prof. John Johnston, a native of the place, a beautiful poem entitled "Ancient Jamestown" was read by Mrs M. W. Hackelton, much to the gratification of the large audience.¹ Interesting addresses were then made by Rev. Dr. Ballard, and Rev. Dr Leonard Woods of Brunswick, Hon. J. W. Bradbury of Augusta, Pres. Harris and Prof. Packard of Bowdoin College, A. G. Tenney, Esq. of the Brunswick Telegraph, E. H. Elwell, Esq. of the Portland Transcript, John A. Poor, Esq., of Portland, and R. K. Sewell, Esq., of Wiscasset. A strong north west wind prevailed at the time, and of necessity prevented many of the vast audience from hearing the speakers distinctly, but the novel occasion was well enjoyed in spite of all disadvantages.

The exercises at the stand being closed the invited guests, with many of the citizens took boats across the harbor, and partook of an excellent dinner at the house of Mr. Charles P. Tibbets, and were prepared for a further exploration of the interesting ruins in Mr. Lewis's field, on the west side, half a mile or more above the old fort.²

¹ The Poem was afterwards published and widely distributed.

² These ruins and those at the site of Fort Frederic, have been described as fully as the limits prescribed to our book will allow, beginning at page 215.

The committee of the citizens whose excellent arrangements contributed so much to the interest of the occasion, were Wm. Hackelton, Esq., Hon. D. Chamberlain, Cyrus Fossett, James Nichols, Leander Morton, Hon. A. Blaney, Chas. P. Tibbets, Chandler Bearce, and Alexander Yates.

Two years later in August, 1871, a similar field meeting was held here by a delegation of the Maine Historical Society, which excited great interest. At the same time occasion was taken to form an association for the erection of a proper monument on the site of the old fort to mark the locality of so many and important events in the early history of the place and of New England. A charter of incorporation was afterwards obtained which, with the constitution of the association, it is purposed to insert in an appendix to this volume.

The rapid recovery of the country from the desolating effects of the civil war has been everywhere a common theme of remark; and it is gratifying to know that the people of this town have also shared in the general prosperity. A good evidence of this was furnished by the "Farmer's Club," organized in 1870. Their first exhibition was held at the Mills village in the month of October, and was attended with a gratifying success, even surpassing their own expectations. The account published in the *Rockland Gazette* of Nov. 25th of that year, would do credit to a place of larger population and superior natural resources. Agricultural products, consisting of field crops, fruits, etc., were brought forward in great variety, and articles of household manufacture useful and ornamental, as well as others of mere curiosity, some of them from distant lands.

At the close of the exhibition Governor Joshua L. Chamberlain, who graced the occasion with his presence, gave his address on the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House for the benefit of the society. On the whole, the exhibition was considered one of the best ever given in the county, and reflected no little credit on the people who had taken the trouble to bring together the articles on exhibition, and the officers of the club to whom belonged the management of the whole affair. They were Thomas Herbert, President, Dennis R. Hanly, Secretary, and Stinson Weeks, Genl. Agent.

This annual exhibition, it is understood is to be a permanent institution of the place.

Hon. Wm. McClintock still lives at the age nearly of 95; having been born Sept. 29, 1778. His father was a native of Ireland, but was brought to Massachusetts when only an infant. He married Margaret Fullerton of Boothbay, and died in his 49th year, June 3, 1779. His widow subsequently, October 5, 1786, married Deacon Wm. Burns, and the son, Wm. was

afterwards brought up in his family. He worked more or less on the farm, and a part of the time was employed as a seaman. When he attained the age of 21 he was absent on his second voyage as captain of a small schooner. He was formerly much employed as surveyor of land, and has served the town in various important offices, as selectman and representative in the legislature. He was also a member of the convention which framed the constitution of the state of Maine in 1819.

Wm. Hunter, son of Henry, still living, is in his 96th year, is now the oldest man in the town:

CHAPTER XXXV.

LAND TITLES IN BRISTOL AND BREMEN. HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL CLAIMS.

The foundation early laid for two adverse claims—Title to Pemaquid patent traced to heirs of Nicholas Davison—Pemaquid company organized—Settlement of boundary between Kennebec and Pemaquid companies' claims—Indian deed to John Brown recorded—Brown himself attached little importance to the deed—Descent of title to Brown's heirs—Irregular sales by those heirs—The Boardman claim—Journey of Wm. Fraser on horseback from the Hudson river to Waldoboro—The *Tappan* claim—The *Vaughan* claim.

As we have seen in the first part of this work, the foundation was early laid for two adverse sets of claims to the lands here, by the purchase of John Brown, from the Indians, July 25th, 1625 (*ante*, p. 54), and the grant of the Plymouth company to Aldsworth and Elbridge (p. 69), February 29th, 1634. The two covered nearly, but not precisely, the same territory.

The grant to Aldsworth¹ and Elbridge was for 12,000 acres, with 100 acres additional for every person they should transport to the place, provided he, or she, remained here three years; but we do not now know, how many, if, indeed any, were thus brought here. It is, therefore, impossible now to know how many acres they might rightly claim; but when possession was

¹ This name is written indifferently, *Aldsworth* or *Aldworth*.

given by Walter Neale, as agent for the Plymouth company, in 1633 (p. 74), they "bounded the 12,000 acres for the use of above named [of Aldsworth and Elbridge] from the head of the river of Damariscotta, to the head of the river of Muscongus, and between it to the sea." The tract thus described, probably would be found to contain nearly 100,000 acres, instead of 12,000; and in addition to this, the allowance was to be made of 100 acres for each settler.

The Indian deed to Brown, covers the same territory southward, excepting only a part of Pemaquid point, below New Harbor, but extends further northward, so as to make twenty-five miles from New Harbor, or, perhaps from the south end of Muscongus, or Loud's island. This would carry the extreme northern boundary of the claim beyond the limits of the present towns of Jefferson and Waldoboro, and nearly to the centre of Washington.

While these were the two principal claims, covering the whole of the two towns of Bristol and Bremen, there were others, the origin of which will be stated as we proceed.

John Brown and his descendants and heirs, occupied portions of this territory for a century or more after the original deed was given, except when absent for limited periods on account of the Indian troubles, and may therefore be said to have been, in a sense, in possession of the claim; but except as to lots actually occupied by them, it does not appear that they ever asserted any right to the soil adverse to the rights of others. Therefore when, in 1633, Walter Neale, as agent for the Plymouth company, came and made formal delivery of the whole tract to Abraham Shurte, as agent for Aldsworth and Elbridge, no opposition or remonstrance was made, so far as we know. Shurte evidently in subsequent years, considered himself in possession of the claim, as agent for the Bristol gentlemen, and probably collected a small rent of those residing here, and especially of the fishermen who resorted to the place for the purpose of salting and curing their fish.

Brown, though well knowing all these facts, made no opposition to Shurte, so far as we can learn; but silently acquiesced in his movements. Thus affairs remained for a number of years until the arrival of Thomas Elbridge as sole owner of the patent, probably about 1648.

The latter was the second son of Gyles Elbridge, named in

the patent, and his ownership of the patent came in this way; Robert Aldworth, who was uncle to Gyles Elbridge, died soon after the date of the patent, leaving his part to his associate and nephew, Elbridge, who thus became sole proprietor. Gyles Elbridge survived but a few years, and died, leaving the patent to his oldest son John Elbridge, and he by will conveyed it to his brother Thomas, who subsequently became a permanent resident here.¹

Elbridge on his arrival did not hesitate to assert his claim, and according to the custom of the time, "called a court, unto which divers of the then inhabitants" of the region repaired, acknowledging his jurisdiction and paying a small tax. The charter or patent conveyed not only the fee of the soil, but also conferred the right of making laws for and governing the colony; and when Elbridge came here, it is evident that he intended to assert all his rights in the premises.

But the experience of a few years caused a great change in his views, and he was ready to dispose of his whole right in the patent, that is, the whole patent for a very moderate consideration. He is in all the documents styled, "merchant of Pem-aquid:" but his supply of ready money was not abundant. As early as Nov. 5th, 1650, he mortgaged the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove to Richard Russell of Charlestown, Mass., and a little more than a year afterwards (Feb. 5th, 1651-2) sold to Paul White, of Newbury, one half of all his interest in the patent, including even his personal effects. The consideration mentioned in the deed was "two hundred pounds lawful money of New England."

Subsequently (May 27th, 1653), White sold his interest to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison, the latter being styled "merchant of Charlestown." Four years later (July 1657), Russell disposed of his interest to Davison, who then purchased of Elbridge the half still remaining in his hands, and thus became sole owner.

Davison by will bequeathed this with other property to his wife and children and some other relations; and the "proprietors" under the "Drowne claim," so called in subsequent years, were the descendants and representatives of these heirs of Nicholas Davison.

¹The statement of the writer in the *Popham Memorial Volume*, p. 277, is erroneous, so far as it differs from the above.

The claim took the name mentioned from Shem Drowne, who for many years acted as agent and attorney for the other proprietors. He had married (Sept. 18th, 1712), Catherine Clark,¹ one of the heirs to the Davison estate; and becoming deeply interested in this claim of his wife, which he considered valuable, he was at length (1735) appointed agent and attorney as stated.

Ever after his appointment as agent for the "Pemaquid Proprietors," as the heirs of Nicholas Davison came now to be called, he was very active in their affairs. He early visited the place and introduced a number of settlers, as many as forty families or more,² to whom he gave lands; and in 1747,³ caused the whole tract to be surveyed, and divided into convenient

¹Not *Russell*, as erroneously given by the author in the Memorial volume of the Popham Celebration, p. 278. It is believed that he was born in Kittery, Me., but came early to Boston, and established himself as a "tin plate worker." In the latter part of his life, his eyesight became greatly impaired, and he died, January 18, 1774, at the age probably of about 84 or 85 years. The following autograph of his has been traced from his signature to a deed of land at Broad Cove, given to Thos. Johnston, March 18, 1762. A note on the margin says that it was "distinctly read to him on account of his sight."

Shem Drowne

The well known vane, in the form of a grasshopper, which first adorned Faneuil Hall, was made by him in 1742, and was taken down to be replaced by another in 1852, having performed good service, with one or two interruptions, just 110 years. In it was found a paper, much defaced, but so far as it could be made out, read as follows:

SHEM DROWNE MADE IT,
May 25, 1742.
To My Brethren and
Fellow Grasshoppers.

Fell in yē year 1755, November, 18th day, from ye Market by a great Earth-quake sing sett a by my old Master above.

Again Like to have Met with my utter Ruin by Fire, but, hopping Timely from my Public Situation, come off with Broken bones, and much Bruised. Cured and again fixed Old Master's Son. Thomas Drowne, June 28th, 1763. And although I now promise to Play Discharge my Office, yet I shall vary as ye Wind. *Boston Advertiser*, Dec. 3, 1852, *Drake, Hist. Bos.*, pp. 540, 656, 663.

² *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 62.

³ There is some reason to believe that a preliminary survey was made in 1737.

lots, which were subsequently distributed by lot among the several claimants.¹

But before making the distribution, in order to render their proceedings legally binding on all parties, they held a meeting at the Orange Tree Tavern in Boston, and effected an organization according to legal forms. The meeting for the purpose was appointed for Aug. 1st, 1743; but as there was not a full attendance, nothing was done. After several other ineffectual attempts, the organization was at length effected Nov. 15th; and each proprietor's proportion of "ye lands" determined. The following is the list of proprietors at this time, and the number of votes to which each was entitled, as decided by themselves.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|----------|
| Habijah Savage, Esq. | 30 votes. | Jonas Clark | 2 votes. |
| George Craddock, Esq. | 5 " | Saml. Clark, | 2 " |
| Adam Winthrop, Esq. | 5 " | Thomas Ruck, | 2 " |
| | —40 | John Chandler, Esq. | 2 " |
| John Alford and | } 2½ " | Joseph Nitch, | 1 " |
| Joshua Winslow, Esq. | | Timothy Parrott, | } 1 " |
| Sarah Sweetser, | 2½ " | Abigail Tilden, | |
| John Phillips, | 2½ " | Christopher Tilden, | } 1 " |
| Joanna Phillips, | 2½ " | John Freeland, | |
| Benj. Stephens, | 2½ " | Guardian to his | } 1 " |
| Ezekiel Cheever, Esq. | 2½ " | daughter Prudence, | |
| Shem Drowne, | 15 " | Anderson Phillips, | 1 " |
| | —30 | Henry Phillips, | 1 " |
| | | Shem Drowne, | 8 " 20 |
| | | | <hr/> 90 |

The reader will notice that the whole number of votes provided for was 91, instead of 90.

The proprietors being now organized as a company, began a book of records, which was continued a little more than 20 years, the last meeting having been held Nov. 24th, 1774. This record, in two thin volumes is still preserved in the archives of the Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

We learn from it that they gave full warrantee deeds to those purchasing lands of them; and in several instances where actions of ejectment were brought against such, their agent was instructed to appear before the courts in defense of the settlers. Thus in 1762, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, in behalf of the Kennebec

¹ The plan of this survey, on which the lots were all numbered, and by which the partition of the property among the several claimants was made, has not been found. It would be an interesting document, if it could be brought to light.

company, brought articles of ejectment against James Cargill, James Given, Joshua Maddocks and Caleb Maddocks; and the committee having the matter in charge was instructed to assume their defense before the court. It does not appear what disposition was made of the suits, but it is believed they were never brought to trial. Again, in 1767 and 1768, Thomas Bodkin brought actions against James Yates, John Randall, James Bailey, and Simon Elliot, for lands at Round Pond, which had been purchased of them; and the agents were authorized to defend the suits before the court at Pownalboro. What the result was is not known, but probably the trial never took place.

A single point in reference to this claim remains to be noticed here; — the settlement of the boundary line between the proprietors of this claim and those of the Kennebec purchase, so called, which was effected April 13th, 1763. The original grant which served as the foundation of this last mentioned claim, was made by Plymouth Company of (Old England,) in 1629; and the territory conveyed was described as “all that tract of land, or part of New England, in America, which lyeth within, or between, and extendeth itself from the utmost limits of Cobisecontee, alias Commazecontee, which adjoineth the river Kenbec, alias Kenebekike, toward the Western Ocean, and place called Nequamkike, in America; and fifteen miles on each side of the river commonly called Kenebec River.”¹

The boundaries of this tract, as thus defined, were not certainly very definite except as to one point; — it was to extend 15 miles on each side of Kennebec river; — but by direction of the company, Capt. North, in 1751, undertook to establish the lines intended. In making his survey, Judge North, the accomplished author of the *History of Augusta* (page 35) suggests that North with his party probably ascended the river to the northern limit of the claim, and then measured east, 15 miles to a point which he marked, as the extreme northeast corner of the tract claimed. From this point he run a line southerly, parallel with the river, and struck the coast at Pumpkin Cove, which is a slight indentation in the coast of Pemaquid point, near the present light-house. This coast line he found to be just 34 miles in length. Thus the Kennebec claim was made

¹ *Sat. Hist. Maine*, 116. *Hist. Coll.*, I, 299.

seriously to interfere with that of the Pemaquid proprietors; and for several years both parties insisted with equal pertinacity for its exclusive claim, but at length, at the date just given, a compromise was effected substantially as follows, viz:

1. The Pemaquid company, in substance, acknowledged the right of their opponents to all that part of the Pemaquid territory lying west of the Pemaquid river and ponds.

2. The Kennebec company immediately reconveyed to the Pemaquid company all that part of the present town of Bristol lying west of Pemaquid river, and south of a line which is thus described; "to begin on the east side of Damariscotta river where a line running E. 15° S. from the Northerly part of a point of land which forms Pleasant Cove, on the W. side of said Damariscotta river will strike; — from thence to run E. 15° S., without variation of compass to Pemaquid river aforesaid."

3. The Kennebec company also conveyed to their opponents 2000 acres immediately north of the line just described; to be laid out in a single tract between the two rivers, and having its northern boundary parallel to said line.

A single reservation was made out of the tract first mentioned of 100 acres, "to be bounded easterly on land of Robert McKown."

It would be difficult now to show why the Pemaquid company should agree to such a settlement, as by it they relinquished a considerable part of their original claim; but in order to contend successfully with the settlers, it was important that the proprietors should be at peace among themselves, and besides this there was probably concealed in the plan of settlement a design to aid the Kennebec proprietors in establishing their claims to lands lying further north. The eastern boundary of this great Kennebec claim being established on the Pemaquid river by mutual agreement, the owners of it might expect less difficulty in extending it northward in the territory beyond the bounds of the Pemaquid company.

Only a few years later (1768-9), by a decision of the Superior Court of Mass., the south boundary of the Kennebec claim was determined to be a line running due east and west corresponding, east of the river, very nearly with the present northern boundary line of the town of Woolwich. This line, extended eastward, would strike the Damariscotta river some two miles south of the present village at the bridge, thus giving to the Kenne-

bec proprietors only a small part of the territory previously in dispute between them and the Pemaquid proprietors. But as late as December 10th, 1812, they pretended to convey by deed to Samuel Flagg jr., what remained of their claim to the Pemaquid territory north of the 2000 acres previously mentioned.

The Brown claim, because of the many conveyances, and reconveyances of "undivided" parts by the supposed heirs, and others holding under them, became so exceedingly complicated before the final settlement, early in the present century, that it would be vain now to undertake to unravel it. Only a bare outline can be here given.

The Indian deed to Brown, though dated in 1625, was not put on record until Dec. 26th, 1720, when it was entered in a "Book of Records of Eastern Claims of Lands" in Charlestown, at the instance of James Stilson and his sister, Mrs. Margaret Hilton, great grand children of Brown. This "book of records," it is believed, was destroyed in the fire which consumed the Court House in Boston in 1747; but fortunately an attested copy of Brown's deed had previously been obtained, probably by some one for the heirs of Brown.¹

That John Brown attached little importance to this purchase (so called) of the Indians, is plainly indicated by the circumstances already related, and also by the fact that in 1641 (Jan. 9th), he witnessed another deed given by some Indians to his son-in-law, Richard Peirce, of a portion of the same land conveyed to himself by his Indian deed of 1625. If deeds pretending to convey portions of the soil from one to another, were of no consequence, it was mere children's play to give them, and they might be multiplied at pleasure. And many of the heirs of Brown, in subsequent years appeared to act on this principle. They supposed themselves to have some "color of right" to portions of territory; and if men were found ready to purchase such questionable titles, why should not the holders dispose of them for a consideration? And if the very foundation of the supposed titles was questionable, why should the parties be particular as to metes and bounds, or to any questions in regard to the right of others to the territory supposed to be conveyed? Besides this, the parties were far away from the territory in question, very many of the papers and records pertaining to previous transactions had been irrecoverably lost in the wars;

¹ *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, pp. 106, 108.

and accurate information very difficult, if not impossible to be obtained. Both parties to these sales therefore considered the transactions much in the nature of a lottery business, in which each acted on his own responsibility, and each took his own risk.

It is proper that we should keep these considerations in mind, as we proceed to detail some of the transactions of the heirs of Brown, and others claiming under them.

It is not easy now to determine the boundaries of the tract intended to be conveyed by the Indian deed to Peirce, of Jan. 6th, 1641, just alluded to, so imperfectly is it described, but, probably it was a tract lying immediately south of the 8 miles square tract next to be described, and of course having the noted pine tree in its northern boundary, though this is not mentioned in the deed. In fact, except at the north, it corresponded very nearly with the territory of the present town of Bremen.

In 1660, Aug. 8th, Brown conveyed by deed of gift to his son-in-law, Alexander Gould and wife, the "8 mile square tract," which became celebrated in later times. It is described as "a certain tract or parcel of land, lying in Broad Bay, beginning at a pine tree marked in the westernmost branch of the bay; from thence north north east by Muscongus river eight miles; from thence eight miles north west and by west,¹ from thence south, south west eight miles, from thence south, east and by east eight miles to the tree where it first began."

This deed, if good, of course conveyed all right to this part of Brown's original purchase to Gould and wife and their heirs to the exclusion of his other children and their heirs.

Gould and wife (as we have seen), had three daughters, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth, the first of whom married 1st, James Stilson, and 2d, Thomas Pitman.

Next, Mrs. Pitman² and husband (Dec. 20th, 1720), conveyed this tract, including also Muscongus island, to her children, James Stilson jr., and his sister, Mrs. Wm. Hilton; no mention being made of any other heirs of Sander and Margaret Gould.

¹ Some copies read *north, north west by west*. The reader will get a good idea of this tract by thinking of it as a square lot, 8 miles on each side, and having its southeastern corner at a pine tree on the shore at *Broad Cove*, a little distance north of the present creek bridge, and having the Waldoboro bay and river for its eastern boundary.

² Files Maine Historical Society.

The month following, Jan. 5th, 1727, said brother and sister jointly sold to Thomas Amory of Boston, 1,000 acres of the tract, to be taken "adjoining to and on the north east side of land of Capt. Jonathan Pitman." Amory afterwards sold the same tract to Job Lewis, also of Boston, who in 1750, visited the place, and claimed that the lot of 1,000 acres was situated on the west side of the Medomac (Waldoboro) Falls, and so up the river on the same side. The next year, he caused a house to be built on the lot, but never occupied it.¹ What afterwards became of the claim is not known.

March 27th, 1733, the said James Stilson, sold to Samuel Waldo, for £200, one undivided half of this 8 mile square tract, making no reservation as to the 1,000 acres previously sold to Amory; and also 700 acres on Broad Bay adjoining the first tract; but what title he had to the latter, does not appear.

Waldo was then chief owner of the *Lincoln* or *Muscongus Patent* for a tract 10 leagues square lying *between* the Penobscot and Muscongus rivers; but he was willing, if possible, to stretch his claim a little further westward, and therefore made this purchase of Stilson. He was thus prepared, if his title under the old charter should fail, to fall back upon the deed of Stilson. When, subsequently, he introduced his German colony here, he did not hesitate to locate them on the west as well as on the east side.

He insisted that the lands at Muscongus Harbor and Round Pond, came within his claim, and actually sold a lot at the former place to Wm. Burns, and another at the latter place to James Yeates.

Mary Gould, daughter of Alexander and Margaret (Brown) Gould, married John Coats, and had by him an only child, Prinscent Coats; and the latter sold his interest in the Brown claim, whatever it might be, to Wm. Noble, mentioning particularly the "8 mile square tract" of which he claimed one-third rightfully, as it would seem.² Noble left this by will to some of his relations, whose representatives were particularly active in bringing on the crisis that resulted in the settlement of the whole matter, as will hereafter be stated in detail.

Let us now attend to the doings of other heirs of John Brown, 1st.

¹ Files, Secretary's office, Boston.

² Our authority for these statements are not quite clear, and it is possible all the points may not be exactly as stated.

John Brown, 2d, left only a single heir, John Brown, 3d, "of Saco, alias Biddeford;" and Dec. 7th, 1720, the former conveyed to the latter all the interest and title, whatever it might be, which he had in the claim of his father (John Brown, 1st), at Pemaquid and vicinity. Then (Sept. 10th, 1734), the latter relinquished to the heirs of Richard Peirce, all right or title which he might have in the tract purchased of the Indians, Jan. 6th, 1641; and a little more than a year later, gave a deed to Wm. Vaughan, of all the land purchased of the Indians by his grandfather, making no reservation as to the part previously conveyed to Gould and wife, or to the claims of Richard Peirce, or other heirs of John Brown sr.

The descendants of Emma (Mary) Brown, who married Nicholas Denning were of course co-heirs to the estate of John Brown, 1st, but we hear little of them except the bare mention of their names.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Brown) Peirce, as we have seen, had some children, several of whom, or their descendants, in later times, made their appearance as claimants in the Brown territory at Pemaquid. Among those were Nathaniel and Mary (Peirce), Hamblin (the latter styling herself granddaughter of Richard Peirce, and great granddaughter of John Brown) and Wm. and Mindwell (Peirce) Huxley, and Eleazer and Sarah (Peirce) Stockwell, — the two ladies being granddaughters of said Richard Peirce, and great granddaughters of John Brown. These, late in the year 1732, by several deeds conveyed to Timothy and Joshua Boardman and others of Wethersfield, Ct., all their right, title and interest in the Brown purchase, — including also, as a matter of course, whatever interest they might have in the 8 mile square tract.

A daughter of Timothy Boardman married Alexander Frazier, — and from this circumstance came the *Frazier* claim.

A few years after this (in 1735) one of the Boardmans, probably Timothy, made a visit to the place; — and tradition among his descendants now living in Connecticut, informs us that he was not very kindly received.¹ In his return journey he called on Tutor Flint of Harvard College, Oct. 15th, who made a note of the fact in his diary.

¹ It is possible that this tradition may have reference to some other one of the Boardman family, who visited the place at a late date; as one or more of them are known to have done.

Wm. Frazer, (so he was accustomed to spell his name) son of Alexander, near the close of the last century, undertook to revive the Boardman claim, and for several years prosecuted the work with much zeal. A meeting of the claimants under this title was held at Canaan, at which it was determined to prosecute the claim jointly, and means taken to provide the necessary funds. Wm. Frazer was appointed their agent, and authorized to proceed according to his own discretion. After much consultation he determined to "visit the ground," as he was accustomed to express it, calling at Boston, and Alfred to examine the records in those places.

This journey was performed on horse-back in the summer of 1796; and a full account of it, carefully written after his return, is still preserved. He left "Loonenburg," a place on the Hudson river in New York state, nearly opposite the present city of Hudson, for Massachusetts early in June, and returned the first of August, having, as he says, quite worn out his horse. At Boston and at Alfred he made careful search of the records, as he claims, and at all places made it a point to inquire concerning the titles to lands in Maine. From Damariscotta he passed directly to McGuire's tavern in Waldoboro, which was some two miles below the present village, on the west side of the bay. Having made all the inquiry he could as to the property in question, he returned as he came. The next year the visit was repeated; but we have no circumstantial account of it.¹

After this movement of Frazier, the representatives of this branch of the Brown or Peirce claim appear to have made little further effort to maintain it; but only a few years ago a son of Wm. Frazier, then living in Rockland Co., N. Y., intimated an intention to bring the subject again before the legislature of Maine by petition.

Two other claims to lands here require to be noticed, called the *Tappan* and the *Vaughan* claims.

First the *Tappan* claim. Mention has heretofore been made of Walter Phillips, who, at the beginning of the first Indian war, resided with his family at Damariscotta, on the west side near the point where the bridge is located. February 15th, 1661, he

¹ A receipt from Salmon Chase of Portland for advice concerning these lands, dated July 10, 1797, shows that he was there at this date. Salmon Chase was a lawyer of Portland, and father of the late chief justice of the United States. The sum charged for advice, \$15, would appear decidedly modest in these times. See also *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxv, 341.

purchased of several Indian chiefs a tract of land on the west side of the river, which is thus described :

“ Beginning at the lower end of the Salt Pond at Damariscotta, so tending right over Cauesisex river, due west norwest, so tending right up in the country 3 leges from the mouth of the Fresh Falls, all the upland and marsh or marshes there belonging thereunto within the compass of 3 leges above mentioned.”

Again, Jan. 19th, 1662, he purchased of some other chiefs the tract described below :

“ Beginning at Pencotsgowake, the one half upwards to the lower end of the Salt Pond to the end of the land throughout to the indraft that comes out of the Salt Pond, so likewise from Pedcoegowake down to the noke (nook) below the house of the said Walter Phillips, which the natives use to carry their canoes, over to Cauesix river, so likewise on the other side of said meadows that lies west north west from Pedcoegowake 200 poles in length norwest, all marshes fresh and salt, within the limits above mentioned.”

December 28th, 1674, still another deed from certain of the Indians was given to Phillips, of 500 acres west of Damariscotta ponds, the boundaries being better defined than in the preceding ; but it is not necessary here to repeat the language.

These deeds were supposed to convey to Phillips a large tract on the Damariscotta river and pond, extending downward into Bristol ; but the limits never were (or could be) determined. This whole tract, conveyed by these three deeds¹ to Phillips, was sold by him Nov. 10th, 1702, to Rev. Dr. Christopher Tappan (or Toppan) of Newbury, who, about 1720, sent down several settlers who took possession of some lots pertaining to the claim, put up some kind of houses, and made some other improvements. The object was simply to strengthen the title by performing acts of ownership.

Those representing this claim were very active near the close of the last century, in their efforts to induce the settlers on the disputed territory to purchase of them.

The *Vaughan* claim originated with Wm. Vaughan, before mentioned, (p. 289). He came to the place about the same time as Dunbar, and probably, under his patronage, though it does not appear that he received any grant of land from him.² He established himself at Damariscotta mills, and for a time carried

¹ The originals of these deeds, with the scrawls of the Indians for signatures, are still preserved in the Secretary's Office in Boston.

² *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 145. *Ante*, p. 291.

on a large lumber business. It is believed, he first erected mills there.

Vaughan died in 1755, leaving all his possessions by will to several brothers and sisters, who, when the time of final settlement came, were represented by Eliot G. Vaughan, a nephew (it is believed) of William. He was very active in behalf of the claim, and gained for himself not a little notoriety among the people of the place.

This claim, as finally presented, included substantially all the territory of the present towns of Bristol, Bremen, Damariscotta, and Nobleboro, most of Newcastle, and parts of Jefferson and Waldoboro. In support of it about a dozen different deeds were brought forward, all of them in the name of Wm. Vaughan, and obtained by him in the years 1732-1740. The details in regard to these cannot be given here, but a few facts will be of interest.

It will be recollected that at the time of the first Indian war there lived on the Damariscotta four families, those of Walter Phillips and John Taylor on the west side, near the present bridge, and John Brown, and Robert Scott on the east side. Phillips, as we have seen, had acquired such a title to a large and indefinite tract, including the lot he lived upon, as several Indian chiefs could give; but the others were only squatters (as they would now be called), having no title to the lands occupied by them but such as possession would give. Phillips, had already conveyed to Tappan all his title to lands in the region; but Vaughan sought out the other three settlers here, or rather some of their heirs, and obtained from them such titles as they could give to the lands formerly occupied by the several families, care being taken in each case to include in the deed a generous allowance of territory. John Brown, 3d, for instance, ventured to include in his deed to Vaughan, a lot $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide and 2 miles long, extending downward on the east side from "near the head of the falls" (the place of the present bridge). This deed of Brown is dated Oct. 30th, 1734; but the next year, Dec. 8th, he made a further venture, and sold to *Vaughan* the whole John Brown tract, without qualification or limitation, as regards the tract just mentioned, or the "eight mile square tract," or the rights of any other heirs of his grandfather, John Brown, 1st.¹

¹ Files Maine Historical Society.

Perhaps it was only the *proportional part* that might be found to belong to him, as an heir of his grandfather; that he intended to convey, the same in fact as conveyed to him by his father, John Brown, 2d, by his deed, Dec. 7th, 1720, previously mentioned, (p. 457).

The other deeds do not require further mention.

As to this Vaughan claim, it is proper here to say, that several years after Vaughan had established himself here, and had made considerable improvements, especially at the "fresh water falls" (Dam. Mills), Tappan brought against him, and those acting under him, an action of ejectment; but judgment was given in favor of the defendant. This was in 1741. The case was carried by appeal the next year to the Superior Court of York Co., when the previous decision was confirmed. This action had reference only to 50 acres of land at the falls, where Vaughan had made his chief improvements in the erection of mills and other buildings.¹

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LAND TITLES IN BRISTOL AND BREMEN, CONTINUED. SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY.

Prosperity of this part of the country at the beginning of the century — Heirs of John Brown — The time at hand for the settlement of claims to land here — Action begun against John Hall — A supposed proprietor by the name of North, visits Pemaquid — Law of March 6th, 1810 — Noble *vs.* Hall — A survey of the Brown claim to be made — Vaughan *vs.* Thompson — James Malcomb's return as Surveyor — Law passed for calling out the militia — Petitions from the people — Board of Commissioners appointed — Meeting of Committee at Myrick's — At Pemaquid — E. W. Ripley appointed Secretary of the Commissioners — The Commissioners received very kindly by the people, and make a favorable report — A second Board of Commissioners appointed, and settlement effected — Basis of the decision.

At the beginning of the present century, the country at large had very considerably recovered from the disastrous effects of the revolutionary and other previous Indian wars; and this part of the country especially enjoyed a degree of prosperity

¹ *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 105.

before unknown. The lumber business, in particular, was very active, as the region had not then been entirely despoiled of its immense forests; there was much ship building carried on at various points on the coast, and many vessels employed in transporting lumber to domestic and foreign ports, bringing back in return West India goods, for which there was a great demand, and manufactured articles mostly from Europe.

This, of course, occasioned considerable immigration to this region, and a rapid increase of population, and a corresponding increase in the value of land; a circumstance naturally exciting the attention of the proprietors of the soil, whether resident or nonresident. More than this, and especially important, the time was fast approaching when many of the earliest settlers, if left undisturbed, would hold the places they occupied by right of possession, the period then required for this purpose in Massachusetts, being 60 years.

The "proprietors," as all the nonresident claimants to ownership of the soil were called, had become a numerous body, mostly living in Massachusetts, but some of them residents in other states. Occasionally, one or more would visit the place, in order to assert his right, or to convince the settlers of the justness of his (the proprietor's) title, and the necessity they were under to purchase of him. There being two or three claimants to almost every portion of the territory, the efforts of the agent for one claim often very effectually neutralized those of another; so that little progress was made by any. A very few of the settlers were occasionally persuaded to pay a trifling consideration for a title under some one claim, but too often to make such a purchase by any one, served only as a signal for the agents of other claimants also to fall upon him.

Occasionally, at an early period, suits were brought against some of the old settlers, but the object of the claimant bringing the suit generally was not to determine the validity of his title, and therefore his right to sell, but to compel the settlers to buy of *him*, rather than any others of the so called proprietors. Thus James Yeates was sued about 1762 by one Henshaw for his farm at Round Pond, though he (Yeates) had previously procured a deed from Waldo. Yeates finally recovered in the action, though in order to do so he was obliged to purchase the same farm of Drowne¹. Burns, father of Deacon Win. Burns, purchased his

¹ *Lin. Rep.*, 1811, p. 163.

farm at Muscongus of Waldo, and afterwards felt compelled to repurchase of Drowne, though there were several other "proprietors" who claimed to own the same land, and still threatened him with lawsuits.

Other cases of the same character will be found recorded in the important report, just referred to at the bottom of the page.

The facts already given show very conclusively the uncertainty of all land titles at this time in all this region; and if a settler was ever so desirous to pay the full value of the farm he lived on, it was impossible to determine who, among the many claimants (if any), could give him a legal title. Even if he could satisfy himself as to the comparative validity of the original claims,—as the *Brown*, the *Drowne*, or the *Vaughan* claim,—still this was not sufficient. There were often other claims that did not come really and fully under any one of these heads. Some of the heirs of the original claimants at an early period, sold their undefined title and right, whatever that might be, to a particular claim, their proportional part or parts, supposing the claim valid, depending of course upon the number of heirs, and also the relation they might hold to the person from whom they inherited; but who, after the lapse of three-fourths of a *century* would undertake legally to determine the question what proportional part the said grantor may have been entitled to!

This will be best illustrated by referring to a single case. Oct. 13th, 1732, Eleazer Stockwell and Sarah (Pearse) Stockwell, the latter claiming to be a granddaughter of Richard Pearse, formerly of Muscongus, and great grand-daughter of John Brown of Pemaquid, sold to Timothy and Joshua Boardman, of Wethersfield, Ct., all the right, title and interest which she was of right entitled to in the Brown purchase of 1625;—consideration £400. But who could tell at the beginning of the present century, what proportional part of the Brown tract Mrs. Sarah (Pearse) Stockwell might rightfully have claimed in 1732. Mrs. Stockwell and several other grandchildren of Richard Pearse, then lived on the Housatonic river, somewhere in the western part of Connecticut or Massachusetts; and the trouble and expense to a person in Maine, who at the beginning of this century should have attempted to settle such a question, would not have been small.¹

¹ Hinman's *First Puritan Settlers of the Colony of Connecticut*, 271. Original Deeds and Letters in the possession of the writer.

Some of the supposed heirs, in giving deeds, mentioned the proportional part to which they supposed themselves entitled, but considered their share much larger than that really falling to them, thus increasing the confusion. As early as 1754, complaint was made of this by some of the supposed heirs; thus Isaac Little, Nov. 4th, of the year mentioned, writing from Pembroke to Hon. Mr. Wells of Hartford, says that "some of the heirs, of old Richard have sold three times as much as their parts."¹

These details may seem tedious; but unless they are brought somewhat prominently before us the unfortunate condition of the people residing here at the beginning of this century, as to their titles to the lands they occupied, can hardly be appreciated. A very few families had been here about three-fourths of a century, and could legally hold their farms by possession, as it is termed, some had been put in possession (or their fathers) by Dunbar, and others — constituting much the larger number — had purchased in good faith from former occupants; little being thought of these old claims which had lain dormant so long as in the popular estimation to have become obsolete. There then were so many claimants to the same land it was plain that some of the titles, if not all, must lack of the essential quality, legality.

The time being now plainly at hand when the questions pertaining to these claims must be legally settled, the citizens here watched with some anxiety the beginning of the expected storm. Occasional threats of actions of ejectment from different proprietors had been long heard by the settlers; but some suits were now actually commenced, and a long series of these seemed probable, such as is not often known.

In 1810, several actions of the kind were pending, two against John Hall of Nobleborough, for the same tract, one of them by a Mr. Follansbee, a claimant under the Tappan claim, and the other by James Noble under the Brown title through Wm. Vaughan. Samuel Jackson lived on a farm in Jefferson which he purchased, in 1778, of a man who had been in possession several years. In 1803, an action of ejectment was brought against him by some one claiming under the Tappan right, but after three or four years of litigation the defense was successful,

¹ Files Maine Historical Society. Mr. Wells had purchased an interest in the Peirce claim and probably had solicited information of Mr. Little.

though at a ruinous cost. He then purchased the farm a second time of another claimant under another title, but was again sued by the heirs of Vaughan, and in the year mentioned (1810) the action was still pending. Still other cases of the same kind there were, but they cannot here be particularly described. The great majority still remained in peaceful possession of their lands, but nearly all living on the disputed territory might expect prosecutions to be brought against them at any time.

Is it strange, that the people of Bristol, and other towns named became alarmed, and began anxiously to inquire what they could do to protect themselves? Much indignation was everywhere felt against the hated proprietors; and, in several instances, strangers coming into the town, whose business was unknown, were treated with rudeness.

It was about this time (1810) or a year or two earlier, a man by the name of North made his appearance in the town, and pretended to be employed in purchasing cattle, did actually purchase one yoke of oxen, at least, of Joseph Young, who lived on the neck below the falls, but the people for some reason became suspicious that he was an agent for some of the proprietors, and did not hesitate to make known the feelings they entertained. They pressed him closely by their questions, which were not answered satisfactorily, and considerable excitement began to manifest itself in the crowd that had collected together. Some even proposed the application of *Lynch law* to him; but better counsels prevailed, chiefly through the influence of Capt. John Fossett, who happened to be present. He persuaded the people to commit the stranger to his care, for the present, while they, if they pleased, might appoint a guard to accompany him out of the town. Capt. Fossett then took him to his house, and gave him some refreshments; and the two then started together for Damariscotta bridge, followed at a little distance by the guard that had been appointed, all being on horseback. Arrived at the bridge the crowd waited to see him on the other side, and then quietly dispersed, but not without advising the stranger not to appear in the town again.

Several years afterwards, Capt. F. met the same man at St. John's, New Brunswick. He (Capt. F.) was in command of a schooner which was lying at the wharf, when Mr. North came

on board and introduced himself, reminding him of their former and very peculiar acquaintance, and thanking him heartily for his kindness. He gave no explanation as to the object of his visit to Bristol.¹

A circumstance that added not a little to the excitement of the time, was the singular law passed March 6th, of this year (1810), as its title expressed it, "for the more speedy and effectual suppression of tumults in the commonwealth." Though general in its terms it was intended evidently for the Kennebec region and this particular locality. This law authorized any judge of the Supreme Court, in certain circumstances, when the regular administration of the laws should be obstructed, to call out, at his own discretion, a sufficient force from the militia in the neighborhood to suppress the riot or tumult, and restore order.

Among the landsuits against individual settlers at this time, there was one entitled *James Noble vs. John Hall of Nobleboro*; it was founded upon the Brown claim, and was brought to eject the defendant from the farm, on which he lived. The case had been some time on the docket, and to prosecute it further, it became necessary for the plaintiff to have a survey made of the land he claimed, of which the farm of the defendant formed a part. Such a survey was therefore ordered at the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, held in Wiscasset in June of this year; and by consent of parties (Noble and Hall) James Malcomb of Cushing was appointed surveyor. He was instructed by the court to appoint such aids, as chain-men, etc., that he might need, and "to run all such lines and make such monuments as either party might desire," and to "make a plan of the land in dispute," and make return to the court.

The "land in dispute" between these parties could only be the farm of the defendant, though Noble's claim included the whole eight mile square tract, to which allusion has been so often made; and this large area he undertook to survey under this order of the court.

Another similar case before the court at this time was that of *Eliot G. Vaughan vs. Nathaniel Thompson*, also of Nobleboro; and was brought to eject him from the farm he occupied. This.

¹ Mr. John Fossett jr. (July, 1830), who was with his father at St. John's, when the meeting took place. Was this man a connection of the family of this name previously noted? Hon. James W. North, the accomplished historian of Augusta, is very certain he was not a member of their family.

action was based on the original Brown deed of 1625, and had no connection with the eight mile tract just mentioned. Probably the two actions were intended to test the two titles; if the Brown deed of 1625 was valid, so probably was the other title to the eight miles square, but if the latter title should fail still the other might be held valid. Though the plaintiffs were different, there was plainly a close sympathy between them, as the facts will show.

Malcomb accepted the appointment and was duly sworn (Aug. 25th) faithfully to discharge the duties assigned him, having previously given notice to the parties to meet him at the house of Joshua Hilton, in Bristol (Broad Cove) on Monday the 27th. To this place he accordingly repaired at the time appointed; and the result of his visit will be seen by his own return made to the court, dated, Aug. 28th.

After reciting the order of court, he says. "in pursuance of the foregoing order, I, the said James Malcolmb, having given notice to the parties in said action to meet at the dwelling house of Joshua Hilton in Bristol, on Monday the 27th of Aug., inst., when and where I accordingly attended with the agent of said Noble and others, to perform the services above required, and to begin at the pine tree there as corner bound of Brown's deed to Gould, furnished me by said Noble; but finding the door of said house shut and no person there, we went to the neighboring house of George Rhoades, where we were met by the above named John Hall and others to the amount of forty or fifty men, who assembled in parties, and seemed to be headed by a Capt. Samuel Tucker and others. The said Tucker stating that he was one of a committee unanimously chosen by the Town of Bristol to oppose the running of any lines in said Town, and demanded by what authority we came to run lines. I presented them the said order of court, which they opposed, saying it was a forgery, and that the Supreme Court had no authority to grant an order to run lines without notice to every person whose lands were touched thereby. And they also stated that there were a number of men likewise assembled in Nobleboro and other towns, keeping a strict watch to obstruct the running of any lines by proprietors; and threatened to take my instruments from me if I persisted. I, therefore, apprehending danger from the appearance of their conduct, and the said Hall also telling me that he had no lines to run, I thought it imprudent and unsafe to proceed in said business, and left the same without running any lines.

"JAMES MALCOMB."¹

¹ Files S. J. Court, Boston, and also in Secretary's Office, in the State House. Of course Hall had "no lines to run" in that neighborhood.

"The agent of Noble," referred to in the above, was Elliot G. Vaughan, the plaintiff in the action against Thompson, previously mentioned; and his account of the same transaction, being more full than that of the surveyor, will be interesting to the reader. After stating the facts, the same as Malcomb, that they first went to the house of Joshua Hilton, and finding no one there, they went to the house of George Rhoades, where the people soon began to collect, he mentions the names of several of them, Samuel Tucker, Thos. and Wm. Burns, Capt. Samuel Reed, Phillips Hatch and Thomas Dockendorf. Capt. Reed inquired their business, which they candidly stated, and also made known their authority by reading aloud their official documents. Some one of them formally introduced them to Capt. Tucker, who proceeded to,

"Inform us that he was one of a committee unanimously chosen by the town of Bristol to oppose us, and prevent our running lines in said town; he then wished to know what authority we had. Esq. Malcomb showed him the order of the Supreme J. Court, which he had read aloud to the whole company, and afterwards pronounced the same a forgery, and said there was no such entry on the Supreme Court docket, and that they would prevent us from running any lines in Bristol. Mr. Malcomb requested of him to know by what means they meant to oppose us; he said they must and did forbid us running, and if we persisted they would take away his instruments, for if Noble and myself had not proof enough to support our claim we should not run any lines in order to strengthen it. Mr. Tucker said that we might next want his land, and he had had it in possession thirty-eight years,¹ and before he would give it up he would spill his blood on the soil to manure it. Capt. Phillips Hatch applauded that very much, and made many similar expressions, stating [that] we should run no lines in that town. Capt. Tucker stated his age to be sixty odd years, but swore he could wield a sword or pull a trigger yet, and stated that he was unanimously chosen by the town, and their orders were to prevent running any lines in that town at all events, and the town would support them. There were two men there by the names of Wm. and Thos. Burns who swore, if any men attempted to run a line through their land they would shoot them, let them have authority from what Court they would. And Capt. Tucker and others of the company said all we wanted was to get a survey and then make a plan, and the Court would give us the land, but they swore we should not run any lines and said many disrespectful things concerning the Judges of the S.

¹ Commodore Tucker purchased his place of Daniel McCordy in 1792, only 18 years previously, but he meant to include also the time it had been in the possession of McCordy.

J. Court. The number of men at Mr. Rhode's, was about sixty, and they seemed to doubt whether we should not return and attempt to run the lines in the night. Esq. Malcomb informed them that we should not do that, and that no person had requested him to do it. Capt. Tucker swore there was no danger of that for the lines were all well guarded and would be, and that let us have what force we would they would have a larger one. We then informed them, if we could not run the lines without such difficulty we would return, they then informed us they should send a guard with us to escort us out of Bristol. Esq. Malcomb told them, there was no need of that, and stated that we came without any and should not want any to go back with us; we then started to come away, finding no argument would prevail on them to let us run any lines, and there were several men followed us and kept with us until we were out of the town of Bristol, part of their names were Capt. Samuel Tucker, Wm. and Thos. Burns, Thos. Deekendorf, and Wm. Martin jr. Mr. Martin stated that he came that day from Damariscotta Mills, and between there and Nobleborough, he had seen one hundred men in parties, and said he inquired of them what they were doing, they said they were watching for proprietors. (Sworn to, in Court.) "ELLIOT G. VAUGHAN."

A note is added, saying that this, and also evidence of other more aggravating transactions, was brought before the grand jury, but they took no action on the subject.

Being thus politely conducted out of town by the good citizens of Broad Cove, Vaughan next made his entrance into the town on the Walpole side.

Below, is his own account of the excursion, contained in a letter to Hon. Thos. Cutts, of Saco, dated Phillipsburg, Oct. 30, 1810. To save space certain unimportant parts are omitted, as indicated by the asterisks. He says:

"Wednesday, 29th Aug., I went over in the town of Bristol, in company with an old man by the name of Benj. Jones, of Newcastle, he having some business there, and being acquainted with the inhabitants. We first called at the house of Col. Wm. Jones, who is now upward of 86 years of age, and had lived there nearly all his days. After introducing myself, we began on the subject of non-resident proprietor's lands. The Col. said there was no proprietor owned any land, and that the government was corrupt in allowing any title, and instanced amongst many other things the injustice of the government in confirming and establishing the Waldo patent; and said that he made it appear to the Gen. Court, that the patent did not cover an inch of land, and added that the people only want some good able man to take the lead and conduct them, but said there was a difficulty as there was not confidence enough between man and man, for if such a man could be found they would betray him, and

said that Shays and the party that were with him were the only party that was right in the government, and said that no proprietors had any right, for God gave the earth to the sons of men, and that no man had a right to more land than he could improve, and named 200 acres. I then asked him what could be done considering the situation we were now in? His answer was that God Almighty had it in his power to settle it in two ways; one was to serve all the proprietors as he did the firstborn of Egypt (cut them off in one night) the other was to raise up some man like Cyrus who would purge the land.** We then proceeded further down in Bristol, to the store of Mr. Blaney who, I had been informed, had been very active in preventing the lines being run."

His friend, Jones, did not introduce him to Mr. Blaney, and when Jones had finished his business, they started on their return. The narrative proceeds,

"When we got as far as the house of Robert Huston, Esq., he came out to the road and spoke to Mr. Jones, and he immediately asked him who I was, and I told him my name. He inquired if I was one of the Vaughans who had been trying to run their lines? I told him I was. He then stated that they were ready for us any way. I told him we were not ready in any but a lawful way.** He said he was safe enough concerning his land as it had been possessed and improved seventy years. I stated to him that I was knowing to that fact as my ancestors had left [to] his father 100 acres of land in his will, which, from the best information I could get, was the same land he lived on. I asked him what harm it could do him to run the lines. He said, they did not want them run, &c., &c."

A crowd now began to collect, and much loud talk ensued, and the travellers resumed their journey towards "the bridge."

"In riding 50 or 60 rods we met a number of men on horseback running their horses, and heard considerable noise behind us which proved to be a number of men on horseback with cowbells following us, who kept with us until we got to the toll-bridge near Damariscotta river. They then halted and gave three cheers," and with many oaths desired them "never to show their faces in Bristol again." "In the evening the house of David Myrick, near said bridge was surrounded, and he ordered to turn me out of doors or they would pull his house down. He went out and conversed with them and received some abuse, &c., &c.** They kept round the house until 1 or 2 o'clock, storming the house and making almost every noise that can be conceived of. Mr. Stephen Coffin was present during this (to me) disagreeable night."¹

The remainder of the letter gives an account of a recent visit of his to Warren to confer with the surveyor, Malcomb, and Col.

¹ Files, Secretary's Office, Boston.

Thacher, who, it was expected, would command the regiment of militia, soon to be called out to enforce the order of the court.

Malcomb, having made return to the court, in accordance with the facts above related, it only remained for the court to call out a sufficient force, from the militia of the neighboring towns, to protect the surveyor in the discharge of the duty assigned him. And this was done, as it appears to us now, with a very unbecoming haste, considering the position of affairs, and the grave complications that were likely to ensue. A force of 500 men, mostly from Boothbay and vicinity were ordered to be drafted under their proper officers, and held in readiness to march at short notice.

In the action of *Noble vs. Thompson*, previously referred to, the same order was made, and Malcomb appointed surveyor; but in this case it was said that Thompson admitted that the land in question was included within the claim of Noble, and therefore a survey was not absolutely needed.

The aspect of affairs now became alarming; and both the civil and military officers, upon whom responsible duties would devolve in executing the order of Court began to look into the matter with concern. The people of Bristol and Nobleboro, fully persuaded of the intrinsic justice of their cause, showed no disposition to make any concessions whatever, but, on the other hand, unanimously took measures to organize an effective defensive force, which, however irregular in its origin, could not be despised.

The law authorizing a judge of the court to call out the militia in aid of a surveyor, when there was danger of opposition, passed in January, 1810, throughout the country was considered very extraordinary in its character; and now that it was to be put in actual operation with unnecessary haste, even its friends began to feel uneasy.

Though the draft had been made on paper, the men had not been called out; and it began to be seen that the authorities were proceeding in their coercive measures too hastily. Much correspondence ensued between Gov. Gerry, Judge Thacher and others, and the wise conclusion was arrived at to postpone further coercive measures until the next spring, especially as the legislature was to hold a session during the winter season. One of the first acts of the legislature at its next session, was to repeal the obnoxious law.

Previous to this time feeble petitions and memorials concerning the condition of affairs here, and praying for relief, had been sent by individuals to the legislature, but they were met by the opposition of the proprietors, so as to prevent any action, or they were passed by as not of sufficient importance to demand attention. Indeed all the acts of the legislature previous to this time seemed to be in the interest of the proprietors, and in disregard of the opposing claims and the many hardships of the inhabitants living on the lands in dispute.

But it must be admitted that the latter had not until this time united systematically in such a determined effort to bring the whole subject before the legislature, as its importance demanded. Now, however, they determined to do so; and the towns of Bristol, Nobleboro, Newcastle and Edgecomb appointed delegates to meet in convention, and make preparation to bring the subject by memorial and petition before the legislature, in a manner that would command attention.¹

It has been said that agents from Bristol went to Boothbay and took occasion to pay their respects to many of the drafted men, who gave them to understand if they should really be called into the field to fight in such a cause, they "*should choose which side to fight on.*" (Capt. John Sproul, 1860.)

The memorial and petition, agreed to by the convention (see note at foot of the page), was presented to the legislature at the beginning of its session in January, 1811, and received very prompt attention, the way for it having been partially prepared by an allusion to the subject by Governor Gerry in his message, dated January 23. "It is with deep regret, gentlemen, that I communicate any unpleasant information, respecting any important section of the Commonwealth. On the 12th of October last I received from the Hon. Judge Thacher, information that he had required Brigadier General Payson, to call out five hundred of the militia, to aid in the legal survey of certain lands, in the town of Bristol, in the county of Lincoln. Soon after I received two petitions from a number of the inhabitants of that town and neighborhood, stating grievances, and praying for a suspension of the survey until the decision of the legislature could be had on the subject. On the 24th of October, I received another letter from

¹ Printed copy of *Memorial and Petition*, pp. 32. Boston, printed by J. Beecher, 1811.

Judge Thacher, and immediately communicated it, with other documents in my possession, to the council then in session. On the 26th of Oct., I had an interview with two respectable characters of high standing in that community; and obtaining the best intelligence they could give, imparted it to the council, who passed upon the subject, and closed their session. On the day following, considering the threatening aspect of affairs, and the deplorable consequences of a conflict in that quarter, I took measures to obtain from the surveyor, James Malcomb, Esq., an explicit declaration whether he intended to proceed in the survey forthwith, and if not, to what period he proposed to suspend it." After stating further particulars of his correspondence with Judge Thacher, he proceeds to say that Malcomb declined to proceed in the survey which had been ordered by the Court, and it was therefore suspended for the present.¹

On a report of a committee of the legislature it was,

"ORDERED, — That His Excellency, the governor, be, and he hereby is, authorized and requested to appoint three commissioners to take into consideration his message to the two branches of the legislature, relative to disturbances in the county of Lincoln, with the documents accompanying the same; and also to take into consideration the memorial from the inhabitants of Bristol, Edgecomb, Nobleboro, Newcastle, and Boothbay; and the memorial signed by Samuel Tucker² and others; all of which are now pending before the General Court. And that the said commissioners be, and they are hereby authorized and directed to go into said county of Lincoln, investigate thoroughly, the nature and causes of the difficulties stated in said message and documents; and also the nature, causes, and state of the difficulties and grievances complained of in said memorials. That said commissioners have power to send for such persons and papers as may appear to them necessary, in order to enable them to determine fully on the subject of their commission. That they give notice of the time and place of their first meeting to the selectmen of the towns mentioned; and also to said

¹ *Mass. Resolves*, XVIII, p. 68.

² This, it is believed, was a memorial in regard to the doings of Judge Thacher and a petition for his removal to some other judicial district. A similar petition was forwarded from citizens of some of the adjoining towns; but as the law of March 6th, 1819, empowering the judge to call out the militia was repealed early in the session, (Feb. 27th), the petitions were withdrawn.

Tucker, and such other persons as they deem it expedient to have notified.—And that they report, as soon as may be, to the next General Court a state of facts on the subject referred to in said message, documents and memorials; and recommend such measures as it may be expedient in their opinion to be adopted by the legislature thereupon, in order to restore tranquility to that section of the country, and redress grievances, if any are found to exist. And that the said commissioners be, and are hereby authorized, if they see fit, to appoint a clerk to attend them in the execution of their said commission.”

The governor immediately appointed on this commission Hon. Perez Morton, then a distinguished lawyer and politician of Boston, Jonathan Smith jr. and Thomas B. Adams,¹ who at once prepared to enter upon the duties assigned to them. They appointed their first meeting at the Court House in Wiscasset, Wednesday, May 1st, giving previously the necessary notices.

On Monday, April 29th, the selectmen and committee of Bristol, Nobleboro, Newcastle, and Boothbay, met at Myrick's in Newcastle and appointed a committee to represent them before the commissioners.

The selectmen of Bristol present, were Robert Huston, Sullivan Hardy, and Wm. McClintock. Committee to act in concert with the selectmen, Aaron Blaney, Wm. Chamberlain, and James Drummond jr.

Selectman of Nobleboro present, Ebenezer Flint. Committee, Milton Goodenow.

Selectmen of Newcastle, Luther Webb, and Samuel Leighton.

Selectman of Boothbay, John McFarland. Committee, Wm. McCobb, and Daniel Rose.

These appointed a sub-committee of six, Daniel Rose, Milton Goodenow, Aaron Blaney, James Drummond jr., Daniel Waters, and Samuel Parsons, to conduct the case for them, and instructed them to meet the commissioners at Wiscasset, and invite them while conducting their inquiries to make their

¹ These men spent more than three weeks on the case, in taking testimony and preparing their report, making a journey in the mean time from Boston to the town of Bristol, Me.; and the compensation they received would in this day seem rather small. By resolve of the legislature, June 24th, Perez Morton received \$144, Jonathan Smith, \$180, and Thomas B. Adams, \$162. E. W. Ripley, their clerk, received \$126.

Only \$1,200 was appropriated for the whole expense of the commissioners. Perhaps their expenses were paid in addition to the above.

principal stand at Doct. Myrick's in Newcastle. The sub-committee were also instructed to invite the commissioners to Bristol, and especially to Pemaquid to view the ruins there, and to other places as might be agreed upon.

Accordingly, the first of May, the Commissioners having appointed Eleazer W. Ripley their clerk, met in Wiscasset, but immediately adjourned to Doct. Myrick's in Newcastle, where their meetings were subsequently held. They were continued several days and excited much interest, being attended as they were by agents of the claimants under the so-called *Drowne, Brown, Tappan, and Vaughan* rights, with their several attorneys, presenting no meagre array of the legal talent of this region at that time. They examined carefully all the documentary evidence brought before them, and examined many witnesses from among the elderly citizens of the place, some of whom were able to testify to transactions nearly as far back as the time of Dunbar.

During their stay, the commissioners visited the site of the old Pemaquid fort and other places, being everywhere received with the utmost cordiality. Their candid manner, and the patient, respectful attention they gave to all the evidence brought before them, greatly pleased the people of the place, who, when the evidence was all in, and before they knew what the report would be, felt that they had already achieved a triumph.

Having finished their work here, the commissioners adjourned to Portland, where they made up their report, which is dated May 20th. It was printed as a legislative document, with much of the evidence upon which it was based, but is now seldom met with, though of the utmost importance to the early history of this part of the country. In fact, we are indebted to it for much of the information contained in these pages. To insert it entire would be simply to repeat much that has already been said, but an extract from it near the close must be given.

"It further appeared in evidence, corroborated also by the general appearance of the country, that the settlements on and about Damariscotta river, were at least a century old. The inhabitants seem to be quiet, enterprising and industrious, attached to the institutions under which they live, and totally free from any disorganizing or disloyal spirit. They ask for reasonable protection under the laws of their country, and not an abolition of them. As a mark of their attention to social order and the means of information, we beg leave to state, that meeting-houses are

erected in every town mentioned in the memorial, that clergymen are regularly settled in most of them, and have been for a long time past; and that in the town of Bristol alone, there are twenty-one school houses, and that town raises annually for the support of free schools, the sum of two thousand dollars.

It further appeared in evidence, that none of the inhabitants entered upon these lands with an intention of disseizing or trespassing on any proprietor; but that, nearly to a man, they hold their estates under deeds of settlement from some one or more of the claimants, or from prior settlers. No improper motives, on their parts, appear to have actuated them, but the variety of interfering grants derived from different sources, added to the vague principles upon which all new countries are settled, have been the real causes of the existing difficulties, and have placed the people of those towns in a state of real insecurity, and have excited in them just cause of alarm.

The commissioners therefore, after fully hearing the complaints of the memorialists, are of opinion, that, as well from their loyalty, merits and services, as from the peculiar circumstances of their situation, they are justly entitled to the particular interposition of the fostering aid of the legislature, so far as that aid can be extended to them consistently with the rights of other individuals. They are sensible, that among the rights of the respective claimants is unquestionably that of having the justice and legality of their several claims separately decided by trial at law; but it will be readily seen, that the exercise of these rights must, as it already has done, operate very oppressively on those people; and, indeed, the claimants themselves, who, it is believed, never before had an opportunity of seeing and examining the extent and evidence of the claims of each other, seem to be sensible of this truth, and it is pleasing to remark, manifested a disposition to bring the existing difficulties to a close. Under this impression, the commissioners did not hesitate to suggest their wishes to this effect, which resulted in *the proposition to the legislature*, accompanying this report, under the hands and seals of the different claimants. By this instrument *the claimants propose to release and surrender all their title under their respective claims to the commonwealth, and to submit to a new Board of Commissioners, whether they, or either of them, are now entitled to all, or any part of the lands, described within their respective claims, and what part; consenting, that the rights of the settlers and those of the commonwealth, shall be opposed to them in the hearing; and if they, or either of them, be found entitled to any part of such lands, the same to be estimated as in a state of nature, with ut reference to any improvement, and to receive compensation for the same in the unlocated lands in the district of Maine, belonging to the commonwealth; which will leave the commonwealth the sole proprietors of any interest which may be found to belong to all, or any of the present claim-*

ants; and to this proposition the agents of the memorialists readily gave their concurrence, under a conviction, that nothing will be required of them by the commonwealth, but, what reason and justice will demand.

* * * * *

The commissioners, therefore, cannot but earnestly recommend to the legislature to meet this proposition of the claimants to extinguish their conflicting claims, as a measure dictated by that wise policy, which in the government of a free country, always seeks the preservation of its honor and dignity and will at all times make the tranquility and happiness of all its citizens the primary object of its pursuit. They believe, also, that it would be good policy, in a local as well as national view, to encourage by all just means the speedy settlement of the district of Maine, so important a frontier of the Union, and they are persuaded that the present length of limitation in bar of the writ of right, operates powerfully to the discouragement of this object. The neighboring British Colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as well as some of the large States of the Union, to encourage their increase of population, have bound the writ of right after twenty-one years; and the commissioners recommend that period for its limitation in this commonwealth; or, if it should be objected to as unnecessary in Massachusetts proper, where the title to lands are more firmly settled, they see no objection to the government's legislating for the district of Maine, separately in this respect, as numerous precedents to that effect are to be found in our own statutes, under the late Provinces.

The commissioners have been thus particular in describing the titles of the claimants, and the merits and complaints of the memorialists, that the legislature may at one view discern the nature and causes of the existing difficulties, and be able to judge of the propriety of applying the remedies recommended, or such others as their wisdom and discretion may dictate. All which they have the honor respectfully to submit for that purpose."

This report to the legislature was accompanied by a written agreement signed by the attorneys of the several claimants, to submit their several claims in the manner proposed. The substance of it was, the proprietors agreed to submit the merits of their respective claims to the commissioners to be appointed by the governor or by the legislature, as might be determined, with the consent of proprietors, which commissioners should have authority to determine, both in law and equity, whether they or any of them, were entitled to the lands or any part of the lands within their respective claims, in opposition to the rights of other parties, whether settlers on the territory or

others, and also in opposition to the rights and claims of the state. Before the commissioners should take any action they (the claimants), were to make over by deeds of release to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, all their right and title to the lands in dispute, on the condition that the commonwealth should award to them, or any of them, such compensation as they might be found entitled to by the said commissioners, the said compensation or equivalent to be made in grants of unoccupied land still belonging to the state in the district of Maine.

A proviso was inserted that if the action of the legislature should be delayed beyond the next session, the proprietors should be at liberty to prosecute their claims in the court just as if nothing of this kind had been attempted.

It was in this form the affair came again before the legislature; and was very soon understood by that body as it never before had been.

The governor in his message, June 10th, 1811, made a favorable allusion to the report, and recommended its suggestions to their careful consideration. Accordingly, immediate action was taken on the subject; the governor was authorized to appoint a new board of commissioners to re-examine the whole question, make an authoritative decision as to the real ownership of the lands in dispute, and award to the successful claimants such compensation or equivalent in the wild lands of Maine, as might seem to them reasonable and proper.

The commissioners selected by the governor for this responsible duty, were Hon. Jeremiah Smith, of Exeter, N. H., Wm. H. Woodward, of Hanover, N. H., and Hon. David Howell, of Providence, R. I. Their appointment was not made until late in the summer or autumn; and they very soon entered upon the discharge of their duty. In the mean time most or all of the claimants, more than one hundred in number, besides the Plymouth or Kennebec company, executed deeds of release to the state of all their right and title to the lands in question, according to the letter of the agreement. But so much time was spent in making a thorough examination of all the evidence in the case that they were not prepared to report until January 26th, 1813.¹

Before giving their decision they state the principles upon which they based their action. They say, "in considering the

¹ *Mass. Register*, xviii, 181.

grants and conveyances under which the parties claimed, and the manner of deducing their titles, we have not been disposed to require the most perfect regularity, nor to expect the same exactness as in the case of modern grants. Wherever a Court of Chancery could supply defects or give relief, we have overlooked such defects, and have considered ourselves as vested with the power to give the same relief, and we have allowed the claimants the full benefit of their possession. We are desirous that the legislature should be apprised of the construction we have put on the resolution, which is the foundation of our authority. It has been our intention to go as far in favor of titles as a Court of Chancery could go in the rightful exercise of their peculiar powers. But we have not considered the words 'power and authority to determine, both in law and equity, whether a claimant under his claim, is entitled to any lands within the boundaries of his claim &c.,' as vesting in us any authority to award in favor of a claimant whose title could neither prevail at law nor avail the party with all the aid a Court of Equity could give; though such party might have merits which would entitle him to the favorable notice of the legislature."

They then proceed to make their formal award and decision, with all the legal verbiage required by the importance of the subject before them, declaring the claims of the Plymouth or Kennebec company, well founded, and awarding to them, under certain conditions, a full township of land, to be selected from the wild lands in the district of Maine. To the claimants under the Drowne claim, they awarded a half township of land under the same conditions of introducing within a limited period a certain number of settlers, and reserving some lots for schools and a lot for the first settled minister. They conclude their report as follows, viz. "And we do further award, order and determine, that as to all the other parties to the annexed submission *** that neither they nor any of them, nor the person or persons, they or either of them represent, had at the time of said submission, or at any time since have had, either in law or equity, any title to any lands under their respective claims, and within the boundaries thereof, and situate within the towns aforesaid, or any of them."

By this decision, it will be seen the Brown, Tappan and Vaughan claims were utterly extinguished as never having had

any foundation either in law or equity. These claims all had their origin in Indian deeds, which were thus declared invalid; but the two claims having their origin in European grants, were established.

The reader will not fail to observe that the claims of the plaintiffs in the two suits at law mentioned above, as being immediately connected with the Bristol troubles, were among those declared to be without foundation.

The Vaughan claims were rejected by the commissioners for the reason that they had no legal support, resting as they did upon Indian deeds, or documents purporting to be such; but Vaughan had, in his day, done much for the improvement of the country, and they thought his labors and toils worthy of consideration. They therefore recommended that the modern representatives of these claims should receive a half township of wild lands of the state, the same as they had awarded to the Pemaquid proprietors. This award was afterward formally made by the legislature.

The claims of the late "proprietors" being thus extinguished, or rather the title to the soil about which there had been so much strife, being now vested in the state, it remained only for the old settlers to receive deeds from the state, to become the undisputed owners in fee simple of the lands they had long occupied, and formerly supposed to be their own. Deeds of this kind were subsequently given by authority of the government at a charge of a few cents per acre, except to those who had actually paid for their land to some one of the claimants — those received their deeds gratuitously.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BREMEN, AFTER ITS SEPARATION FROM BRISTOL.

Bremen incorporated — School Districts — Robert Miller — Thomas Johnston jr. — Win. H. Little — Sullivan Hardy — Bremen in the civil war — List of Soldiers — Furnished for the army and navy — Samuel T. Keene — Dr. McRuer — Rev. Joshua Soule — Dr. Tobey — Arunah Weston.

The town of Bremen, was incorporated by act of the state legislature February 19th, 1828. Many attempts had been made to effect a division of the large territory included in Bristol, by vote of the citizens, but without effect. All felt that a division into two or more towns was greatly to be desired, and many plans were proposed, but when submitted to vote in town-meeting they were always rejected. At length the people of Broad Cove determined to address their application directly to the legislature of the state, and succeeded in obtaining their charter as above stated. It is not known who suggested the name of Bremen; but, being comparatively short and easily pronounced, it was at once accepted.

The territory of this town formerly constituted the northeast part of Bristol, lying between Broad bay, on the east, and Biscay and Pemaquid ponds on the west. On the south it is separated from Bristol by a line running from Muscongus harbor to the south part of Biscay pond. The present nearly straight line is not the one described in the act of incorporation, but a compromise line agreed upon by committees of the two towns the year after the separation. The first line, as described in the charter was found to be impracticable.

It was provided in the act of incorporation that all the property belonging to the former town of Bristol should be divided between the two towns in the proportion of their respective valuations at the last preceding assessment; and that they should be held to pay in the same proportion whatever previous indebtedness there might be against the old town.

The town as thus established contained then four school districts, to which two have since been added, and had a population of about 800. It was provided that the two towns should constitute one representative district.

The first town meeting was held at the school house of District No. 3, (near the late Daniel Weston's) and organized by electing Robert Miller, moderator and Sullivan Hardy, town clerk. A board of selectmen and other officers were also chosen.

The next meeting, held April 12th, was considered the first annual meeting for the year, but the officers previously chosen were continued.

The separation from the old town was unanimously approved by the people of the new town, except a few living near the southern line who subsequently petitioned to be again set off from Bremen, and restored to Bristol; but the effort failed.

The two great political parties of the country, east, west, north and south, were generally very sharply divided in the presidential campaign of 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elected, and more than the usual amount of bitter feeling was manifested, but it was not permitted to disturb the political quiet of Bremen. At the election only 18 voters made their appearance, who cast their votes unanimously for the Adams ticket. The next year the town cast 66 votes for governor.

Robert Miller, who presided as moderator of the first town meeting, died by suicide late in the autumn of 1828. He was a Scotchman from the vicinity of Edinburgh, but had long resided in the place. He was, by trade, a carpenter, and lived at a place on the "western branch" of Broad Cove, as marked on the map of Lincoln county, and it is believed owned the saw and grist mills that formerly stood there. They were what are called tide mills, which depend upon the water flowing in at high tide through the gates in the dam, and of course can be used only at low tide.

Mr. Miller had been several months in poor health, and at times much depressed in spirit, but no one supposed that he meditated self-destruction. Some time in the autumn he deposited several hundred dollars in money with a neighbor for safe keeping, taking no receipt; and the transaction was known only to the parties themselves. He was a bachelor and lived by himself, but at length, as he had not been seen for several days, search was made for him, and his body found in a retired



Thomas Johnston

place in a pasture a mile or more from his house. He had cut his own throat with a pen knife, and fallen forward on his face with the knife still grasped in his hand.

The old meeting house erected in the Broad Cove parish, at the place then called Greenland (see map), ceased to be used as a place of worship about the beginning of the present century and in 1824 was taken down, and the materials used in the construction of the present Bremen Church.



UNION CHURCH, BREMEN.

The grave yard, a distance south of the present meeting house, had been thus occupied from an early period, by permission of the owner of the land, but in 1832 the lot was purchased for the general use of the inhabitants. According to tradition when the meeting house question was so earnestly discussed, as heretofore described (p. 341), many desired that the one for the Broad Cove parish should be located here rather than at Greenland Cove.

Thomas Johnston, who was elected as the first treasurer of the town, and afterwards to the same office several years successively, was a son of the Scotchman by the same name previously mentioned (p. 389). He followed the sea when a young man, but subsequently purchased a farm near the old homestead, where he ever afterwards lived. He d. in 1852 at the age of 84, the accompanying lithograph being a very good representation as he appeared in his old age.

Thos. Johnston

This is a fac-simile of the autograph of Thomas Johnston sr., as traced from a signature attached to a public document in 1775.

The superintendent of the coast survey a few years ago in the progress of his work had occasion to establish a sub station near the home of the old Scotchman, and gave it the name of "Johnston."— *Coast Survey Rep.*, 1867.

We have seen that when Bremen was incorporated, it was united with Bristol to form with it a single representation district, but three or four years afterwards a change was made and Bremen, Friendship and Cushing were associated together as one district. Subsequently (in 1845), the arrangement was again changed, and Bremen and Nobleboro were associated together.

In 1833, a new school district was formed on the neck, and subsequently a district school house erected.

The public road from the main road east to the shore on the neck near Job Tolman's, on the line between Wm. Johnston and Mary Johnston was laid out by the county commissioners 1836. The matter had been discussed some time, but was now authoritatively decided. The owners, or some of them, of the land taken for the road, having made a demand for payment, the matter was referred to a committee to make inquiry, and report. In due time the committee reported that it was a case in which the owners were entitled to payment for their land thus taken for the public use.

This town, like all the other towns in the state, voted to receive its share of the money distributed from the general treasury in 1837, on the terms proposed (p. 437) and Wait W. Keen, Esq., was appointed agent of the town to receive it from the state treasurer. It was at first decided to authorize the selectmen to loan the money to individuals on good security, but subsequently the whole fund was distributed among the inhabitants of the town in the same manner as was done in Bristol.

Wm. H. Little sr., died Feb. 26th, 1841, long a prominent and much respected citizen of the place. He was a descendant of Thomas and Ann (Warren) Little of Plymouth, Mass., who lived first at Plymouth, but removed to Marshfield, in 1650. Mr. L. was among the earliest emigrants to Plymouth and his wife was a daughter of Richard Warren, a passenger by the May Flower.

Wm. H. Little, the subject of our notice, was probably of the sixth (perhaps the seventh) generation from Thomas who was

the first of the name in America. He was born Dec. 21st, 1761, and came to this place when quite young. He married Rhoda Trouant and settled on a farm near the north line of the town; and besides carrying on his farm engaged also in ship-building, timber for the purpose being then abundant in this region. Before the war of 1812, he had built several small vessels; but after the war, beginning in 1816, in connection first with some of his neighbors, and afterwards with his sons, he built a vessel of a hundred or more tons every year for twenty years.¹ He was a man of strict integrity in his intercourse with others, and enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the esteem and respect of the community, but never sought public office. He had several sons, by whom the name is still perpetuated, and several daughters.

Sullivan Hardy, long a resident of this town, died Feb. 28th, 1848, aged upwards of 68 years. He came here when quite a young man; and during his life filled some important public offices. He had received a good education, and often in winter was employed in teaching a district school in his neighborhood. He was first elected on the board of selectmen of the town (Bristol) in 1809, and was subsequently several times re-elected. It was while he was a member of this board that the difficulties between the citizens of the place and the non-resident proprietors came to a crisis, and means were adopted which finally led to their settlement, as heretofore described. He was early appointed to the office of justice of peace, which he held for many years, performing the duties required to the general satisfaction. When the town of Bremen was incorporated, in 1828, he was elected first town-clerk.

At a town-meeting, May 4th, 1850, a movement was made for building a town house, to be used for the public meetings of the citizens; and a committee appointed to determine the proper location, and secure a proper site. This committee subsequently reported that the whole distance from the southern boundary of the town to the line of Waldoboro is 7 miles, less 14 rods; and that the middle point is 6 rods north of the school house of district No. 3; and that a suitable lot of land for a school house could be obtained of Wm. Johnston, a third of a mile north of the centre; but nothing further was done.

One effect of the Crimean war in Europe, was to create a

¹ Family Record, Otis Little, Esq.

great demand for vessels; and an immense impulse was given to the ship-building interest in this region, but it was not of long continuance. No vessels of importance were built in the town, but the business was active at Waldoboro, Round Point, New Harbor, and at Damariscotta, where many men from the place were constantly employed. As a matter of course business of all kinds was active for several years.

July 15th, 1855, there occurred in this town one of those distressing cases of suicide, which, however common they may be, never lose their sadness, and against which no human law or foresight can protect us. Thomas Child, a farmer in comfortable circumstances, as was supposed, destroyed his own life by taking poison. It was afterwards discovered that the desperate act was occasioned by embarrassment in which he had become involved by the failure of a Damariscotta firm of ship builders, to whom he had made a considerable loan of money held by him in trust.

The "war of the rebellion" found the people of this region in the same spirit as prevailed elsewhere. The "coming events" had for years been "casting their shadows before," and the public mind was in some degree prepared for the call that was to be made upon their patriotism and their valor.

In all the various calls of the government for men the town of Bremen never failed to meet the full demands made upon her, and by means essentially the same as practiced in other towns. Early in the war small, but afterwards, large, bounties offered for volunteers by the town in addition to those offered by the general and state governments did not fail to secure the large number of men called for as they were needed.

The attempt to secure men for the army by the ancient mode of drafting produced the same result here as elsewhere. Though theoretically just and equal it is directly opposed to the universal feeling in favor of the sacred freedom of the individual, and probably will be no more attempted by our government except in very extraordinary cases or sudden and unforeseen emergencies. It is true that men must be had to carry on a war, but they can always be obtained by the offer of a sufficient pecuniary consideration, and the burden then becomes one of the purse only, and is equally diffused among the people of the state, and the liberty of the individual is not violated.

The following list contains the names of all from this town who served in the army or navy during the war, so far as can be ascertained. It has been compared with some care with the returns contained in the reports of the adjutant general. Possibly there may be some omissions, especially as regards those serving in the navy.

The list was prepared by Thomas Little, Esq., whose name will be found in it.

1861.

Samuel Davis,¹ Private, Co. B., 2nd Reg. of Inf.; wounded near Williamsburgh, Va., and subsequently discharged.

Joseph Fogler, Private, Co. — 2nd Reg.; wounded and taken prisoner at Bull Run, and subsequently discharged.

Frank G. Haynes,² Corp., Co. B., 1st Cavalry; taken prisoner, and afterwards exchanged and rejoined his company.

Emery J. Hilton, Private, Co. E., 4th Reg. Inf.; wounded in hand at Bull Run and discharged.

Charles T. Hilton, Private, Co. B., 8th Reg. Inf.; reenlisted at close of time, and discharged with his company at the close of the war.

Thomas P. Keen, Sergt., Co. E., 4th Reg.; discharged, Feb. 17, 62 for disability.

Frank A. Lawler, Corporal, Co. E., 4th Reg.; served his full term of 3 years, and was mustered out with his company; reenlisted in Hancock's Corps, 1863.

Wm. McLain, Private, Co. B. 8th Reg.; wounded near Fort Darling, 1864.

Edward Palmer, Private, Co. E., 4th Reg. Inf.; killed in action, May 23, 1864.

Francis W. Rhoades, Private, Co. E., 4th Reg. Inf.; wounded by an axe and discharged, Nov. 6. Reenlisted, Sergeant of Co. I., 19th Reg.; and was killed in battle of Gettysburgh.

James G. Roades, Private Co. E. 4th Reg. Inf.; wounded, and died in hospital in Washington, Sept. 13, 62.

David W. Roades,³ Private, Co. H., 1st Reg. Cavalry; died Jan. 24th, 1864, in Virginia.

Charles C. Turner, Private, Co. E., 4th Reg. Inf.; taken prisoner at Gettysburg, and died in Andersonville prison.

¹ Believed to be the same as Samuel W. Davis who entered the army from Orono, May 28th. 1861. — *Adjutant General's Report*, 1863, p. 106.

² This name is not found in its proper place in some copies of the adjutant general's report.

³ Entered the army from the town of Harmony, according to report of adjutant general.

Thomas F. Turner, Private, Co. E., 4th Reg. Inf.; discharged for disability, Dec. 11, 62.

1862.

Joseph W. Bryant, Private, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; regularly discharged at expiration of time of service.

Green Burns, Private, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; same as last.

Joseph Burns, Private, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; do.

Roscoe D. Creamer, Private, Co. I., 19th Reg. Inf.; transferred to invalid corps.

Asa F. Flye, Private, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; discharged at expiration of time of service.

Wm. J. Genthner, Co. —, 14th Mass. Inf.; subsequently transferred to the navy.

Seth Hall, Private, in same Co. and Reg.; discharged for disability.

John E. Johnston, Private, Co. K., 1st Reg. Cavalry; discharged on account of disability, April 13, 1863.

Daniel W. Keen, Corporal, Co. K., 20th Reg. Inf.; and Lieutenant of 128th Reg. of colored troops; was wounded at Fredericksburg, and died, Aug. 19th, 1865.

Weston H. Keen, 1st Lieut., Co. K., 20th Reg. Inf.; and subsequently Capt. Co. A.; killed in action Sept. 30, 1864, near Petersburg, Va.

Thomas Little, Private, Co. I., 19th Reg. Inf.; wounded at Gettysburg and subsequently discharged.

Otis H. Little, Private, Do., 19th Reg. Inf.; killed at Petersburg, June 24, 1864.

Wm. H. Little jr., Corporal, 19th Reg. Inf.; wounded in action, May 18th, 1864.

Joel H. Little, Serg. Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; discharged for disability, Dec. 16, 1862.

Timothy Ozier, served in a Massachusetts Reg., probably the 14th.

Ogilvie Richards, Private, Co. I., 21st Inf.; wounded in action, May 27, 1862, and subsequently taken prisoner July 30, 1864; released on parole, 1865.

Lincoln Rhoades, Private, died in Louisiana.

James W. Taylor, Private, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; died, Feb. 21, 62.

Vincent R. Taylor, do. do., discharged, time expired.

George W. Trouant, Private, Co. I., 21st. Reg. Inf.; died of fever in New York, Jany. 21st, 1863.

George S. Turner, Private, Co. I., 19th Reg. Inf.; wounded in action at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2d, and died, July 19, 62.

Wm. R. Webber, Private, Co. I. 21st Reg. Inf.; served the full term for which he enlisted, and was honorably discharged.

Joseph S. Woodbury, Corp., Co. I. 21st Inf.

1863.

Lucius H. Bond, Private, Co. L., 2d Cavalry; Monhegan.

Wm. J. Brown, Private, Co. E., 2d Reg. Cavalry; transferred to navy.

James McLoon, Private, 7th Battery of Mounted Artillery, served until close of war, and honorably discharged.

John W. Webster, Wagoner, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; served full term of enlistment and honorably discharged.

John S. Woodbury, Corporal, Co. I., 21st Reg. Inf.; served full term of enlistment and honorably discharged.

1864.

Burton A. Beal, Private, 1st D. C. Cavalry; disch. May 11, 65.

Henry E. Challis, Private, 1st Reg. D. C. Cavy.; disch. by order No. 77.

J. Emerson Hilton, Private, Co. —, 32d Reg. Inf.; killed in action at Petersburg, Va., April 2d, 1865.

1865.

Wm. Burke, Private, Co. B., 1st Battalion of Inf.

John Clark, ———, 13th Reg. Inf.; discharged for disability.

Austin Lawler, ———, 13th Reg. Inf.; discharged for disability.

John Mullen, Private, Co. B., 1st Battalion Inf.

John H. Pray, Private, Co. D., 1st Battalion Inf.

Byron Richards,¹ 13th Reg. Inf.

Charles D. Shillings, Private, Co. E., 1st Battalion of Infantry.

Charles F. Walker, ———, 1 D. Col Cav.

The following are known to have served in the navy, but with one or two exceptions the ships to which they were attached has not been ascertained:

1862.

Abdon Davis, ship Constellation; discharged for disability.

Alonzo Richards, ship Constellation served three years and was honorably discharged.

1863.

Charles W. Little, ship unknown; honorably discharged.

John McLain, " " "

1864.

Frederic Creamer, " " "

James Donnelly, " " "

Wm. W. Hardy, " " "

Samuel Heavener, " " "

George Smith, " " "

¹ This name has not been found on any list of this regiment in the adjutant's report, but Mr. Little includes it in his list.

Joseph W. Welman, ship unknown; honorably discharged.

John H. Bond, Monhegan.

The names of several others who served in the army during the rebellion, require to be mentioned here.

Samuel T. Keene, who entered the army from Rockland, was a native of this town where he was born in 1833. He was at one time a member of Waterville College, but graduated at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in the class of 1856. After graduating, he had charge of the academy in Cherryfield, for a time, and subsequently studied law, and opened an office in Rockland.

When the 20th regiment was organized in the summer of 1862 he was appointed 1st lieutenant of company I, but was afterwards transferred to company F. as captain. In this capacity he served with so much distinction, that he was further promoted as major of the regiment, but he died before his commission reached him. He was shot through the head by a rebel sharp-shooter in front of Petersburg, Va., June 22d, 1864. Falling into the arms of a brother officer, he said, "write to my wife, it is all well, I die for my country." He then quietly passed away. He was a man of excellent character and worth, and a very superior officer. He had greatly endeared himself to his associates, and his loss was deeply lamented. His remains were brought to Thomaston, and interred with military honors.¹

Dr. Daniel McRuer, of Bangor, who joined the army as surgeon to the Second Regiment of Infantry, is a Scotchman, but came to this country about fifty years ago, and several years practiced his profession in Bremen and at Damariscotta, before going to Bangor. Before reaching Washington, he was appointed Brigade Surgeon, and during the winter while the army was encamped in front of Washington, by appointment by Gen. McLellan, he made an examination of the field hospitals, the chief object being to advise with the surgeons in regard to their general arrangement, ventilation, cleanliness, etc., so as best to promote the general health and improvement of the patients. Subsequently he was appointed chief surgeon of Gain's hospital, where by aid of his assistants, many important surgical operations were performed; and then as chief surgeon on the hospital ship, *Louisiana*, which was employed in transporting sick and wounded soldiers from the James river to the hospitals in Washington.

¹ *Rep. Adj. Gen.*, vol. I, 1864-5, p. 407.

Other important positions in connection with the hospital service which he filled cannot be here enumerated; but, by his incessant labors, his health became so much impaired that he felt obliged to resign in Sept., 1862, after only a year's service.

Rev. Joshua Soule, D.D., bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, who died near Nashville, Tenn., was a native of this town. His father, whose name also was Joshua, came to Bristol some time before the revolutionary war, and settled on the farm at Round Pond, now owned by David Chamberlain, Esq. August 18th, 1773, he sold the farm to the Rev. Alexander McLean, and removed to Broad Cove, where Joshua jr. was born August 1st, 1781. The house occupied by the family was on the Damariscotta road, and probably on the place now owned and occupied by Thomas Johnston.² When he was about two years old³ the family removed to the town of Avon in the Sandy river country; and we hear no more of him until the time of young Joshua's conversion, and connection with the Methodist Episcopal church, which took place in 1799. Avon was included in the Readfield circuit then in charge of Rev. Robert Yallaley.

The settlement was then new, and the family poor; and apparently there was very little in the circumstances of the young man to inspire his ambition or call him to effort. From a child he was serious and thoughtful, his memory very tenacious, and his mind precociously active, but his personal appearance exceedingly rustic.

Though so young he began a very active Christian career which knew no abatement until he was worn out by many years and much toil. He became connected in the usual way with the New York conference in 1799, which held its session that year in New York city, and was appointed to the Portland circuit in connection with Rev. Timothy Merritt. He at once secured the confidence of his brethren and the people to whom he ministered, and in 1808, was a member of the famous Baltimore conference, by which the plan was adopted providing for a quadrennial general conference, then and still designed to be perpetual. The rule as it still stands in the discipline of the church was drawn up by him.⁴

¹ *Rep. Adj. Gen.*, vol. 1, 1864-5, p. 423.

² Mrs. Sarah (Johnston) Barnatt, who served as nurse in the family, at the time of his birth.

³ "About 1795," *Memorials of Methodism*, p. 450.

⁴ *New American Cyclopaedia*.

By the general conference of 1816, he was elected book agent, and in consequence he removed to New York city. Elected bishop in 1820, he declined to accept the office, but being reelected in 1824, he accepted, and afterwards acceptably performed the duties of the office until the separation of the southern conferences in 1844. He greatly deplored the unfortunate separation of the southern conference that year, but his sympathies were with the separating ministers; and after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church, south, in 1846, he was acknowledged by them as senior bishop of that church. This office he held until his death.

During the latter part of his life his residence was at Nashville, Tenn., or the immediate vicinity.

Though so thoroughly identified with the south he never favored the secession movement.

In person Mr. S. was tall, stately and dignified, his voice sonorous and strong. His sermons were usually very long and elaborate and often "overwhelmingly impressive," though "entirely destitute of imagination and figurative illustration." He was faithful and warm towards his intimate friends, but to strangers cold and reserved.

At his first election to the office of bishop he was but 38 years old, the youngest man ever elected to this office in the Methodist Episcopal church, except the present bishop, E. S. James, who at his election was only 37.¹

A distinguished native of this town, Samuel Boyd Tobey, M.D., died suddenly of apoplexy June 23, 1867, in Providence, R. I., where he had resided from his early youth. His father, Samuel Tobey, came to Bristol about the close of the last century; and having married Caroline Martin, daughter of Jacob Martin, of Broad Cove, the newly married couple settled on a farm in the same vicinity.

They had two sons, Wm. H. and Samuel B., the latter of whom was born Nov. 12th, 1805, and the father died while he was quite young. Both the father and mother were members of the society of Friends; and their children were educated in the same faith. Samuel was an unusually bright, rosy checked, boy; and when he was about ten or a dozen years old had the good fortune to attract the attention of a rich Quaker lady of Providence, R. I., who came on a visit to the

¹ Memorials of Methodism by Rev. A. Stevens, *New American Cyclopaedia*.

Bristol and other societies of Friends in this state. By her advice and the consent of his mother, he left his home soon afterwards, and took up his abode in Providence, where he ever afterwards resided.¹

After his removal from his native place he attended the academy in Plainfield, Conn., and subsequently the school of Samuel Gummere, at Burlington, N. J., from which place he returned as a teacher to the Plainfield Academy, in 1822, when he was only sixteen years old. Subsequently he was employed as teacher in the Friend's boarding school in Providence, but left it to engage in the study of medicine. He attended the medical lectures in one of the schools of Philadelphia, and received his degree of M.D. in March, 1828.

Returning to Providence, after his graduation, he immediately entered upon the practice of his profession, in which he labored with great industry and distinguished success until 1846, when he retired from active practice, partly because of a partial failure of his health, but more especially because of his appointment as executor of the will of a rich friend who had recently died.

But it was not only as a successful physician that Dr. Tobey was known; he was deeply interested in many of the public and benevolent institutions of his adopted city and state. In 1835, he was elected a member of the board of trustees of Brown University, and subsequently, in 1854, became chancellor of the same, holding the office until the time of his death. He was one of the founders of the Rhode Island hospital, and a member of its board of trustees, a trustee of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, and vice president of the Providence Dispensary. To these and other public and benevolent institutions he gave much of his time, and contributed liberally from his purse. Few men in any country have enjoyed more fully the public confidence.

Dr. Tobey by birth and education was a member of the society of Friends, to which he was strongly attached. For many years he was an approved and active minister of the society, and clerk of the yearly meeting for New England. He was twice married, and left a family of several children.²

¹ It has always been understood by the people of the place where Dr. T. was born that he was adopted as her own by the lady alluded to, and educated at her expense; but this is said to be a mistake by members of his family still living in Providence.

² Letter of John F. Tobey, Esq., Rep. of Trustees of the R. I. Hospital, Nov., 1857.

Daniel and Eliphaz Weston, distinguished citizens of Bremen, were sons of Arunah Weston, who, some time before the revolutionary war, removed from Duxbury, Mass., to this place, and settled on a farm of 320 acres at Greenland, then recently purchased by a brother of his, named Daniel, who was lost by shipwreck only a few months after making the purchase. He (Arunah) was some times employed in ship building, and died in 1831.

Daniel, his son, was born July 12, 1783, and died only a few years ago. He was three times married, and left a large family, several of whom have occupied, or now occupy, important positions before the public. Rev. Sullivan H. Weston, D.D., has long been one of the ministers of St. John's (Episcopal) church in New York city. He graduated in the scientific course in the Wesleyan University in 1841. He has once, certainly, and perhaps oftener been elected to the office of bishop, but has declined. Hon. Wait K. Weston, some time judge of one of the courts of California, died only a year or two ago in San Francisco. Another son, Henry, is a successful printer and publisher in California.

Eliphaz Weston, son of Arunah, was born in 1785, and died September 22, 1872. He spent his whole life in his native town of Bremen. Rev. James P. Weston, D.D., a son of his, graduated at Bowdoin College in 1840, and was many years president of Lombard University at Galesburg, Ill., and now is the popular principal of Dean Academy in Franklin, Mass. Samuel M., another son, graduated at Bowdoin College in 1844, and has many years been principal of the High School at Boston Highlands. Still a third son, Jefferson B., graduated at Union College in 1856, and is settled as a lawyer in Nebraska. There were also several daughters.

APPENDIX.

POST OFFICES IN BRISTOL AND BREMEN.

The first post office in Bristol was established in Walpole in the autumn of the year 1800, and Thos. McClure appointed postmaster, who held the office until May, 1806.

Aaron Blaney succeeded McClure in the office, and held it until May, 1818.

Aaron Blaney jr., now received the appointment, and held the office until his death in 1834; and was succeeded by his son, Arnold Blaney, who held the place until 1843, when the location was changed to the Mills, and Peaslee M. Wells appointed postmaster. In 1849, he was superseded by Henry Chamberlain, the present occupant of the office.

The Bristol Mills office was established in 1828, with James Varney as postmaster, but the office was discontinued in 1843, or rather the Bristol Mills office at this time took the name of Bristol, the original Bristol office being discontinued.

The Pemaquid office was established at the Falls, in 1835, and John Fossett, appointed postmaster, which office he held until his death in 1848. He was succeeded by Francis Wheeler, who in 1851, was superseded by Oakman Ford. Wm. P. Ford, was appointed to the office in 1865, and is the present incumbent.

The Round Pond office at Round Pond, was established in 1850, and Parker Mears, appointed postmaster, who was followed in 1857, by Alexander B. Munroe. The present incumbent, Alexander Yates, succeeded Munroe in 1861.

The south Bristol office was established on Rutherford's island in 1863, and the present incumbent, James Otis 2d, appointed postmaster..

The post office in Bremen has had a varied history. It was first established in 1830, with Francis Cook as postmaster, but was discontinued in 1834. In 1838, it was reestablished and

Wait W. Keen, appointed postmaster, who was succeeded first in 1849, by James P. Hilton, and then in 1854, by Daniel Keene; but in 1856, the office was again discontinued. Again reestablished in 1857, with Wm. M. Keen, as postmaster, it was finally discontinued in 1858.—(Communication of Hon. J. W. MARSHALL, First Asst. P. M. General, 1872).

Population of Bristol at different periods.

| <i>Date.</i> | <i>Population.</i> | <i>Date.</i> | <i>Population.</i> |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1764 | 200* | 1830 | 2,450 |
| 1790 | 896 | 1840 | 2,915 |
| 1800 | 996 | 1850 | 2,973 |
| 1810 | | 1860 | 3,119 |
| 1820 | 1,240 | 1870 | 3,324 |

* Estimated.

Population of Bremen.

| <i>Date.</i> | <i>Population.</i> | <i>Date.</i> | <i>Population.</i> |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1830 | 770 | 1860 | 908 |
| 1840 | 837 | 1870 | 797 |
| 1850 | 819 | | |

Persons who have graduated at different Colleges from the towns of Bristol and Bremen.

| | |
|--|------|
| Christopher Martinboro Nickels, Brown University, | 1830 |
| Thomas Drummond, Bowdoin College | 1830 |
| Richard Thomas Austin (<i>Bremen</i>), Bowdoin College, | 1831 |
| Joseph Tyler Huston, Bowdoin College, | 1831 |
| John Johnston, Bowdoin College, | 1832 |
| James Drummond, Bowdoin College, | 1836 |
| James Partelow Weston (<i>Bremen</i>), Bowdoin College, ... | 1840 |
| Sullivan Hardy Weston (<i>Bremen</i>) Wesleyan University, | 1841 |
| Joseph Payson Drummond, Bowdoin College, | 1843 |
| James Hervey Hackelton, Bowdoin College, | 1844 |
| Samuel Martin Weston (<i>Bremen</i>), Bowdoin College, | 1844 |
| Jefferson Burns Weston (<i>Bremen</i>), Union College, | 1856 |
| Samuel Trouant Keene (<i>Bremen</i>), Union College, | 1856 |
| Benj. Hammond Hinds, Tuft's College, | 1860 |
| Ambros Blunt, Wesleyan University, | 1863 |
| Joseph Wadsworth Keene (<i>Bremen</i>), Bowdoin College, | 1870 |
| Marcellus Coggan, Bowdoin College, | 1871 |
| Jahiel Richards (<i>Bremen</i>), Bowdoin College, | 1871 |

PEMAQUID MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

AN ACT to Incorporate the Pemaquid Monument Association.

Section 1. William Hackelton, David Chamberlain, Owen St. Clare O'Brien, J. H. Hackelton, Samuel W. Johnson, E. Wilder Farley, George W. Ellis, James Erskine, Henry Huston, C. C. Robbins, Dennis R. Hanly, Arnold Blaney, J. W. Partridge, Alfred Cushman, G. R. Fosset, J. H. Goudy and Rufus K. Sewall, their associates and successors are hereby created a body corporate and politic, by the name of the Pemaquid Monument Association, for the purpose of erecting and maintaining in the town of Bristol, upon, or near the site of the ruins of Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid Harbor, an appropriate monument, commemorative of the early European settlement, or settlements, in that locality; and may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, have a common seal, which it may alter at pleasure, and shall have all the privileges and powers and be subject to all the liabilities of the laws of this state relating to similar corporations.

Section 2. Said Association may choose such officers as it may think proper, and may make and ordain by-laws, for its government, not repugnant to the laws of the State, and may hold and possess real and personal estate, necessary for the erection and maintenance of such a monument, with right to purchase and hold a public right of way to the same. Any person may become a member of such association, on the payment of not less than one dollar to the treasurer thereof, and shall have the right in person, or by proxy, to one vote, in any meeting of said Association.

Section 3. When such a monument has been completed, with a suitable roadway leading to it, and all expenses incurred in its erection, inclusive of its site and such roadway, have been paid, it shall, with its appurtenances, be exempt from taxation, attachment and execution, and no subsequent conveyance of the same shall be valid, so long as said monument shall be maintained. The right of the public at all times to visit said monument, shall be free and unrestricted; and whoever shall willfully destroy, or injure the same, or any fence, or railing, or other thing belonging to, or appertaining to said monument, or the roadway leading to it, shall be punished by imprisonment, not more than one year, or by fine, not exceeding one thousand dollars.

Section 4. Any three of the persons named in this Act, may call the first meeting of this association, at some place in the town of Bristol, at such time and for such purposes as they may deem necessary, by posting up notices thereof, in three or more public places in said town, seven days at least prior to said meeting.

Section 5. This Act shall take effect when approved.

Approved Jan. 19th, 1872.

BY-LAWS OF THE PENAQUID MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

Article I. The objects of this Association are, as stated in its charter, for the purpose of erecting and maintaining in the town of Bristol, upon, or near the site of the ruins of Fort William Henry, at Pennaquin Harbor, an appropriate monument, commemorative of the early European settlement, or settlements in that locality.

Article II. Any person may become a member of this association, on the payment of not less than one dollar to its treasurer, or to any agent, duly authorized by its board of directors, and shall have the right in person, or by proxy, to one vote, in any meeting thereof. The title of Honorary membership may be conferred by the association, or the written recommendation of its board of directors.

Article III. There shall be an annual meeting of the association at Bristol Mills, in the town of Bristol, on the second Tuesday in January of each year, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, for the choice of officers and the transaction of other business. Special meetings shall be called by the Secretary, on the written request of the Directors at such time and place, and for such purposes as they may consider necessary, to promote its interests. The number of members requisite to constitute a quorum, for the transaction of business at any meeting of the association, shall be nine, but a less number may adjourn from time to time.

Article IV. The officers of the association, shall consist of a President; a Secretary; three Vice Presidents; a Treasurer; and a Board of five Directors, of which the President, shall be *ex officio*, one, and three of its number shall be residents of the town of Bristol. All of said officers shall be elected at an annual meeting of the association, by ballot, and by a major vote, except those chosen to fill vacancies, who shall be elected at a special meeting. The duration of the term of said officers, shall be for one year; but those who may be elected on the fifteenth day of February, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, shall hold only until the first annual meeting.

Article V. The President shall be the presiding officer of the association, the meetings of which shall be governed by the rules usually observed in similar bodies. In his absence, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside. The Secretary shall be duly sworn to a faithful discharge of the duties of his office, he shall give suitable public notices of the time, place and objects of the annual and special meetings of the association, seven days at least, prior to the time for which they are called, and make a record of their proceedings. He shall keep in a suitable book, a list of the names of all the members of the association, alphabetically arranged, together with their residence, and as nearly as practicable, the time of their becoming members. Each member shall be entitled to a certificate of membership, which shall be numbered from one upwards, as they may be

issued by the Secretary. The Treasurer shall have charge of the financial concerns of the association; keep an exact account of all its receipts and expenditures and report the same to its annual meeting. He shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, in such penal sum and with such securities, as shall in the judgment of the Directors, protect the association against loss. He shall pay out no money, except on the written order, or approval of the Directors, and in case any funds should accumulate in his hands, prior to their being required for the objects of the association, he shall advise with the Directors, as to the safest manner of investing them. Upon the Directors, a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of their business, shall devolve the duties of the general management and superintendence of all the concerns of the association. They shall hold meetings whenever necessary, and keep a book, in which their doings shall be recorded, and make a report of the same to the annual meeting, and when in doubt, as to what their action should be in conducting its affairs, they shall cause a special meeting of the association to be called. No salary or compensation shall be paid to any officer, except by vote of the association at its annual meeting and upon the written recommendation of the Directors, as to the amount earned, based upon the services performed.

Article VI. The Directors shall in no case, make any contract, involving an expenditure, beyond the available means of the association.

Article VII. The By-Laws of this Association shall not be amended, or repealed, except by the votes of two thirds of its members present at an annual meeting.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President—E. W. Farley.

Secretary—Owen St. C. O'Brien, (P. O. Address, Pemaquid, Me.)

Vice Presidents—Arnold Blaney, J. H. Hackelton, Rufus K. Sewall.

Treasurer—David Chamberlain.

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